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THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1788.

LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1790.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1795.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1795.

PREFACE.

THE war between the great Powers on the borders of Europe and Aſia, neceſſarily demanded, on various accounts, our utmoſt attention, in treating the Hiſtory of the preſent year. Its importance was not only proportioned to its preſent magnitude, and the greatneſs of the parties immediately engaged, but to the general and abundant danger with which it ſeemed teeming. Having, in the firſt inſtance, ſpeedily extended its baleful influence to the northern kingdoms, it was apparently on the point of involving the greater part, if not the whole, of Europe in the calamity; nor would it have been eaſy to draw a line in any quarter of the world, beyond which, from its nature, it was not poſſibly capable of reaching. This war, in its actual and more confined ſtate, preſented a ſpectacle neither common nor incurious. It ſhewed the extraordinary exertions which the untaught genius of a ſingle man, operating upon the deſperate courage of a people fighting for their all, but almoſt totally deſtitute of military knowledge, experience, and diſcipline, were together capable of making, when oppoſed, not only to a vaſt ſuperiority in number and force, but to the veteran armies of two of the firſt military Powers in the world, who have long been uniformly endeavouring to carry the art of war, in all its parts, to the higheſt poſſible point of perfection.

PREFACE.

In treating this ſubject, beſides giving the cleareſt narrative of the tranſactions of the war, which the imperfect and ſuppreſſed ſtate of our information would admit, we have endeavoured to trace thoſe unavowed cauſes and motives, which operated upon the contending parties, in urging them to that event. We have likewiſe endeavoured to point out the different degrees, in which the views and objects of the two great Chriſtian empires, in their combination to ſubvert the Ottoman, might have affected the political intereſts or endangered the ſecurity of the other ſtates of Europe; and how far this conſideration influenced their conduct in its progreſs.

We truſt our readers will perceive, that neither the magnitude nor generality of theſe ſubjects, has at all diverted our attention from our own public affairs, nor cauſed any relaxation in our endeavours to give a clear and diſtinct view of them. As they are the objects in which, as a nation, we are moſt intereſted, and upon which all our power and greatneſs depend, they muſt ever hold the firſt place in our thoughts and care.

This multiplicity of foreign and internal buſineſs, has not afforded room or leiſure for entering properly into the affairs either of France or the Low Countries; nor were they ſufficiently developed, in the year of which we treat, to admit of any thing like a perfect or ſatisfactory account being yet given.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1788.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of affairs in the year 1787, which led to, or preceded the rupture between the great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia. Ruined state of the Tartars. Sahim Guerai, their late khan, who had betrayed and sold his country to the Russians, flies from their dominion, and surrenders himself to the grand signior. Porte makes great preparations for war. Circular letter from the grand signior to the seven classes of the militia. Mauro Cordato, the hospodar of Moldavia, having escaped, under a charge of treason, into the Russian territories, is re-demanded by the Porte; but the court of Petersburgh refuses to deliver him up, and treats the demand as an insult or injury. Captain Pacha recalled from Egypt, on account of the war, to the great prejudice of the empire. He returns, with great treasures for the public service, to Constantinople. Russian minister, on his return from Cherson, finds a total change in the countenance and disposition of the Porte, and a set of propositions, which he had left to be adopted as the basis of a new treaty between the two empires, are rejected with disdain. M. Bulgakow, the Russian minister, being summoned to a grand divan, is presented with a written instrument, containing a set of counter propositions, which

which he is required to ſign directly, as the only alternative of immediate war. Spirited refuſal of the Ruſſian miniſter occaſions his being committed priſoner to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. Declaration of war againſt Ruſſia. Queſtion of policy diſcuſſed, as to the propriety of the Porte's precipitating a war at this juncture. Aſtoniſhment of the court of Peterſburgh at this unexpected meaſure. Not prepared for immediate war. Long manifeſto againſt the Turks. Ruſſian ſhip of the line driven by tempeſt from the Black Sea into the harbour of Conſtantinople, and taken. Ill ſucceſs of the Turks in the few attempts which they made, towards the cloſe of the year, upon the new Ruſſian frontiers. New prophet, Sheik Manſour, repeatedly defeated, and his partizans finally ruined, by prince Potemkin's army. Turkiſh vice-admiral, though a brave and able ſeaman, being prevented by the diſſentions in his fleet from performing any of the actions that were expected, in the Black Sea, loſes his head at his return. Brave garriſon of Oczakow, after ſeveral gallant attempts to recover Kinburne, are ſo nearly cut off in their laſt attack, that Te Deum *is ſung for it at Peterſburgh, as if it had been a great and deciſive victory. Shabab Guerai appointed by the Porte khan of the Tartars. Deplorable ſtate of that people. Unexampled depopulation of the Crimea. State of that beautiful peninſula. Natives ſell their eſtates for any price they can procure, in order to abandon the country. A number of Engliſh, confiding in the faith of the empreſs, become purchaſers, form ſettlements, and have already commenced great and expenſive works for the cultivation and improvement of the country. Dictatorial powers granted by the grand ſignior to his miniſter and general, the grand vizir, in order to enable him to conduct the war with effect. Indian ambaſſador from Tippoo Saib treated with extraordinary honours and reſpect at Conſtantinople. Magnificent military ſpectacle exhibited by the grand vizir, in honour of the Indian embaſſy. Turkiſh ambaſſador at Spain magnificently received. Wavering and equivocal conduct of that court with reſpect to the war. Conduct of France with reſpect to the war: declares ſhe cannot take any other part in it than as a mediator. Her miniſter to the Porte ſtudiouſly endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between her and Ruſſia, propoſes a ceſſation of arms for three months, as indiſpenſably neceſſary to afford time for negociation; but the divan declare the propoſal inadmiſſible, as being partially favourable to the enemy, and directly the reverſe to them. Emperor of Germany declares his reſolution to ſupport his ally, Ruſſia, with 80,000 men, being the force he was bound to furniſh her with by treaty; but offered his mediation, merely to prevent the ſhedding of blood.*

THE meetings and conferences of great and ambitious monarchs, have ever been deemed dangerous to their equals in power, and terrible to their inferiors. If all former inſtances of their nature and effect had been forgotten, the combination which deſolated the kingdom of Poland, might ſerve to warn mankind in ſimilar caſes. It can therefore be no matter of ſurprize, that the Ottoman court, which had already received proofs of no very diſintereſted diſpoſitions in its great Chriſtian neighbours, ſhould have been to the laſt degree alarmed by

by the late congreſs at Cherſon; where the bands of union were to be cemented and drawn more ſtraitly between two of the moſt formidable powers in the univerſe; whoſe ambition was at leaſt equal to their power; and whoſe object in this meeting was underſtood as aiming at nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of that empire.

And, as if this combination of the two Imperial powers of Ruſſia and Germany had not been in itſelf ſufficiently alarming and dangerous, the poor king of Poland, who had already been the victim to their mutual enmity, was now, upon their ambition taking a new direction, called to participate, in ſome ſmall degree, in the fruits of their union. He could not indeed add much, nor perhaps any thing, to the ſcale of hoſtile power againſt the Ottomans by actual exertion; but this was not, in fact, the kind of aid which the great allies wanted, and wiſhed to draw from him. Their own forces were ſufficiently numerous to anſwer all the purpoſes to which, from the nature of things, armies could be applied with effect.

Poland in repoſe, was equal in value to the activity of any other ally. By its ſituation it was capable of uniting the two empires in ſuch a manner as to render their force one, and enable their combined or ſeparate armies to make their impreſſion in any one or different parts of three-fourths of a vaſt circle, by which they would then embrace ſo great a part of the Turkiſh frontiers. Its products were no leſs valuable. Beſides abundant room for winter quarters, hoſpitals, magazines, places of refreſhment, and all thoſe other appendages neceſſary to great armies, the country was to be conſidered as a vaſt granary, teeming with every kind of proviſion; nor were its military reſources deſpicable with reſpect to men; but in regard to horſes, cattle, and forage, they were unequalled. Thus was Poland capable of becoming a moſt uſeful member of the confederacy; an acceſſion of hoſtile ſtrength, which to the Ottomans would be the more intolerably grievous from the recollection, that all their late miſfortunes, along with the preſent unproſperous ſtate of their affairs, originated in their apparently generous endeavours to preſerve the freedom and independence of that republic, and to prevent the alienation of her dominions, in oppoſition to the rapacious views of thoſe very powers, with whom ſhe was now to be leagued againſt them.

It was even rumoured at the time, that the king's friendſhip (limited as his authority is) had been ſecured, in one of the conferences held on the memorable progreſs to Cherſon, by the preſent of a very large ſum of money (amounting to near half a million ſterling) in Ruſſian roubles; and although that report was probably unfounded, yet it had ſo much effect, that he was publicly charged, at the enſuing diet, with having, at that conference, entered into private conditions inimical to the republic; a charge, to which the excellency of that prince's character, and his known patriotiſm, would ſeem a ſufficient refutation; for although the decided part which, with ſome apparent riſque to himſelf, he has taken in ſupport of the Ruſſian views and intereſt, undoubtedly afforded ſome colour to the charge, yet it would be more equitable to attribute his conduct in that reſpect to his real political ſenti-

ments, and rather to ſuppoſe that he conſulted what he conſidered as the preſent intereſt or the future ſecurity of the remains of his mangled country. It ſhould likewiſe be remembered, that he owed his ſeat on the throne to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and that gratitude being one of the moſt predominant, among the many excellent qualities which adorn his private character, he has never ſince omitted any opportunity of ſhewing his ſenſe of that obligation; and has, perhaps, in ſome caſes, confounded the virtues of the man too much with the duties of the ſovereign, under that impreſſion.

We have ſhewn in a former volume * the very intereſting appeal, under the form of a declaration or manifeſto, which the grand ſignior made in the year 1786, not only to his own ſubjects, but to the whole race of Mahometans, ſhewing the common danger to which they were liable ſhortly to be expoſed, and calling upon them, by every thing dear or ſacred to men, to prepare and unite, with hearts and with hands, in order to repel the deſigns of their implacable enemy, whoſe views were not directed to conqueſt, but to extermination, and who, if they were permitted to ſucceed, would ſtop at nothing ſhort of the utter annihilation of the Ottoman name, and the extinction of all true believers from the face of the earth.

It is little to be doubted that an appeal of ſo new and extraordinary a nature, coming from a ſovereign ſo great, and a name which had for ſo many ages been in the higheſt degree revered, cloathed in the moſt pathetic language, and ſtating circumſtances of ſuch evident injury, as would have intereſted the feelings of ſtrangers, and even thoſe of a different communion, muſt have operated moſt powerfully in all thoſe wide regions where the Mahometan creed predominated. Such was the ſtate of things, and ſuch the ſenſon of apprehenſion and alarm, that every Muſſulman was already, in imagination, ſnatching up his weapons, and ruſhing to the common defence, when the report was ſpread abroad of the imperial Catharine's intended triumphal proceſſion to Cherſon, to receive the homage of conquered nations, and to celebrate, with an oſtentation unknown to later ages, the triumph of her arms, and her inauguration to new kingdoms and empires. The vaſtneſs and prodigality of the original deſign, with the powerful army which was included in it, were of themſelves ſufficient to ſpread amazement and terror on all ſides; but when to this was added the effect produced by the language of flattery and of vanity on the ſpot, and the amplification incident to all reports, in proportion to the length of their courſe, it is not to be wondered at if this ſpectacle was magnified and rendered more terrific in the conception of diſtant and ignorant nations.

But it was not merely the gratification of feminine vanity in celebrating a triumph over a fallen enemy, however diſtaſteful and odious ſuch a celebration muſt neceſſarily be, that chiefly affected the Ottomans with regard to this progreſs. A report was ſpread, and the opinion very generally received,

* Annual Regiſter, Vol. XXVIII. Hiſtorical Article, p. 151.

that

that the Empreſs of Ruſſia's ambition ſoared ſo high, that the acquiſition of provinces or kingdoms were little farther eſtimated by her, than as they might lead to the attainment of her grand object; and that this was nothing leſs than the placing of her ſecond grandſon, prince Conſtantine, on the throne of the ancient Greek emperors at Conſtantinople; and thereby eſtabliſhing, in her own family, two mighty empires, capable, perhaps, of ſubverting Europe and Aſia. The chriſtian name of that prince was brought as circumſtantial evidence in ſupport of this opinion; and the conduct of Ruſſia in various reſpects, ſince the concluſion of the peace of Kainardgi, the conditions of which ſhe had ſo frequently violated, were brought as farther corroborations. Particularly her continual endeavours to weaken the Ottoman empire, by looſening her dependencies on every ſide, both in Europe and in Aſia, and exciting the vaſſal princes to withdraw from their allegiance; her debauching the Greeks in all places, through the agency of her conſuls, and rendering them ripe for rebellion; her inſidious arts to excite inſurrections in Egypt, by offering to render the turbulent beys ſovereigns of their reſpective provinces under her protection; and her unceaſing efforts to corrupt even thoſe Muſſulman officers, who held public employments, civil or military, in all parts adjoining to the frontiers.

The ruined Tartars too, who had been driven from the Crimea, and their other ancient ſeats, filled all places with their complaints of the puſillanimity of the Porte in thus abandoning them, and called loudly upon heaven and earth for juſtice and vengeance. Now the intended and avowed enthronement of Catharine, would be affixing a final ſeal to all the uſurpations of Ruſſia ſince the peace of Kainardgi; for as ſuch the Porte conſidered, or affected to conſider, the ſeizure of the Crimea, and of the neighbouring countries; inſiſting, that, as they had only been obtained by fraud and circumvention, in the midſt of peace, no claim could lie againſt them by the laws of arms as a conqueſt, and it would not be pretended that the Ruſſians could have any prior right to them; and as to the ſubſequent convention, which ſeemed to give a ſanction to the ſeizure, they aſſerted it was only a temporary meaſure, adopted for the preſent to divert the evils of war, until an equitable arrangement of frontier between the two empires could take place, the Tartars ſhould be reſtored to their rights, and their future independence firmly eſtabliſhed. It was further ſaid, that it would be an extraordinary violation of all laws, human and divine, for the Porte to pretend to barter or aſſign the rights and dominions of others; and it would render the injuſtice ſtill more flagrant and odious, if they concurred, in any degree, in ſtripping the race of Timur, their perpetual allies, and eventual ſucceſſors to the Ottoman throne, of the patrimony which they derived from their glorious anceſtors. Such were not the principles upon which their government acted; juſtice and good faith, whether with reſpect to Muſſulmans or Chriſtians, were the invariable maxims of the Porte.

It was a ſingular circumſtance with reſpect to the Crimea, and ſeemed like a dramatic fiction for the puniſhment of falſe ambition,

that the wretched Sahim Guerai, the late Ruſſian khan of that peninſula, ſhould have been led by ſome fatality to throw himſelf voluntarily into the hands of a government, which he had injured in the moſt ſupreme degree, and which, he well knew, had ever been inexorably ſevere in its puniſhment of ſtate offenders.

This unfortunate prince, who, as we have heretofore ſeen, had diſhonoured the illuſtrious line of Tamerlane, by becoming the inſtrument of betraying his country into the hands of foreigners, and who had perſonally degraded himſelf by the acceptance of a commiſſion in the Ruſſian ſervice, as well as of conſiderable eſtates which were the price of his defection, whether it proceeded from any cauſes of diſguſt which he now experienced, or from the inceſſant reproaches of his own mind, quickened by a ſenſe of the contemptuous ſtate into which he was ſunk, became ſo tired of his new condition, that he made his eſcape from Ruſſia, and arriving, with a few attendants, at a ſmall village near the borders of Moldavia, diſpatched, by a truſty meſſenger, a letter to be delivered into the hands of the grand ſignior only. In this epiſtle, after deploring his paſt miſdeeds, declaring the fulneſs of his contrition, and imploring pardon for them, he farther requeſted leave to proceed to Conſtantinople, and to be permitted to throw himſelf at the emperor's feet. Either a ſafe-conduct to Conſtantinople, or a general indemnity from puniſhment, in caſe of his going there, was granted; but on his arrival, inſtead of being permitted to approach the throne, he was ſent under a proper guard to the iſland of Rhodes; the conſtant place of exile aſſigned to the depoſed or diſgraced princes of his family.

As we ſhall have no farther mention to make of this unfortunate adventurer, it may perhaps afford ſome gratification to curioſity to relate, in this place, that, after ſpending ſeveral months unmoleſted and at large, in that beautiful iſland, he was ſuddenly aſſaulted, and (after a gallant defence, in which he killed three of them) cut to pieces by a ſet of ruffians. As theſe aſſaſſins did not pretend to have any commiſſion or order from the Porte for the perpetration of this deed, and did not appear like the uſual miniſters of juſtice, it ſeems probable that they were operated upon merely by the rage of enthuſiaſm, as thinking him a neceſſary ſacrifice to the miſchiefs which he had brought upon his country and religion.

Under the circumſtances and impreſſions which we have mentioned, it will not be wondered at that the diſcontent of the Porte was too great to be concealed, when the Ruſſian miniſter announced the intended progreſs of his miſtreſs to Cherſon; although he endeavoured to ſoften the communication, by declaring, that ſome neceſſary internal regulations were the only objects of his ſovereign in this viſit to a part of her ſubjects. The late menace of prince Potemkin, that he would march at the head of an army of 70,000 men to the frontiers, and that the empreſs would attend in perſon, to enforce her claims, and to ſettle all differences between the two empires, could not fail to increaſe their mixed indignation and alarm.

An army was immediately ordered to aſſemble in the neighbourhood of Oczakow; diſpatches were

forwarded to every part of the empire to prepare for war; and the grand ſignior himſelf is ſaid to have written a circular letter to the ſeven claſſes of the militia, wherever ſpread, exhorting them to fight valiantly; declaring that thoſe who fell in defence of the holy law of their prophet, would be received as ſaints in the next world, while thoſe who bravely vanquiſhed the enemy ſhould be conſidered as heroes in this. In the mean time the people were outrageous with government for its ſupineneſs in ſuffering the empreſs to proſecute her journey to Cherſon; indeed all Europe was ſurprized at the forbearance of the Porte, if war was determined, in not obſtructing that boaſted and inſulting progreſs, or, in fact, vainglorious triumph.

Mauro Cordato, the hoſpodar of Moldavia, had long been, with reaſon, ſuſpected of treachery, and the Porte was well informed of his carrying on a ſecret correſpondence, through the medium of the Ruſſian conſul, with both the Imperial courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh. Although this conduct had hitherto been paſſed over without apparent notice, it was now thought neceſſary, upon the approaching ſeaſon of trial, not only to deprive him of the means of future miſchief, but to puniſh his paſt treachery. The Porte did not act with its uſual promptneſs of deciſion upon this occaſion; for he was ſtripped of his office, without ſecuring his perſon, two days before the order arrived for his head. The wary Greek, well ſeeing his danger, profited of the neglect, and, under pretence of an airing, accompanied by a party of truſty friends, finely mounted, and all perhaps involved in it, eſcaped from Jaſſy, and arrived ſafely in the Ruſſian territories. The Porte reclaimed its ſubject and offending ſervant to be delivered up, according to the terms of the ſubſiſting treaties, which had fully bound both parties in all ſuch caſes. But the Ruſſians not only peremptorily rejected the demand, but the removal of Cordato from his office, the deſign upon his life, and the application for his delivery, were ranked with the many other injuries charged againſt the Ottomans, and held out either as ſufficient grounds for a war, or as inſtances of the greateſt forbearance.

Nothing, that did not affect the immediate preſervation of the empire, could have been ſo urgent or ſo important to the Porte at this time as the affairs of Egypt. The Captain Pacha had already ſucceeded ſo far in his endeavours for the entire reduction of the rebel beys that their ſituation was apparently deſperate, and it ſeems probable that another year would have enabled him totally to overthrow the Mamaluc power; when his own excellent plan for the future government of that country, beſides ſecurity from foreign danger, and the eſtabliſhment of domeſtic tranquillity, would have rendered it an inexhauſtible mine of wealth and reſource of ſtrength to its poſſeſſor.

But the preſent neceſſity ſuperſeding all future conſiderations, and the courage and conduct of the Captain Pacha, as well as his counſel, being deemed indiſpenſable in the intended ſcene of action, he was haſtily recalled from Egypt to more dangerous, if not more active ſervice, and to the encounter of a moſt formidable enemy, poſſeſſing ſuch

long-eſtabliſhed and immenſely ſuperior advantages in all the habitual and mechanical buſineſs of war, as no extent of genius and ability, in a ſingle perſon, could in any degree be hoped to counterbalance.

The old veteran received and obeyed the order for his recal with the greateſt regret. Beſides the common vexation of being deprived of his object when it ſeemed within his reach, and after ſurmounting much difficulty and danger in the approach to it, that object was likewiſe of ſuch a nature, that while it held out the moſt ſignal advantages to his country, it would have crowned his name with laſting glory, as one of its greateſt benefactors. Nor did it add a little to the vexation, that the intended war was, in the preſent ſtate of things, much againſt his opinion; he conſidering it as too dangerous a meaſure to attack Ruſſia until the ties between her and the emperor were in ſome degree relaxed, or that the reſtleſs ambition of the latter had plunged him into a war with ſome of his Chriſtian neighbours; which, if his attention was not attracted by the Ottomans, was an event moſt likely ſoon to happen.

But notwithſtanding theſe ſentiments, and the cruel diſappointment to his hopes and ambition by which they were more ſtrongly enforced, the Captain Pacha immediately accommodated himſelf to his new ſituation, endeavouring, with wonderful addreſs and dexterity, to draw all the public benefit from the preſent diſjointed ſtate of affairs in Egypt, which it was poſſibly capable of affording; and now ſupported with no leſs fidelity the character of an artful politician, than he had ever done that of an able commander. He had indeed a nice and difficult part to play; for he was of a ſudden not only obliged to change all his meaſures, but to depart from every apparent principle upon which he had hitherto acted; and all at once, without any viſible cauſe or underſtood motive, to temporize with the rebel beys, whoſe ſubverſion and ruin he had ſo eagerly ſought, and ſo nearly accompliſhed. Yet ſuch a countenance was to be preſerved in this change of conduct, as that, inſtead of ſuſpecting the real cauſe, they ſhould attribute it entirely to grace and favour: for he was well acquainted with the deep deſigns which Ruſſia had ſo long formed upon that country, and of her artful intrigues and continued negociations with the beys, by which ſhe not only fomented their outrages and rebellions, but laboured hard to induce them to ſhake off all dependence on the Porte entirely, and to throw themſelves into the hands of her rival.

As there was not leiſure then for the intended eſtabliſhment of the country, which muſt have included the final ſubverſion of the Mamalucs, it became neceſſary to ſecure, if poſſible, their fidelity during the approaching war, of which they had yet no knowledge or ſuſpicion; otherwiſe, the country would be loſt upon the firſt appearance of a Ruſſian ſquadron. The grand admiral managed this buſineſs with ſo much addreſs, that he not only gained his point in that reſpect, but he wrought ſo ſucceſsfully upon their apprehenſions, that they willingly parted with their treaſures as the purchaſe of future peace and ſecurity. Thus far his conduct was excellent; but, according to the eſtabliſhed and barbarous cuſtom of Eaſtern kings

and

and commanders, he despoiled the country as effectually as he had done the beys, and returned to Constantinople, in the month of May 1787, with such treasures as had not been brought thither for many years, and were alone sufficient to invigorate all the preparations for war.

On the return of the Russian minister from Cherson, whither he had gone, accompanied by the Imperial internuncio, to attend their respective sovereigns, and probably to receive such instructions for their future conduct as were suited to the determinations adopted at that place, he found a total change in the countenance and disposition of the Porte, and soon experienced, that haughtiness in conduct, and a dictatorial peremptory tone, were so far from being monopolized by the fortunate and the triumphant, that they might be suddenly assumed where they were least expected. A set of propositions, which he had previously laid down as the basis of a new treaty, and as the only means of establishing in a permanent manner the tranquillity of both empires, being now pressingly urged, were rejected with disdain. These included, besides the admission of a Russian consul at the port of Varna, within 120 miles of Constantinople, (which had long been an object of much solicitude) a total renunciation of the sovereignty of Georgia; which, as that ill-defined denomination of territory might be extended to all the neighbouring countries, as well as to Mingrelia, would have afforded a sanction to all the past and future encroachments of Russia on that side. Another proposed condition, and still more hard to be admitted, was, a new settlement of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, by which their governors (generally called in Europe princes) were to hold them by hereditary succession, and in a great measure independent of the Porte. But the most singular claim perhaps of any was that upon Bessarabia, which, as having once belonged to the Tartar khans, Russia now demanded; a principle of no very limited operation, and which, if pursued to its full length, would have made the usurpation of the Crimea a lawful title to all the conquests of Tamerlane.

Not satisfied with this absolute rejection, M. Bulgakow being summoned to attend a grand divan, a set of conditions entirely counter, in which the restoration of the Crimea was the leading article, and including others which could scarcely be supposed much less inadmissible, were laid down, not only as the basis of a new treaty, but as the only terms upon which peace could be preserved. At the same time a written instrument was produced, containing those articles at length, which he was required, without farther consideration, to sign upon the spot. The Russian minister shewed his utter incapability of concluding any treaty, or signing any conditions, without specific orders for so doing from his court; he therefore desired time for receiving instructions with respect to the generality of them; but with regard to the cession of the Crimea, and the consequent annulling of the conventions concluded between the two powers since the treaty of Kainardgi, he declared, with great spirit and firmness, that he could not even venture to mention such a proposal to his sovereign; and that he

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well

well knew, in no fortune, and in no circumſtances whatever, could ſhe ever be induced to relinquiſh the ſovereignty of that country. Upon this bold anſwer (it being undoubtedly a meaſure already determined) M. Bulgakow, with his ſecretary, and two other principal officers of the miſſion, were committed priſoners to the caſtle of the Seven Towers; the reſt of his family were conveyed to his country ſeat at Pera. Although the barbarous cuſtom of impriſoning foreign miniſters upon a rupture with their principals was thus far adhered to, it was, however, upon this occaſion, attended with circumſtances of ſuch unuſual lenity, and the confinement rendered ſo eaſy to M. Bulgakow and his companions, that they ſerved greatly to ſoften the barbarity of the practice, although they could not entirely change its nature, or remove the odium attached to it.

The abruptneſs and precipitancy of the Ottoman miniſtry in this tranſaction, particularly as they had firſt agreed that M. Bulgakow ſhould have time for receiving freſh inſtructions, afforded much ground of complaint to their enemies, who did not fail to expatiate largely upon it in their appeal to mankind. The reſult of theſe proceedings was a declaration of war, two days after, againſt Ruſſia. The manifeſto, which was upon this occaſion preſented to the miniſters of the Chriſtian powers reſident at Conſtantinople, contained much of the matter which had appeared in the grand ſignior's appeal to his own ſubjects and religion; excepting only that it was held forth in a bolder and loftier tone, and abſtained from any expreſſions implying weakneſs or apprehenſion. It ſtated the good faith, and the ſtrict attention to the terms of the treaty of Kainardgi, which the grand ſultan had ſince that time uniformly obſerved; and placed in oppoſition to this conduct, the continued violation of the moſt ſolemn ſtipulations, whether of more ancient or modern date, which Ruſſia had committed during that period. In the enumeration of the various inſtances in which this violation had taken place, their inſtigating the prince of Georgia to rebellion, and their ſending troops to ſupport him againſt his ſovereign, were particularly diſplayed. As likewiſe, their depriving the inhabitants of Oczakow of the benefit of the ſalt mines, which had not only from time immemorial been open to them, but which were expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty, to be held in common by both nations. Their corrupting, through the agency of their conſuls, the wayvode of Moldavia, and when he fled from juſtice, and was reclaimed by his ſovereign according to the ſtipulations eſtabliſhed on both ſides by treaty, their miniſter at the Porte had the hardineſs peremptorily to anſwer, "that his "court would not ſurrender him." Her placing conſuls in various places where they were totally unneceſſary, with a view to corrupt the ſubjects of the Porte from their duty and allegiance, exciting diſſentions even among the true believers, ſeducing ſome to enter into her ſervice, and enticing others by civil employments to ſettle in her dominions; together with her conſtant interference in the internal policy of the empire, and preſuming to dictate to the Porte; inſomuch, that when the pachas, governors, or judges,

judges, have, by a faithful diſcharge of their duty, diſpleaſed her, ſhe has arrogantly demanded their removal or puniſhment.

The complaints on the ſubject of commerce were not leſs numerous. All the world was called upon as a witneſs of the readineſs with which the Porte opened her ſeas, admitted Ruſſia to an unreſtrained freedom of commerce, and of the good faith with which the treaty had been fulfilled in all its parts on her ſide; while, on the contrary, the object of Ruſſia being to monopolize all commerce to herſelf, inſtead of affording advantages to the Ottoman merchants ſimilar to thoſe which her own received, ſhe loaded them with double, and in ſome caſes treble duties, in direct violation of ſubſiſting treaties: that with the ſame ill faith and injuſtice, when the ſubjects of the Porte ſold goods upon credit to the Ruſſians, payment was not only with-held, but, in contempt of all appearances of juſtice and equity, the merchants were not permitted to uſe the uſual legal means for the recovery of their property, which were afforded to all other men. To theſe commercial wrongs were added, the refuſal to ſuffer Ruſſian ſhips to be examined by the proper officers, although they were known conſtantly to convey large quantities of contraband goods; and the ſhameful charge, of not only refuſing entrance to, but of firing at and cannonading the Turkiſh ſhips, which were driven by ſtreſs of weather, and the danger of the ſeas, to ſeek for ſhelter in the Ruſſian ports. It repreſents, as a great aggravation of theſe and other injuries, the conſtant refuſal of redreſs, or a contemptuous ſilence, while a repetition of the wrong afforded the only anſwer. Upon the whole, the ſum of injury and inſult, of which the Porte complained, appears from this piece to have been great indeed, although the particulars are by no means ſtated to advantage. We are not, however, to rely any farther upon this kind of public documents, than as they are ſupported by eſtabliſhed facts, or convey that ſtrong internal evidence which approaches to conviction.

The policy of the Porte, in thus precipitating a war which ſhe was ſo totally unequal to, and her becoming the aggreſſor in it, has been much called in queſtion, and even condemned. That power is, however, not entirely deſtitute of arguments, either of policy or juſtice, in ſupport of her conduct. She may, with ſome colour allege, that ſhe had ſufficient grounds for belief, and poſſibly a certainty, that her ruin, ſo far as the intentions of her potent enemies could carry it into effect, had been determined on at Cherſon. That, although it was certain ſhe was not in condition for entering into ſo arduous a conteſt at preſent, it was no leſs apparent, that her reſtleſs and ambitious enemies, who were conſtantly watching her movements, and prying into all her domeſtic regulations, would by no means afford her leiſure for recovering her affairs, or being in a better ſtate of preparation: that their open enmity could ſcarcely be more fatal, than the inſidious meaſures, under the covert of peace, which, in violation of the public faith of nations, they conſtantly purſued to impair and weaken the empire; that by theſe arts, they too well ſucceeded in keeping its remote parts in a conſtant ſtate of diſtraction;

diſtraction; and, taking advantage of the diſorders which they excited, while they corrupted, terrified, or cruſhed her ſubjects and vaſſals, extenſive territories were loſt, and her moſt valuable dependencies looſened. That they only abſtained from acts of direct hoſtility, which would neceſſarily have excited immediate reſiſtance, until, by making effectual reſiſtance impoſſible, they ſhould find a fit ſeaſon for force to avow itſelf, and to complete by war the triumphs of circumvention. That it was in vain to concede, and in vain to ſacrifice, ſince occaſional conceſſion could never be oppoſed with effect to an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of encroachment; and every conceſſion ſhe made, ſerved as a ſtimulus to increaſe the luſt of ambition, and to direct its views to new objects.

The Porte likewiſe knew that her enemies were not yet thoroughly prepared for war; that, if left to their own deciſion, they would not commence hoſtilities until their preparations, both in point of money, and with reſpect to military proviſion, were entirely completed; that they would in the intermediate time uſe all their arts to mitigate, by poſtponing, the ſpirit of juſt revenge which animated her ſubjects, and make them remit their exertions, by holding out deluſive propoſals for new treaties and arrangements; whereas this ſudden and unexpected aggreſſion on their ſide, might ſerve to embarraſs the ſchemes and diſturb the arrangements of the enemy. Neither had the Porte any thing to hazard by being the aggreſſor in a war, as ſhe had no allies to whom it would be incumbent upon her to juſtify her proceeding, to prevent their ſeeking a pretence for not fulfilling their engagements. Men's minds likewiſe ſtill retained the energy which the grand ſignior's late appeal had communicated to them; it would have been unwiſe to let it wear off; a future repetition, along with its novelty, would have loſt its effect. Nor was the ſeaſon of the year unfavourable to the Ottomans, in the preſent ſtate of things, for the commencement of a war. It was too far advanced to admit of any deciſive operations on the ſide of the enemy; but it was not ſo late as to preclude the Porte from proſpects of advantage, by ſudden hoſtility and deſultory enterprize on the borders; while the enſuing long winter would afford an interval of full nine months for completing her preparation, drawing her Aſiatic troops into Europe, and inuring them in ſome degree to the buſineſs of a camp, to order, and to the climate.

Upon the whole, we cannot join in condemning the policy of the Porte at this juncture, in chooſing to encounter the doubtful fortune of a war. Nor is much credit due to the reports that the grand ſignior had been forced into it, either by his miniſters, or by the mob of Conſtantinople. Stung, as they repeatedly had been, almoſt to madneſs, the people were notwithſtanding kept in order and obedience (by the ſettled influence rather than the exertion of a ſteady government) through all the moſt outrageous injuries and inſults offered by Ruſſia. No ſuch occaſions to try their temper at that particular moment occurred. And the ſpirit ſeemed to have been excited by their government, as inſtrumental to its own ſyſtem of policy, and not to have borne down

down its wiſdom by the force of popular impulſe.

Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment which the news of this unexpected meaſure excited at Peterſburgh: and the court, already rent, and its councils diſtracted, by diviſions, and the animoſity of parties, was not a little embarraſſed. They had ſo long been in the habit of trampling upon the Ottomans, and ſo long uſed to their apparently tame ſubmiſſion to every kind of indignity, that they ſeemed to conſider them as a nation of abject ſlaves, rather than as brave men who were capable of aſſerting their rights, or defending their country; ſo that this ſudden return of vigour and ſpirit appeared almoſt incredible. Nor were the finances of Ruſſia in condition for a war. The unequalled magnificence, or, as a ſober financier would have termed it, the unbounded extravagance of the court, was alone ſufficient to drain any treaſury. Their military eſtabliſhments, by ſea and land, were likewiſe too vaſt for the ability of the people. Add to this, that the ſubjugation of the Crimea and Cuban were attended with difficulties ſo far beyond what had been held out to the public, as to coſt above two millions ſterling, beſides the great conſtant expence in preſerving and attempting to ſettle them. Time too, which diſcloſes all ſecrets, had now revealed, that the deſperate courage of the Tartars, fighting in defence of their country, religion, and liberty, had in no ſmall degree compenſated for the want of artillery, diſcipline, and proper arms, inſomuch, that the veteran Ruſſian forces, holding ſo vaſt a ſuperiority as they did in every thing but valour, and equal in that to the beſt troops in the world, had notwithſtanding met with ſeveral ſevere checks, and ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs of men in the courſe of that conteſt; and ſo great was the contempt with which the court regarded its patient and long-ſuffering adverſary, that the thinned ranks of the troops had not yet been filled up by recruits. Upon theſe different accounts, war was as little welcome as it was expected, in the preſent moment, at Peterſburgh.

The manifeſto iſſued by Ruſſia betrayed no indications of conſternation. It was long, and conceived in a lofty ſpirit, ſuch as might ſeem, in the eyes of an impartial judge, more calculated to celebrate the triumphs and conqueſts of the laſt war, to diſplay the fallen ſtate of the Porte, lying at the mercy of her conquering armies, together with the clemency and generoſity with which ſhe reſtored her numerous conqueſts by the treaty of Kainardgi, than to juſtify, or to impreſs the public with ideas of the equity of her conduct and proceedings during the peace. The Turks are, however, charged with the blackeſt perfidy in every tranſaction; all the efforts made by the different nations of Tartars, whether in the defence of their own immediate rights and poſſeſſions, or for the ſuccour of their friends and neighbours, are brought as proofs of this perfidy. Though the paramount ſovereignty of Georgia had for ſeveral ages been claimed and exerciſed by the Porte, the Perſian being her only competitor in that claim; yet the deſolation which that country had undergone from the Leſghis, in its late convulſions, is one of the articles of charge imputed

puted to the Turks; who in their turn allege, that theſe evils were ſuſtained while, in its attempts to ſhake off its tributary allegiance, it had thrown itſelf under the protection of a foreign power, and was in a ſtate of actual rebellion againſt its ſovereign.

The ſummary execution of Gika, the quondam hoſpodar of Moldavia, for treaſon and treachery, is in the manifeſto repreſented as an act of the moſt glaring injuſtice and perfidy, becauſe it was done without a trial; as if any could be ignorant that ſuch was the mode of puniſhing crimes againſt the ſtate, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Ottoman government; or as if it could be ſuppoſed the crafty Greeks, who, beſides paying vaſt ſums of money for the purchaſe, exhauſt all the arts of intrigue and treachery in their competition for attaining the governments of Moldavia and Wallachia, ſhould be ignorant of the tenure upon which they were to hold theſe dangerous offices.

The ſeizing on the Crimea, on the iſland of Taman, and on the Cuban, is declared, in the apologetic part of the manifeſto, not to have proceeded from any deſire of enlarging the limits of the empire, (which is truly ſaid to be already ſufficiently extenſive), but merely to diſlodge the robbers who committed depredations on the borders, and thereby to ſecure laſting peace and amity with the Porte. The ſucceeding convention, which gave a ſanction to the uſurpation of thoſe countries, is attributed to the ſenſe which the Porte herſelf entertained of the juſtice and neceſſity of the meaſure; it being at the ſame time held out, either as a mark of favour, or as a compenſation for her acquieſcence, that a diſtrict on the left of the river Cuban was aſſigned to her by the convention. Such are the ſubſtantial and argumentative parts of the document publiſhed on this occaſion. Theſe are ſupported and enforced throughout with abundant imputations of falſehood, treachery, contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements, and a diſregard to the ſanctity of oaths, which are all charged upon the Ottomans, as if vices inherent in their nature.

A circumſtance which happened ſoon after the opening of the war, though in itſelf of little conſequence, occaſioned great joy at Conſtantinople, from its being conſidered as an indication of future ſucceſs, and that fortune had again begun to look favourably upon the creſcent:—The Ruſſian fleet having, in the month of September, been ſcattered and greatly injured by a violent tempeſt on the Black Sea, and having no port on the Aſiatic ſide to afford them ſhelter, the Boriſthenes, of 64 guns, being nearly diſmaſted, and otherwiſe in great diſtreſs, was driven by night into the canal of Conſtantinople; having paſſed ſo many of the forts in the dark, that her eſcape, when ſhe diſcovered her ſituation, would have been impoſſible, had ſhe even been in better condition for making the attempt. It may well be ſuppoſed that nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the people, when daylight diſcloſed to them ſo novel a ſight, and one ſo well calculated to excite a popular and enthuſiaſtic joy. They were however probably equalled on the other ſide, by the grief and diſmay of the Ruſſian captain; who, perceiving himſelf inextricably involved, adopted the deſperate

desperate resolution of blowing up the ship in the face of the city and harbour; but the crew, preferring the lesser evil of imprisonment, instantly seized his person, and held him in durance until they were boarded by the Turkish boats. About 650 Russians were made prisoners. The ship had been so extremely sickly as to lose 150 men in that short cruise.

The bad success which attended the few military enterprizes undertaken by the Turks to the close of the year, afforded little sanction to the popular hopes that might have been founded on this favourable augury. In every attempt on the new Russian frontiers the Ottomans were either baffled or defeated. Among other small enterprizes, which could answer no greater purpose than that of distracting the attention of the enemy, and perhaps a view of familiarizing their own subjects and partizans to war and danger, it was thought proper to bring the pretended prophet, Sheik Mansour, again forward on the side of Caucasus. It might have been supposed that the former demonstration of the inefficacy of his assumed supernatural powers and celestial aids, when opposed to Russian arms and discipline, had left behind such sore remembrancers of the failure and imposition, as could not but effectually cure the enthusiasm of his followers. But the Sheik, whatever other qualities he might be deficient in, possessed a large natural stock of courage, and it is possible that the people considered his valour more than his piety, in chusing him their leader.

However this might be, the Sheik being supported by some small neighbouring tribes of Tartars, and by such Turks as were scattered amongst them, he entered the Russian new frontiers at the head of about 8,000 men, without seeming, from any thing that appears, to consider, or to make much enquiry, what force he had to encounter. It is however to be remembered, that in regions where the race of man are so thinly scattered as in the present scene of action, the difficulty of intelligence must necessarily be great: it is likewise to be observed, that although the boundless wastes of these flat countries, which scarcely have any other marks of division than a few great rivers, renders them exceedingly favourable to predatory excursion, yet the same properties expose the invader to a continual danger, which no foresight can at all times provide against, that of being suddenly surprized by a superior, and supposed distant enemy.

Prince Potemkin was in person at the head of the Russian army, which he immediately divided into four columns, one of which led by himself, as well as the others, but all pursuing different routes, advanced expeditiously upon the enemy. If it were possible to draw any scheme of design from, or to reason upon those military details, which were occasionally published by the court of Petersburgh, it would be supposed that the object of this division and march of the army was to enclose the enemy on all sides, so that not a man could escape. Yet this was not done, nor, from what appears, attempted, although the passage of two or three rivers seem the only obstacles which the troops had to encounter on their

Oct. 1st, 1787. march. Rehinder's column, however, came singly in ſight of the enemy. They found the Sheik himſelf, with about 600 Tartars, ſeparated from the reſt, and entrenched behind their waggons. Theſe, upon the approach of the Ruſſians, repeated aloud a ſhort prayer dictated by their prophet, which, with the deſperate courage they diſplayed in defence of their entrenchments, ſeemed to indicate that the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm was not yet extinct. It was, however, impoſſible that their courage could be of any avail; the trenches were carried: and we may judge of the defence, when, out of ſo ſmall a number, 400 were left dead upon the ſpot.

The Sheik was ſo far from ſinking under this misfortune, that, having collected all the troops within reach during the night, he boldly returned to the charge next day, and, without regard to their artillery, had the hardineſs to attack the Ruſſian camp. This mode was not likely to be ſucceſsful, with ſuch troops as he commanded, and ſuch arms as they poſſeſſed. They were accordingly repulſed; the carabineers of Roſten, the dragoons of Aſtracan, and a battalion of grenadiers, carrying off the chief honours of the day. It ſeemed rather ſingular in this encounter, that the Tartars ſhould have hoped, by a feigned flight, to draw an enemy, ſo far their ſuperior in the art of war, into an ambuſcade. It is certainly a curious, though by no means a pleaſing ſpectacle, to behold the vigorous, though ineffectual ſtruggles of brave men, againſt a vaſt ſuperiority of power, arms, and diſcipline.

Nor was the conteſt yet ended, and it ſeemed as if courage would riſe ſuperior to diſaſter, or periſh in the attempt. The Tartars being reinforced, a third action took place, in which Major General Prince Ratiſew, at the head probably of another column, gained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, the Sheik's habitation, and all the Tartar villages within reach, were plundered, and deſtroyed by fire. Ten thouſand pints of butter, and a large quantity of barley, were the rural ſpoil made upon this occaſion: the cattle had probably been driven to a ſafe diſtance; and money, valuable furniture, or merchandize, were articles not to be looked for in theſe regions.

Col. Deprarabowiſch undertook a laborious march of three days, to extend the ravages to another quarter. Here he met with a deſperate reſiſtance, the Tartars maintaining a ſevere fight for ſeven hours. Genjelajin, at the end of that time, arrived with a large reinforcement to ſuccour the colonel; but the enemy were already routed. Their loſs in the action, in the purſuit, and in the villages (the latter being diſtinguiſhed from that in the purſuit) was eſtimated by the victors at two thouſand men; their own, conſidering the acknowledged length and obſtinacy of the conflict, is rated ſo far below every thing that reaſon or experience could afford a ſanction to, that it would ſeem ſhameful to repeat it. Indeed the bloodleſs victories of the Ruſſians are apt to bring to recollection thoſe of the Spaniards in their early wars with the Mexicans or Peruvians, although the comparative ſtate of the combatants was, in all reſpects, widely

widely different. Such was the iſſue of the Sheik Manſour's ſecond adventure in war,

The Leſghis were likewiſe ſaid to have received a great defeat from the Ruſſians, about this time, ſomewhere on the ſide of Georgia. No detail or particulars of this affair were ever given, nor did the ſubſequent ſtate of affairs on the Aſiatic ſide at all warrant the account. It is not impoſſible that the ſcattered hordes of Tartars, who were now defeated, might have been confounded with the Leſghis, through ignorance, or that theſe, being a more conſiderable, as well as an unconquered nation, their defeat was held to be a nobler object of triumph.

Some enterprizes which were undertaken by the Turks againſt the iſland of Taman, and the Crimea, were attended with as little ſucceſs as the attempts of the Tartars. The captain pacha had this year taken the command of the fleet in the Archipelago, while that on the Black Sea was committed to the conduct of the vice-admiral, who bore the ſame name and title which his ſuperior had rendered ſo eminent. This ſecond Haſſan Bey was deemed to be a man of great courage, enterprize, and experience, and held to be the beſt ſeaman in the Ottoman ſervice. Great expectations were accordingly formed of the happy conſequences which would be the reſult of his zeal and activity. Next to the defeat or deſtruction of the Ruſſian fleet, no object, on that ſide, could be ſo intereſting to the Porte as the recovery of Kinburne. For this fortreſs being ſituated directly oppoſite to Oczakow, from which it is ſeparated only by the mouth of the Dnieper, where, united with the waters of the Bog, it falls into the Black Sea, this vicinity not only expoſed the latter continually to the danger of a ſurprize, but being likewiſe a ſtation for the Ruſſian fleets, as well as a great naval and military arſenal, it was at all times pregnant with the means of war on both elements.

Through ſome fatality, probably the want of a due ſubordination being eſtabliſhed among the commanders, ſuch diſſentions broke out in this fleet, as ſerved totally to overthrow every deſign of the expedition. It was reported, that the failure proceeded from the mutual averſion and animoſity which prevailed between the land and the marine forces; a misfortune which has been productive of ſimilar effects, in ſervices where order and diſcipline were much better eſtabliſhed in both departments than in the Ottoman. Whatever it proceeded from, nothing could have been more unfortunate at the opening of a war, nor more ruinous than it proved in its ſubſequent conſequences. Haſſan Bey, after ſpending a few days fruitleſsly at Oczakow, returned without making any attempt upon Kinburne, and, ſo far as appears, without any endeavour to fall in with the Ruſſian fleet on his return. Nothing could exceed the rage and clamour of the people, nor the diſappointment and indignation of the Porte, upon his bringing the news of his own misfortune and diſgrace to Conſtantinople. The unfortunate vice-admiral was probably deemed a neceſſary victim to the firſt, and perhaps a neceſſary example of rigour at the commencement of a war. Thus, through the weak and cruel maxims of the Turkiſh po-

licy, was an excellent officer loſt to the ſtate, at a time when his ſervices were likely to be more wanted than at any former period of its exiſtence; whereas, a proper enquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage, with a moderate reproof, if any was due, to the commander, might have ſtimulated him to the nobleſt actions.

In the mean time, the brave garriſon of Oczakow, notwithſtanding their being deſerted by the fleet and army, were inceſſant in their endeavours, and ſhewed an extraordinary, but ill-judged and miſapplied degree of enterprize and valour, in their efforts to recover Kinburne; either by ſurprize, which could ſcarcely be expected to ſucceed, or by mere force of hand, which was ſtill more impracticable. They were accordingly repulſed with loſs in the two firſt attempts, but the third proved fatal. The garriſon of Kinburne had been conſiderably reinforced, when 5,000 Turks, poſſibly ignorant of the circumſtance, having croſſed the river from Oczakow, made a fierce attack on the fortreſs before day. The garriſon had been too lately alarmed to be now ſurprized, and maintained their poſts well while the darkneſs continued; but as ſoon as day-light appeared, they quitted the defenſive, and ſallying from different gates nearly encloſed the enemy, whom they attacked with great courage on at leaſt three ſides. A deſperate action enſued, in which the Turks, being undoubtedly diſmayed at the unuſual danger and hopeleſſneſs of their ſituation, were routed; after which the fight was changed to an abſolute ſlaughter; for, what with the grounding and other caſualties, in ſuch a hurry, which befel many of the boats; what with the eager purſuit of the enemy, and, above all, the general blindneſs and confuſion which terror produced, not above a thouſand of the whole party are ſaid to have eſcaped. A ſlaughter ſo vaſt, and ſo totally diſproportioned to the number engaged, ſeems indeed rather difficult of belief; but the ſituation and circumſtances of the aſſailants were unuſually perilous. The circumſtance of the two Ruſſian generals, Beck and Suwarow, being ſeverely wounded, ſeems to indicate that this action was not entirely bloodleſs to the victors. *Te Deum* was ſung with the higheſt pomp in all the churches at Peterſburgh upon this occaſion, and the public rejoicings were ſuch as might have been expected for the greateſt victory.

In order to facilitate its deſigns upon the Crimea, the Porte appointed Shabah Guerai, grandſon to the celebrated Crim Guerai, to be khan of the Tartars; hoping that the opinion and popularity derived from his illuſtrious anceſtor (who was the laſt prince of the line of Tamerlane that had ſhewn himſelf worthy of it) would ſerve to recal and reunite that ſcattered people, and inſpire them with new ardour and confidence to engage in the recovery of their country.

Indeed the ſtate of that beautiful peninſula, notwithſtanding the very pleaſing proſpects and flattering hopes of future cultivation and improvement held out by its immediate maſters, was at the preſent truly deplorable; and, as another opportunity may not offer, we do not think it unneceſſary in this place to beſtow a few words upon a ſubject ſo univerſally intereſting to mankind, as that of the extinction

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of a whole nation, and a transfer of its property to ſtrangers.

We are then to obſerve, that through the means purſued for the accompliſhment and ſupport of the late revolution, that country had already been ſo ruinouſly depopulated, as to be reduced to leſs than one-third of the former number of its inhabitants; although including in that number the ſwarms of adventurers, which the unheard-of advantages held out to new ſettlers drew from different countries. For beſides the vaſt tracts of the country which had been rendered deſolate through the flight or deſtruction of the inhabitants during the troubles, thoſe who remained, and who were either ſuch as had been ſeduced to take an active part in favour of the Ruſſians againſt their countrymen, or thoſe, who, in order to preſerve their poſſeſſions, had ſubmitted quietly to what they were not able to oppoſe, were ſo little ſatisfied with their preſent condition, that, in order to withdraw from it, they were ſelling their lands upon almoſt any terms, as faſt as they could obtain purchaſers; ſo that it was eaſily ſeen, if theſe had been ſufficiently numerous, that not a Tartar of any property would continue in the country; the common ſort being only withheld until the means of emigration could be procured, and perhaps flattering themſelves ſtill (as the helpleſs are ever prone to do) with the ſlender hope of another revolution.

Under theſe circumſtances, princely eſtates, poſſeſſing the greateſt natural advantages, and holding out the moſt faſcinating proſpects of future improvement and benefit, were ſold at prices below any thing before heard of, in any country that was not entirely ſavage. Ruſſia could ill ſpare wealth or inhabitants to benefit much of this favourable occaſion; and what it could afford, at leaſt in the latter reſpect, was chiefly drawn away by the immenſe confiſcations which fell into the hands of prince Potemkin, and thoſe commanders who acted under him in the conqueſt. This ſtate of things drew foreign ſpeculators, particularly Engliſh, poſſeſſed of money, and the ſpirit of adventure, to encounter all the riſks of a diſputed tenure, as well as thoſe incident to a deſpotic government of doubtful ſtability, to become large purchaſers, on the faith, and under the immediate protection of the empreſs. And theſe bringing with them, beſides money, that energetical ſpirit of enterprize and improvement, with that comprehenſive view of remote proſpects and future contingencies, which ſo peculiarly characteriſes their country, had already embarked in ſuch great and expenſive works of every kind of cultivation and improvement, as ſeemed ſcarcely credible in ſo ſhort a time; and, although the rendering their own eſtates productive, was the immediate object, yet the effect of their labours, if happily purſued, would in time extend to the benefit of the whole peninſula. Among theſe immediate objects of cultivation, was the introduction of new ſpecies of grain, and other agricultural products, not only for the home conſumption, but with a commercial view to the ſupply of foreign markets. New breeds, if not ſpecies of cattle, were likewiſe introduced, and meaſures purſued for the eſtabliſhment of a great manufacture for the ſalting, curing, and barrelling of beef, and rendering it a great and ſtaple article of

exportation. Mills of various kinds, as well for the ſawing of timber, as for domeſtic purpoſes, were conſtructed; and even the working of mines was ſaid to have been in ſome degree commenced. Nor was this all; ſchemes were in agitation, and plans already formed, for the great operations of making new harbours, and opening of new ports. Such exertions for the cultivation and improvement of a country, by a handful of foreigners far from home, and relying entirely on the faith of a ſtrange people, and a ſtrange government, is unqueſtionably without example in the hiſtory of man.

Such was the ſtate of the Crimea at the commencement of the preſent war; and, if theſe ſettlements ſhould become permanent, and theſe deſigns proſper, and arrive at maturity, under the auſpices of a fixed and equitable government, it may ſurely excite the aſtoniſhment of ſome future age, to diſcover a colony of Engliſh in ſo remote a nook, ſhut in ſo ſingularly as it is between Europe and Aſia, and peculiarly cut off by nature from all intercourſe with the weſtern world.

It has happened, fortunately enough with reſpect to this object, that the new khan has not been able, in any degree, to diſturb theſe ſettlements; the war, however, like an eaſtern blight, will be too likely in its conſequences to ſtunt, if it ſhould not entirely deſtroy their growth. That prince is ſaid to have collected about 30,000 Tartars in the neighbouring provinces; but not having been able to gain any footing in the Crimea, and acting only ſubordinately under the Turkiſh banner, he has nearly eſcaped all notice in the war.

Although nothing could be more grateful to the Turks in general than the war, yet nothing was left undone at Conſtantinople to increaſe that diſpoſition in the people, or to excite a military ardour among the troops. The ſtandard of Mahomet was diſplayed with even more than uſual oſtentation and pomp, while thouſands of true Muſſulmans were happy in devoting themſelves to the war under its ſuppoſed ſacred influence; but things had ſuffered a prodigious change, both on the ſide of its ſupporters and of its enemies, ſince the days that it ſpread terror through the nations of the earth. The greateſt poſſible exertions were likewiſe uſed in all the military preparations by ſea and land; nor was any pains or expence ſpared in ſupplying the arſenals, from European countries, with ſuch materials neceſſary for war, as there was either any deficiency of at home, or which were otherwiſe of an inferior quality. Large orders for muſquetry, and other articles of a ſimilar nature, were accordingly diſpatched to England; and the diſtant Baltic, through the medium of Sweden, ſupplied ſome of its cumbrous but valuable products.

The ſultan, in order to increaſe the opinion and reverence of the people for his miniſter, and the confidence of the army in his abilities, as well as to enable him to provide inſtantly for any ſudden exigencies that might occur, and to conduct the various operations of the war with greater diſpatch and effect, entruſted the grand vizir with ſuch dictatorial powers, as no jealous potentate would have ventured in any hands but his own. Theſe were committed to him in full divan, and authenticated by a written decree

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paſſed in all the forms of ſtate, after which the decree was proclaimed, and read aloud in the moſt public places, commanding all the ſubjects of the empire, of whatever rank or condition, to obey the grand vizir implicitly in all things, as they would the emperor himſelf. This demonſtration of confidence in the miniſter, was every where received by the people with the ſtrongeſt marks of approbation and joy. Upon the ſame principle, and as an invigorating encouragement to his zeal and exertion, the ſultan ſent that commander a gold-hilted ſabre highly enriched with diamonds; this magnificent preſent being accompanied by a ſet of inſtructions in his own hand, for his government in the conduct of the war. In this ſenſible well-conſtructed piece, the emperor ſtrongly exhorts his miniſter and general, conſtantly to maintain a cloſe union and intimate correſpondence with the different baſhaws and governors, as well as with the commanders in actual ſervice; and to uſe all poſſible means for diminiſhing the enormous quantity of baggage, and the inordinate number of domeſtics, which ſo fatally impede the motions of the troops, and clog the operations of the Turkiſh armies.

The return of the captain pacha from the Archipelago in the beginning of December, diffuſed great joy at Conſtantinople, and reſtored the ſpirits of the people, which began to flag through the late diſappointments. Nor was his arrival a matter of leſs ſatisfaction to the grand vizir, nor to the emperor himſelf, who is ſaid literally to have received him with open arms. The war had been declared in his abſence, and, as he had before given his opinion of its being premature and dangerous at the preſent time, while the union ſubſiſted ſo cloſely between the two Chriſtian empires, it was a matter of apprehenſion whether he would engage heartily in the ſupport of a meaſure of which he had not approved. The veteran, however, ſoon put an end to all doubts upon this ſubject, by gallantly making, in a truly martial ſpeech to the emperor, an unreſerved tender of his utmoſt ſervices in endeavouring to reſtore the tarniſhed honour of the Ottoman arms. He declared, that though grown grey in the ſervice of his country, he ſtill felt himſelf ſtrong and vigorous, and that there was nothing upon earth he wiſhed for ſo paſſionately, as to cloſe his life with the glorious act of driving the perfidious infidels out of their fraudulent uſurpations in the Crimea, and on the Black Sea, of replacing the ruined nations of Tartars and other Muſſulmans in their ancient poſſeſſions, and of reſtoring the khan to the ſeat of his illuſtrious anceſtors, of which, in contempt of all laws, human and divine, he had been ſo cruelly deſpoiled.

Nothing could exceed the pleaſure which this ſpeech afforded, nor the confidence and admiration of the man which it excited in the grand ſignior; as the firſt demonſtration of which, he immediately appointed him grand admiral of the fleet, and generaliſſimo of all the armies to be employed on the Black Sea.

A new and extraordinary ſpectacle was, in this ſeaſon of danger, preſented at Conſtantinople, which would at any time have been pleaſing from its novelty, but which at this time was extremely gratifying

both to the court and people, from its ſerving to recal the flattering ideas of paſt greatneſs and glory, which had now been long obliterated. This was the arrival of an Indian ambaſſador, with a ſuperb and numerous retinue, bringing with him curious and magnificent oriental preſents, from the celebrated Tippoo Saib to the grand ſignior, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a laſting league of friendſhip and amity between thoſe two very diſtant Mahometan powers.

The Indian ambaſſador was treated in a manner which no Chriſtian miniſter, at any time, or from any power, could have formed the ſmalleſt idea of from his own reception at the Porte. Nothing could exceed the ſumptuouſneſs of his entertainment, the honours paid to himſelf, or the attention ſhewn to his numerous retinue, who conducted themſelves with all that gravity and decorum ſo peculiar to their country. The grand vizir, in the true Eaſtern ſtile, both of taſte and magnificence, exerciſed his ingenuity in contriving, and ſpared no expence in decorating and exhibiting, a grand military ſpectacle for the entertainment of the ambaſſador. Several detachments of cavalry, compoſed of picked men, ſuperbly dreſſed and accoutred, were mounted on the fineſt horſes, richly capariſoned; each diviſion repreſented a nation, either appertaining to, or on which the Ottoman empire laid ſome claim; and each was dreſſed, armed, and manouvred in the peculiar mode of its country; ſo that Turks, Medes, Perſians, Armenians, Arabs, Tartars, and even Turcomans, all appeared in their proper habits, and each filled its reſpective character. Mock engagements, and every kind of military evolution took place; while to heighten the contention, and render it the more faithful picture of real action, prizes were held out and diſtributed to thoſe who excelled in dexterity. It may well be ſuppoſed, that in ſuch an exhibition of the beſt horſemen in the world, many extraordinary feats of dexterity were diſplayed. Theſe evolutions had been preceded by a grand exerciſe of artillery, including mortars as well as great guns; and were ſucceeded by an exhibition, ſtill more intereſting, from its novelty, to the ſpectators than any that had yet been offered. This was the appearance of three hundred Indians, of the ambaſſador's train, who, in their proper arms and habits, went through the military manouvres of their own country; while 200 ſepoys afforded a curious ſpecimen of the ſuperiority which they derived from the European arms and diſcipline introduced among them by Hyder Ali.

An immenſe crowd of above 200,000 people were aſſembled upon this occaſion, and a large canal or river adjoining to the ſcene was covered with beautiful pleaſure boats highly decorated. The grand ſignior was himſelf preſent, and ſaid to have been greatly delighted; and the Indian ambaſſador likewiſe expreſſed much ſatisfaction, although it is poſſible that he had beheld ſcenes more truly military exhibited by Hyder. Nothing, however, could, upon the whole, be more ſplendid, or produce a grander effect; but the Eaſtern nations have ever been eminent in the ſplendour and magnificence of their public ſpectacles.

The Turkiſh ambaſſador to Spain was about the ſame time received, and

and treated with great magnificence by the king and court at Madrid. It was the general opinion that Spain had engaged, either by a private treaty or a verbal promiſe, not to admit the Ruſſian fleets to enter the Mediterranean; and, if we are not miſtaken, ſome declaration to that purpoſe was announced to the foreign miniſters at Madrid. But the conduct of that court became afterwards ſo equivocal, and the different parts of it at different times accorded ſo ill with each other, that it became totally inexplicable; and no clue could be found to lead to her real deſigns. It ſeems probable that ſhe adopted no fixed ſyſtem, and that her meaſures would continue undetermined, until, perhaps, ſome unexpected contingency might force her to a deciſion. There were other cauſes, beſides the age and weakneſs of the king, for this irreſolution on the ſide of Spain. For the late war with England, into which, contrary to every principle of true policy, to the preſent intereſts and future ſecurity of her dominions, ſhe had rather been dragged than led, by Bourbon connections, and the predominance of French counſels, had been exceedingly ruinous to Spain. It had incumbered her with a heavy debt, that would require many years of peace to diſcharge. And as, through the exceeding impolicy and miſconduct of ſome late kings (although the faith of the preſent monarch was inviolable) the public credit of the nation had been greatly impaired, ſhe would, under her preſent circumſtances, have found it very difficult to borrow money from foreigners for the ſupport of a new war.

France had declared to the Porte, probably before the commencement of the war, that her affairs were at preſent ſo circumſtanced, that it was utterly impoſſible for her to interfere in any other manner in it than as a mediator. Whether this declaration was ſatisfactory to government or not, it was far from being ſo to the people, who, conſidering France as a ſure ally, and tied down to be a friend by the great benefits ſhe derived from their commerce, built much upon her naval aſſiſtance, in keeping the Ruſſians out of the Mediterranean; and are accordingly ſaid to have reſented the diſappointment ſo much, that nothing leſs than a firm government, and a vigilant attention, could have prevented the populace from proceeding to ſome outrage againſt the ambaſſador of that nation.

The gentleman who had dignified that important ſtation for ſeveral years paſt, as well as at preſent, was the celebrated, learned, and elegant Count de Choiſeul Gouffier, whoſe curious reſearches into Eaſtern antiquities, and unceaſing labour and expence in preſerving memorials of the remaining veſtiges of Grecian ſcience and art, widely ſcattered as they are in Europe and Aſia, are every where known, and can never be forgotten, while any taſte for the nobleſt monuments of human genius and art ſubſiſts. This miniſter had been indefatigable in his endeavours to prevent the war, and no leſs zealous ſince in his exertions to bring about a reconciliation before matters were carried to an incurable extremity on either ſide.

Though all his efforts had hitherto been ineffectual, he laid a new ſet of propoſitions, towards the cloſe of the year, tending to the ſame object,

before the divan. The preliminary article to theſe, and upon which all the reſt depended, was a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months, in order to afford time for a negociation to take effect. The miniſter ſupported this propoſition with ſuch cogent arguments as were not eaſily ſet aſide. The ſtrict union ſubſiſting between the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna, from which it was little leſs than evident, that the latter would take an active part in the war—The mighty power of theſe empires, which ſeemed now to be at its zenith—The inability of the Porte to contend with them both, conſidering the vaſtneſs of their armies, and the ſuperiority of their diſcipline; together with the preſent untoward ſtate of things, which rendered her allies incapable of affording her any aſſiſtance.—To give the greater effect to this reaſoning, or, at leaſt, to render it more palatable, he ſhewed that the preſent ſtate of things might not be laſting; the union between the two empires, like all things of the ſame nature, was ſubject to viciſſitude; or one or both of them might be attracted by other objects. While, in the intermediate time, the Porte might recover her affairs, and, by proper improvements and arrangements in her military force, become much better prepared for war than ſhe was at preſent.

The grand vizir declared the propoſal for an armiſtice to be totally inadmiſſible, from its affording every advantage to Ruſſia, and none whatever to the Porte. Their perfidious enemy, whoſe rapacity and ambition were inſatiable, would gladly put them off their guard, and amuſe them with a negociation until her preparations were complete; and then reſume the proſecution of her deſigns, without the ſmalleſt regard to any preliminaries that were laid down as the baſis of an accommodation. He therefore could not conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms upon any other condition, than that of the French king's becoming guarantee for the ceſſion of the Crimea; or, at leaſt, of its being reſtored to the ſame ſtate in which it had been placed by the treaty of Kainardgi, ſo that the khan ſhould be independent both of the Ottomans and Ruſſians. He, however, made another offer, as a demonſtration of the moderation of the Porte; this was, that France ſhould engage, in caſe of the failure of the negociation through the obſtinacy of Ruſſia, to prevent her fleets from entering the Mediterranean; but without one of theſe ſecurities, he could not expoſe his country to the riſque of being duped by the artifices of her inſidious enemies.

The French miniſter eaſily ſhewed the impoſſibility of the guaranty required; and to the cauſes already aſſigned, which prevented France from affording naval aſſiſtance, he added her late convention with England, by which ſhe was reſtricted from the equipment of any naval armament whatever. He then argued, that the idea of recovering the Crimea by a war, was, in the preſent ſtate of things, altogether futile: well, indeed, would it be if ſhe could preſerve her immediate poſſeſſions, in a conteſt with ſuch potent adverſaries; but the hope of making conqueſts was ſurely too vain to be ſeriouſly entertained. He queſtioned likewiſe the juſtice of the Porte in renewing her claim upon that peninſula; ſince, however injurious and unjuſt the conduct of

Ruſſia had been in the uſurpation, the ſubſequent convention afforded a ſanction to the violence, and legalized her title to the poſſeſſion.

To this point the grand vizir is ſaid to have replied, that the convention was only a temporary arrangement, which was by no means intended to be concluſive; that if it had been otherwiſe, ſo evident a wrong and injuſtice could no longer be ſubmitted to than while ſome uncontroulable neceſſity compelled an acquieſcence; and above all, that the ſacrifice of an ancient and illuſtrious Muſſulman nation, would not only be in the laſt degree diſhonourable and baſe, but that the ceſſion of a country to unbelievers, which had for ſo many ages belonged to the faithful, would be a direct breach of the laws of the Alcoran, under a due obſervance of which the Ottoman empire had riſen to ſuch unexampled proſperity and greatneſs.

Religion and conſcience being thus rendered parties on the ſide of war, it was eaſily ſeen that all farther diſcuſſion on the ſubject of peace would for the preſent be uſeleſs.

The Porte is ſaid to have demanded of M. de Herbert, the Imperial internuncio, in rather a peremptory manner, what part his maſter intended to take in the war; at the ſame time requiring a ſpecific anſwer from the court of Vienna upon the ſubject by a preſcribed day.

The emperor's anſwer is likewiſe ſaid to have been ſufficiently haughty, and to amount in ſubſtance to what follows: That he had reaſon to expect the Porte would have made the demand with more decency; that the divan could not be ignorant that his Imperial majeſty, as the friend and ally of Ruſſia, was bound by treaty to furniſh her with 80,000 men, in caſe of a war; that, if the Porte ſhould conſider this as an act of hoſtility, he was prepared to abide the conſequences; but that if, on the contrary, they ſhould chooſe, notwithſtanding, to maintain the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the two empires, he would, with pleaſure, undertake the office of mediator, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood.

At the ſame time the greateſt preparations were made for war, not only in Hungary and the frontier provinces, but in Bohemia and the interior countries; and ſtill more particularly at Vienna, as the grand arſenal of ſupply to all parts, through the medium of the Danube, and its concurrent rivers. Four armies were ordered to be aſſembled; one at Carlſtadt, in Croatia, under the command of general de Vins; another at Peterwaradin, in Hungary, commanded by general Langlois; a third on the borders of Lithuania, under general Febris; and the fourth in the Buccowine, under the orders of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg. Two other generals, ten lieutenant-generals, and thirty major-generals, were all ordered to prepare for active ſervice in the frontier armies. If any thing were yet wanting to ſhew the fixed determination of the court of Vienna, the meaſure of ſending general Alvinzi to act in, and obſerve the conduct of the Ruſſian armies during the war, and the receiving a Ruſſian officer of equal rank to act the ſame part in the Auſtrian, would have been alone a ſufficient explanation.

Yet the Turks, in defiance of experience, had ſtill ſuch confidence in the

the public faith of nations, as vainly to flatter themſelves, that, as no injury had been offered, nor wrong received by the emperor, but that, on the contrary, the greateſt and moſt beneficial conceſſions, ſuch as none of his anceſtors ever had hoped for, were repeatedly granted during his reign, ſo he would be contented merely to fulfil the terms of his alliance, without engaging as a principal in the war. They were likewiſe ſo weak as to place a truſt in political gratitude, which no true politician could have done. For, valuing themſelves highly upon the inviolable faith and honour which they had obſerved (although the wounds of recent hoſtility were ſcarcely yet cloſed) during the diſtreſſes of Maria Thereſa, when half the Chriſtian princes of Europe, taking advantage of the deplorable ſtate of her affairs, were leagued in a combination for her deſtruction, when the Porte, by acting upon the ſame principle, might have greatly enlarged the empire on the European ſide, beſides eſtabliſhing a ſecure barrier to her old dominions, and when, by ſo acting, ſhe might have extinguiſhed the houſe of Auſtria for ever, which had for ſo many ages been her hereditary enemy, yet, as ſhe then ſacrificed all theſe advantages, to the obſervation of juſtice and good faith, and compaſſion for the fate of an ancient and illuſtrious family upon the brink of ruin, ſo ſhe conceived that the emperor ſhould regulate his preſent political conduct by that diſintereſted example.—Indeed, we ſhall hereafter ſee, in more than one inſtance, how ſtudiouſly the Porte avoided giving any cauſe of umbrage to the emperor, and of affording any colourable pretence for his becoming an actual enemy; ſo that little doubt can be entertained, if ambition was capable of admitting any limits, but that he would be gratified with ſuch conceſſions, as might probably, in the main, prove more beneficial than any acquiſitions that were to be the hard-fought fruits of a long and bloody war.

In the mean time, the grand vizir did not ſo much rely on juſtice or gratitude, as not to uſe the greateſt poſſible exertions to provide, on every ſide, for defence, or for actual war; and he uſed ſuch admirable induſtry and celerity in drawing over the Aſiatic troops, and collecting the European, that, during the winter, he had formed armies to the amount of 200,000 fighting men on this ſide of the Helleſpont,

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Emperor. Ineffectual attempt to surprize Belgrade. Similar attempt on Gradiſca defeated. Auſtrians commence hoſtilities. War declared at Vienna. Court of Warſaw refuſes a paſſage to the Imperial troops, in the purſuit of their military operations. Republic of Venice adheres inflexibly to her determination of not being drawn into the war, and of not lending one of her ports to the Ruſſians for the uſe of their fleets. Probable motives for this conduct. Her final determination being communicated to the Emperor at Trieſte, by a deputation of the ſenate, is by him highly reſented, and the deputies treated with extraordinary haughtineſs. He opens a ſubſcription for a large loan in the Low Countries, but with little ſucceſs. Emperor joins the grand army on the Danube, and is preſent at the taking of Schabatz. Prince Lichtenſtein's troops repulſed in their attempt to ſtorm Dubicza; are attacked next day in their trenches; their works deſtroyed; and obliged to abandon the ſiege, and repaſs the Unna. Deſperate valour diſplayed by the Turks in this campaign. Wiſe ſyſtem adopted by the Grand Vizir in the conduct of the war. Wears out his enemy by continual attack, ſmall action, and unremitted duty. Checks at Dubicza and other places, change the character of the war, which becomes defenſive and languid on the Auſtrian ſide. Great diſſatisfaction in the camps and at Vienna, increaſed by the tardineſs of the Ruſſians, whoſe junction had been long in vain expected. Not leſſened by the innovations and reforms introduced by the Emperor. Prince of Cobourg repeatedly attacked with great fury by the Turks. Emperor prepares at length for the ſiege of Belgrade, which had been held out as the firſt object of the campaign. Collects a prodigious artillery, and throws three bridges over the Saave for that purpoſe. Grand Vizir, at the head of the grand Ottoman army, marches haſtily from Siliſtria, to interrupt his deſign. Encamps in a moſt advantageous poſition on the Danube. Emperor breaks down his bridges, entrenches his troops, and adds new works to his already ſtrong camp near Semlin. Sickneſs and a dreadful mortality, attended by a prodigious deſertion in the Imperial armies. Three regiments drawn from Vienna, and 30,000 recruits haſtily ordered to ſupply theſe loſſes. Prodigious waſte of treaſure and men in the courſe of the campaign. Recruits eagerly ſought in all quarters. King of Sardinia forbids any to be raiſed in his dominions. Prince of Saxe Cobourg, being at length joined by a Ruſſian body of forces under general Soltikow, they jointly commence the ſiege of Choczim. The town, magazines, and arſenal being deſtroyed, by a dreadful fire of artillery and bombs, the Seraſquier is ſummoned to ſurrender, but refuſes. Ruins of Choczim heroically defended by the gallant Seraſquier and his intrepid garriſon until the end of September. Grand Vizir lays bridges over the Danube at Cladova, and invades the Bannat of Temeſwar. Defeat of the Auſtrians near Orſova. Continued loſſes and misfortunes. That fine country overrun and ruined. Rout of the Emperor's army on his retreat from Karanſebes. Marſhal Laudohn takes the command of the army in Croatia, where he reduces Dubicza and Novi,

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after moſt obſtinate defences. Heavy rains, and the approach of winter, oblige the Grand Vizir to evacuate the Bannat. Emperor's return to Vienna, after writing a general letter to his army. Armiſtice concluded between the Auſtrian and Turkiſh commanders on the Danube. Manifeſto iſſued by the Grand Signior, to encourage the Hungarians to ſhake off the Auſtrian yoke, occaſioned the Emperor to promiſe them a reſtoration of their conſtitution and rights. Proceedings at Conſtantinople relative to the campaign, the evacuation of the Bannat, and the conduct of the Grand Vizir.

IT might have been ſuppoſed, from the tenor of the emperor's public and private conduct, both before and after his arriving at the ſole government of his dominions, that he had placed the wiſdom and acts of the greateſt legiſlators and heroes before him as models, by which he was to regulate his own conduct both in government and war, as intending, on a foundation thus ſurely laid, to raiſe to himſelf a monument of the moſt laſting fame. The opinions of men were accordingly raiſed to a very high pitch in his favour; his ſubjects warmly hoping that his reign would have been happy to them and glorious to himſelf: nor were foreigners at all backward in adopting ſimilar ſentiments.

We have ſince, however, had too many occaſions for obſerving, that his civil government fell infinitely ſhort of the expectations that had been formed; that his character as a legiſlator, as it became diſplayed, and the effects of his regulations were felt and underſtood, was far from riſing in the public opinion; and that his ſubjects, inſtead of being eaſy and happy, were directly the reverſe, and almoſt every where diſcontented and wretched. His military talents were in a great meaſure yet unknown: ſo that this path to glory being ſtill open, while his deſire of fame, and his paſſion for all the apparatus and organical parts of war were conſpicuous, it was naturally expected that he would juſtify the public eſtimation in that reſpect, and repair in the field the deficiencies of his civil character. The ſhort war in Bohemia was not ſufficient in any degree to develope his genius in this line. With one of the greateſt and beſt appointed armies in the univerſe, with generals of the higheſt form and character to conduct his operations, he was contented to avail himſelf of the peculiar ſituation of the country, and, adopting all the caution of an old commander, to cover that vaſt force by impaſſable defiles, woods, and mountains, from the enterprize and ability of an enemy, who at all times, and in all ſituations, was juſtly terrible. Oppoſed thus to the moſt military monarch of the age, this caution, though it could afford no ſcope for ability or enterprize, demonſtrated a ſolidity of judgment which by no means excluded the qualities of active genius, and which, if it accompanied, would materially aid the exertion of them. His exalted adverſary apparently juſtified this conduct, from the neceſſity it placed him under of adopting a ſimilar ſyſtem of inaction. And in the event of ſuch a conteſt, to ſuſtain (as was the caſe) neither loſs nor reproach, was itſelf an honour. The late conteſt about the Schelde,

Schelde, being terminated by negotiation, afforded no room for action.

The Ottoman war was then to be the criterion of the emperor's military character. It was not very propitious to the dawn of his fame, that he introduced this war with an act of a very doubtful nature. This was the attempt to ſurprize Belgrade under the covert of peace and good neighbourhood, and at a time when the Turks, to ſhew their unſuſpecting confidence in the good faith of the Chriſtians, admitted the emperor's ſubjects to an intercourſe ſo free in that city, as is not uſually practiſed by European ſtates with reſpect to each other, even in frontier garriſons of infinitely leſs importance.

This ſtep was conſidered as ſo ſubverſive of all public faith, ſo deſtructive of all confidence among nations, as tending in its example to diſable mankind from holding a friendly correſpondence, and to lead them back again into all the diſtruſt and ferocity of the moſt barbarous ages, that the exiſtence of the event was for a long time diſbelieved. It was perhaps with a view of burying the affair in oblivion, by rouſing the attention of the world to a greater enormity, or perhaps it might have been intended as a juſtification, upon the principle that no faith was to be kept with a people ſo atrocious as to be the common enemies of mankind, that a report was at the ſame time raiſed, circumſtantially related, and induſtriouſly ſpread through Europe, that all the Chriſtian inhabitants of Belgrade, amounting to about four thouſand men, women, and children, had been moſt inhumanly maſſacred, in cold blood, by the Turkiſh garriſon.

It will not be expected that many particulars ſhould come to hand of an abortive attempt of the Auſtrians, the deſign of which was totally denied by the actors, when the party injured affected to believe the denial, and from political motives willingly accepted the excuſe that was offered. But though neither of the parties concerned took any notice of the deſign or attempt, it was impoſſible that ſuch a meaſure could be kept ſecret.

The following ſeems the moſt conſiſtent of the accounts that have been publiſhed relative to that affair. That the garriſon of Belgrade, relying on the rights of peace, and, like other troops of their nation, inattentive to the rules of rigid diſcipline, appeared to be wrapped in the moſt perfect ſecurity; that their unwillingneſs to diſturb the great traffic which that city carried on with all the Imperial neighbouring countries, laid them the more open to ſurprize, the intercourſe being as free as if no armies had been aſſembling, nor hoſtile preparations making. This ſtate of things gave birth to the enterprize in queſtion; and undoubtedly, leaving the morality of the act out of the queſtion, there were the moſt urgent motives for carrying the meaſure into execution. For by that means, the vaſt expence of time, treaſure, and blood, which the taking of a city by force, that had for ſo many ages been alternately conſidered as the key either of Chriſtendom or Turkey, would have been ſaved in the firſt inſtance; and the prodigious advantages to be derived from carrying the war at once into the heart of the enemy's dominions, and perhaps to the very ſeat of power, inſtead of loſing time upon the frontier, was evident

evident to every capacity. It even ſeemed poſſible, if other things ſucceeded equally, that the war might have been brought to a glorious and almoſt immediate termination.

The plan having been formed, and the previous meaſures conducted with the moſt profound ſecrecy, the generals Alvinzi and Gemmingen are ſaid to have been appointed the principal actors in its execution. The firſt of theſe accordingly paſſed the Saave with ſix choſen regiments of Imperial infantry, and with the greateſt ſilence, on the night appointed for the ſurprize. He muſt have been then on the peninſula formed by the junction of the Saave with the Danube, on the point of which Belgrade ſtands; and there he was to be joined by Gemmingen, who was to fall down the latter river in the veſſels peculiar to it, with an equal number of regular forces, a large body of Croats, ſome artillery, and ſuch ſtores or machines as might be neceſſary for the purpoſe.

Through ſome failure in the navigation, or, as ſome accounts ſtated, their falling below the town in the dark, Gemmingen's party did not arrive to ſecond the attack, and Alvinzi found himſelf, on the opening of day, expoſed without cover to the view of the town, to the fire of the batteries, and to the direct aſſaults of the numerous garriſon. The ſurprize on one ſide, with the diſmay and confuſion of the other, at this unexpected developement, may in ſome degree be conceived from their relative ſituation.

The governor baſhaw behaved with wonderful coolneſs, and ſhewed great command of temper upon this occaſion. He ſent a polite meſſage to the Auſtrian commander, expreſſing his ſurprize at ſeeing, in a ſeaſon of profound peace, ſuch an appearance of troops on their territory, and in the precincts of a fortified city; only requiring farther to know the cauſe or motive of their coming. In the mean time, no appearance of hurry, alarm, or preparation, appeared in the city, more than if a body of their own troops had been in view; a circumſtance which ſtrongly indicates that the garriſon, whatever opinion the Auſtrians might have formed on that ſubject, had not been at all negligent in their guards, and were well prepared for whatever might happen.

The way being thus opened for an apology, Alvinzi returned for anſwer, that a report having been ſpread, of a deſign formed by ſome Turkiſh irregulars, to ſurprize the neighbouring city of Semlin, he had advanced his troops in order to counteract their deſign; but finding now that the rumour was unfounded, he ſhould immediately withdraw them. This excuſe, ſuch as it was, found acceptance, as giving full ſatisfaction; but it would ſeem as if the conſciouſneſs of their own intentions, with a ſenſe of the danger of their ſituation, had operated with ſo much force upon the Imperial troops, that, placing little truſt in the apparent moderation of the Turks, they repaſſed the Saave with ſuch precipitation, that many men were ſaid to be drowned, and the regiment of Eſterhazy in particular to have ſuffered conſiderably.

Such was the concluſion of this inglorious affair. The attempt took place early in the month of December, and from that time the Croats, and other Auſtrian irregulars of various deſcriptions, began to commit cruel depredations on the Turkiſh borders. It might have been expect-

ed that an immediate declaration of war (as that meaſure had been already determined) would have been adopted to cover the diſgrace of this failure and detection. But, as if ſiniſter means were to ſuperſede all fair and open proceedings, it was thought proper, at the very time that war was on the point of being declared at Vienna, not to wait for that ſanction, but to ſully the fair name of peace by another act of the ſame nature.

This was the attempt to ſurprize and take by ſtorm the frontier fortreſs of Turkiſh Gradiſca. At this place the Imperial troops ſeemed determined to wipe away the diſgrace attending the ill-concerted attempt upon Belgrade. Though we are left in the dark as to particulars, yet the attack and defence ſeem to have been vigorous, as the Vienna gazette acknowledges the loſs of 82 men killed and 349 wounded; other, and later accounts, ſtate the loſs as much greater: but all agree that the aſſailants were completely repulſed; nor did they attempt to claim any honour from the action. They were, however, more ſucceſsful in taking Dreſſnick, and ſome other ſmall places, in one of which the garriſon were all put to the ſword, under an imputation of treachery, in having fired upon a detachment which they had encouraged to approach the walls on a parole given.—All theſe tranſactions took place without the uſual ceremonial of declaring war.

This meaſure was, however, at length adopted, in the uſual forms, at Vienna, and copies of the declaration or manifeſto were preſented to all the foreign miniſters. It is remarkable that this piece does not contain a ſingle charge againſt the Ottomans, of the ſmalleſt injury, wrong, or even diſreſpect offered by them to the emperor, or to his ſubjects. All their offences are compriſed in their conduct to Ruſſia, excepting only their blindneſs in not foreſeeing the part which the ſtrict amity between him and his great ally muſt have induced him to take, and their perverſeneſs in not liſtening to the wholeſome advice which he ſo repeatedly gave them to ſubmit to her demands. Such are his grounds for declaring war; and on theſe he aſſerts himſelf authorized to rely with the utmoſt confidence on the approbation of all the courts of Europe, and flatters himſelf that they will unite in their wiſhes for the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the common enemy of Chriſtianity.

Feb. 10th, 1788.

Some time previous to this declaration, the Imperial miniſter at the court of Warſaw preſented a note, in the name of his maſter, purporting, that as the preſent ſtate of affairs might in a ſhort time render a paſſage through the territories of the republic neceſſary to the Imperial troops, in order to facilitate their junction, or to open a communication with thoſe of Ruſſia, he confided in the friendſhip on both ſides, and made no doubt but the king and his permanent council would conſent to the required paſſage: under a full aſſurance, that no violence or inſult ſhould be offered to the inhabitants, and that whatever they might furniſh to the Imperial troops ſhould be paid for in ready money.

To this it was anſwered, that the king and the permanent council had no power or authority to grant the paſſage demanded: that it was a matter which lay entirely with the general diet, and could only be determined by that body: that as to the

the concluding clauſe of the note, Poland could furniſh neither corn nor forage; and it was hoped, that the emperor would find another paſſage.—However vexatious this refuſal was, it would have been much more ſo, if it had not been intended to do that without licence which had been denied as a favour. But the republic was ſoon to diſplay a new mode of policy in her conduct, and it ſeems as if the cauſe that produced that alteration was already beginning in ſome ſecret degree ſeriouſly to operate.

The emperor was not more ſucceſsful in his application to another neighbour. The two Imperial courts had long been inceſſant in their endeavours to draw the republic of Venice into the league, which, whether avowed or not, undoubtedly aimed at the ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire. The moſt tempting baits are ſaid to have been held out to her, of which the iſland of Candia and the Morea are ſuppoſed to be only parts. Her naval aſſiſtance, and the uſe of her ports, would have been of ſuch infinite importance to Ruſſia, in extending the line of her ambition to that ultimate point which ſhe aimed at, that it did not ſeem they could be rated at too high a price: and men are not often niggards in diſpoſing of the fruits of future victories. The republic, with her characteriſtic wiſdom, was proof to all theſe tempting offers.

It may, however, appear ſtrange, upon a ſlight view of the ſubject, that Venice ſhould not chearfully join in the overthrow of her ancient and dangerous enemy, more eſpecially, when her taking an active ſhare in its accompliſhment would be productive of great advantage to herſelf in the recovery of her ancient poſſeſſions. On this ſubject it may be obſerved, that the Turks, in the preſent day, are perhaps the ſafeſt and moſt inoffenſive neighbours in Europe, of thoſe powers that poſſeſs the means and ability of being in any degree equally formidable. Nor had the emperor concealed his ambitious views from the neighbouring ſtates, with all the caution of a wiſe politician. Both Venice and the court of Turin had long known and been long alarmed at the ambitious deſigns which he had formed on the ſide of Italy and Dalmatia, and they attributed his forbearance hitherto much more to the confuſed multiplicity of his projects than to his moderation. The ſenate likewiſe well ſaw, that the ſucceſs of the united powers would of neceſſity, their mutual character conſidered, change their preſent intereſted friendſhip into the moſt violent and laſting animoſity; but that in all caſes, whether of their diſcord or union, the republic would equally be the victim to their joint or to their ſeparate ambition.

Theſe were undoubtedly ſome of the cauſes, which induced the republic of Venice to adhere with a firmneſs, conſidered as little leſs than pertinacity, to her determination of obſerving a ſtrict neutrality during the preſent war. Nor is it much to be queſtioned that it was with a view to withdraw her, at leaſt in ſome degree, from this determination, that the emperor adopted the long, laborious, circuitous route of Trieſte, as his way to join the armies on the Danube. If ſhe could not be drawn to go all the lengths that were wiſhed, it was, however, hoped that ſomething might be obtained by urgent and inceſſant application; and if every thing elſe failed, her aſſigning

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ing a port for the uſe of the Ruſſian fleet that was preparing for the Mediterranean, and to have been converted into an arſenal and place of arms during the war, would, in the fond ideas of naval dominion that were then predominant with both the allied powers, have been conſidered as an object of the greateſt importance. It was probably expected, that the near approach of ſo formidable a ſovereign to the Venetian territories, and even to the capital, would have produced no ſmall effect on the conduct of the ſenate.

The republic, however, adhered to its former determination, which was communicated to the emperor by an extraordinary deputation at Trieſte. That monarch is ſaid to have received them with inexpreſſible haughtineſs and diſdain, and ſcarcely vouchſafed to liſten to the anſwer. The remonſtrances ſoon after made by his miniſter at Venice, were ſo fully expreſſive of his diſpleaſure, that they are ſaid to have carried more the appearance of magiſterial cenſure, than of thoſe temperate documents which are generally adopted in the intercourſe and diſcuſſions of independent ſtates.

As money is well underſtood to be the great nerve and ſinew of modern war, without which the moſt numerous armies and the braveſt troops are totally ineffective, the emperor, notwithſtanding his general œconomy, the treaſures which he had drawn from the church, and the great ſum he had extorted from Holland, looking forward to future contingencies, and to the poſſibility of a longer continuance of the war than was at preſent to be expected in a conteſt with a weak enemy, thought it prudent to open a ſubſcription for a large loan from his ſubjects in the low countries. But, as he had already began to break through moſt of thoſe engagements which he had entered into with them in the preceding year, and which had been the happy means of reſtoring peace and harmony ſo ſuddenly to thoſe provinces, the people conceived ſo violent an animoſity againſt him for this final violation of all faith, and this flagrant avowal of perſeverance in his original deſpotic deſigns, which were not to be diverted even by foreign war and danger, that, although the terms held out for raiſing the money would have been highly advantageous to the lenders, not a man could be found in the whole country that would ſubſcribe a ſingle florin to the loan.

The emperor joined the grand army on the Danube about the middle of April, where he found the ſmall fortreſs of Schabatz inveſted, but the attack (as it could not fail of ſucceſs) deferred to ſignalize his arrival. He altered the diſpoſitions already made by the beſiegers, and, directing the aſſault to be given on the oppoſite ſide of the town, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it ſucceed, and the place taken by April 24th. ſtorm. The garriſon of 800 men retired into the citadel, which not being defenſible they ſurrendered priſoners of war; the emperor, as a grace for his being preſent, permitted their wives and children to retire with their effects to the neareſt Turkiſh garriſon, and paid a compliment to themſelves on the bravery of their defence; a compliment which they had not an opportunity of deſerving.

The triumph of this ſmall ſucceſs was ſoon effaced by the very ſevere check which prince Lichtenſtein's

army received about the ſame time at Dubicza. The prince having carried on his approaches regularly againſt that fortreſs, and made a breach which was deemed fully practicable, determined to carry the place by ſtorm on the night of the 25th of April. But neither the order and diſcipline of the Imperialiſts, nor the cool determined valour incident to German veterans, were capable of withſtanding the impetuous and deſperate courage with which, hand to hand, they were encountered on the breach by the garriſon. They were repulſed, routed, and purſued, with no ſmall ſlaughter.

It is farther ſtated, that while yet warm in their ſucceſs, the garriſon was on the ſame night ſuddenly reinforced by the arrival of a body of freſh troops, which were ſo numerous as to increaſe their number to 12,000 men. That then, diſdaining to obſerve any farther terms of caution with the beſiegers, they threw their gates open on the following day, and attacked the Imperialiſts with incredible fury in their entrenchments. The battle laſted three hours, and ſuch was the fierceneſs and violence of the onſet, that all the works of the beſiegers were acknowledged, by themſelves, to have been deſtroyed in that time; and yet, however ſtrange it may appear, the Auſtrians are ſaid to have obtained the victory. But that, notwithſtanding this advantage, the prince, (induced perhaps by the nakedneſs in which the deſtruction of his works expoſed the army) for the important purpoſe of covering the Imperial borders from the inſults of the enemy, ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, and repaſſing the Unna on that very night, poſted his army on ſuch high and commanding ground, on the Auſtrian ſide of the river, as was calculated to anſwer his purpoſe.

The loſs ſuſtained in theſe actions, on the Auſtrian ſide, amounted to 120 men killed, and 400 wounded, ſeveral officers, and ſome of rank, appearing on both liſts. To the fall of the commander who led the attack, on the breach, and the immediate wounding of his ſucceſſor, a major-general, is attributed the miſcarriage in the attempt to carry the place. Such is the account given in the Imperial gazette. Other continental accounts, however, of a ſubſequent date, repreſent this affair in a more ſerious light, and the loſs as conſiderable. An eminent French writer, who, from his reſidence in Paris at the time, and ſtill more from his intercourſe and correſpondence in the eaſtern regions, where he had ſpent a great part of his life in a public character *, had ſuperior means of information, eſtimates the loſs of the Auſtrians in both actions at not leſs than 2,000 men.

It ſeemed rather ſingular, that the ſpirit of the Turks, inſtead of being depreſſed by the vaſt weight of this accumulated hoſtility, appeared to riſe againſt it with an elaſtic energy; ſo that the news of the emperor's declaration was not only received with the greateſt joy by the populace of Conſtantinople, but by the armies, who were to experience its direct effects. Their old animoſity to the Ruſſians ſeemed likewiſe in a great meaſure to have changed its object, and to be directed almoſt entirely againſt the Auſtrians. The attempts upon Belgrade and Gradiſca, ſerved equally to excite their

* M. de Peyſſonel.

animoſity and contempt. The conduct of the emperor for ſeveral years, in his tranſactions with the Porte, was reviewed and commented upon; they ſaid he had acted rather in the ſpirit of a low trafficker, than of a great ſovereign, in the ungenerous and mean advantages which he took of the diſtreſſes of their ſituation, ever ſince fortune had begun to lour upon the Ottoman empire, and the extortion which he continually practiſed, in obtaining great advantages to himſelf and his ſubjects as the price of his pretended friendſhip; at the ſame time that he was combining with their mortal foe for their utter deſtruction, and now at length, when he found them already involved in difficulty and danger, his commencing an unjuſt war againſt them, without being able to form even a pretence of any wrong or injury offered, or to aſſign any other motives than thoſe of a freebooter, and of a common enemy to mankind.

While the animoſity againſt the Auſtrians was from theſe concurrent cauſes riſing to the higheſt pitch, a revolution took place in the opinions of the Turkiſh ſoldiery, with reſpect to the military character of their new enemy, which was not without its conſequences. For they had long conſidered the Germans as the beſt ſoldiers, and their country as the greateſt military ſchool in the world; but conceiving, from preſent trials, that they had detected a long-eſtabliſhed error, as it ſunk the Auſtrians in their eſteem, ſo it ſerved to inſpire a high confidence in themſelves; and, however dangerous or fatal the contempt of an enemy may prove to a general, it has an admirable effect when poſſeſſing an army.

From all theſe cauſes, nothing ever exceeded the impetuous and deſperate valour diſplayed by the Turks upon every occaſion during this campaign. The firſt onſet of the Ottomans has ever been deemed terrible, and nearly irreſiſtible; but at preſent they ſeemed to tranſcend whatever had been before related or conceived of them. It has been ſtrongly aſſerted, and a great number of concurring teſtimonies from the ſeat of war give no ſmall weight to the aſſertion, that nothing could afford a more ſtriking contraſt, than the conduct of the hoſtile armies, with reſpect to humanity and generoſity, in their mode of carrying on the war. That Chriſtian and Turk ſeemed in this reſpect to have exchanged their nature and principles. That, while rapine, cruelty, devaſtation, and extermination, ſeemed to be the objects which the Auſtrians had in view, and while ſmoaking villages and deſolated countries indelibly marked their progreſs wherever they made their way, the Ottomans ſeemed individually to be animated by the nobleſt objects of war, a paſſion for glory, and an enthuſiaſtic eagerneſs for the preſervation of their country, but diſdaining to wreak their vengeance upon the inoffending rulers of the plains, and cultivators of the fields. It is not eaſy to determine whether it aroſe from a relapſe into their ancient barbarous policy, or from a diſpoſition to retaliate the cruelties and devaſtations committed in their own provinces; but, from whichever cauſe, it was grievous to humanity, and moſt unfortunate for the fertile and beautiful country of the Bannat, that the Turks thought it at length neceſſary to depart from the humane principles by which they were at firſt governed.

The grand vizir conducted the

war with an extraordinary degree of judgment and ability, ſhewing that he not only poſſeſſed a mind ſo extenſive as to comprehend and combine the multiplicity of objects included in the widely-ſpread plan of operation which he had formed, but that he had previouſly ſtudied with great care the military events of former wars, from whence he drew concluſions ſo juſt, and applied them ſo happily, as to ſeem rather the reſult of experience, or of both jointly, than of ſtudy alone; ſo that he ſeemed eminently qualified to avoid and to profit by the fatal errors of his late raſh and ignorant predeceſſors, and to reſtore the luſtre, ſo deeply tarniſhed, of the Ottoman arms. It was in conſequence of this juſt eſtimate of things, which a ſtrong and original mind could only form, under the numerous tactical diſadvantages which he laboured, that he ventured to depart from the old Turkiſh ſyſtem, which had not only received the ſanction of time, but of a long train of former ſucceſs, that of hazarding an immenſe army, and the ſafety of the empire, upon the fortune of a ſingle field.

He perceived that the art of war had been long aſſiduouſly ſtudied, as a ſcience of the greateſt difficulty as well as magnitude and importance, by the Europeans, who had accordingly carried it to a height of perfection before unknown; that they had reduced their various theories into practice, and were continually improving upon and correcting them by experience, ſo that all the modes and practice of war had undergone a total revolution, even among themſelves, within a century; while, on the contrary, his nation, without the ſmalleſt attempt at improvement, had during that time been continually declining from the ſeverity and excellence of their own antient diſcipline; ſo that their armies in the late war had fallen into the moſt abject contempt. He ſaw that the preſent conſtitution of the Turkiſh armies did not admit the poſſibility of their being placed upon an equal footing with the Europeans in point of diſcipline, and that no exceſs of valour, or ſuperiority in number could ſupply that deficiency, in thoſe general field battles, where the multitude of the combatants is ſo certain a ſource of diſorder, that it can ſcarcely be prevented by the greateſt generals, ſupported by the moſt experienced officers and the beſt regulated troops. But above all he dreaded, in ſuch a conflict, the immenſe artillery of the Europeans, and the prodigious ſuperiority which they poſſeſſed in the management of them; and he knew that his preſent enemy placed ſo unlimited a truſt in theſe deſtructive machines, that he went far beyond all former example in the number of them which he brought into uſe, ſo that his different parks in Hungary, and along the frontier provinces, were ſuppoſed not to contain leſs than 2,000 pieces of field artillery.

On theſe various accounts, the grand vizir determined to render the preſent campaign a war of detachments and poſts only, unleſs any great advantage ſhould be obvious to his judgment in an occaſional deviation from this general rule. By this means he intended to train his troops by degrees to war, to obedience, and to diſcipline; to give them continual opportunities of ſignalizing and confirming their courage in ſmaller and greater encounters with the enemy, until by habit they came thoroughly to know and

to

to deſpiſe him; that in ſuch a courſe of action they would profit as much by occaſional defeats as by uninterrupted ſucceſs, and become inured by degrees to every kind of ſervice. Thus he likewiſe intended to wear down the enemy by continual attacks, and not leſs by the ſevere unremitted duty which ſuch a ſyſtem of conſtant and undeciſive warfare muſt occaſion; nor did he build a little upon his knowledge of the exceſſive ſultrineſs of the climate, and the extreme inſalubrity of the regions which were the ſeat of war; evils which he knew his ſouthern troops were much better able to reſiſt than the Germans. What he conſidered as the perfection of his ſyſtem was, that it could not be attended with any material loſs, and could not poſſibly commit the ſecurity of the empire to any hazard: a mere waſte of men being never an object of much conſideration in an Ottoman army; for, depending more on enthuſiaſm than on diſcipline, its ſoldiery is replaced without difficulty, and loſt without danger.

With theſe and ſimilar views the grand vizir took the command of an army of 200,000 men, at the opening of the campaign, with which he encamped at Siliſtria in Bulgaria, and from thence diſpatched a continued ſucceſſion of detachments to feed the war in all its parts, through a line of frontier, that nearly reached from the borders of the Adriatic to the confines of Poland.

While the grand vizir was thus exerting the reſources of an inventive mind, by introducing ſyſtematic alterations, founded on a judicious view of the object to which they were to apply, the ſame ſpirit of innovation, which ſo ſtrongly marked the emperor's civil government, ſoon began to appear no leſs prevalent in his military arrangements. Reforms were inceſſant; and his fondneſs for entering into the detail and minutiæ of all things, if it had not even been the ſource of frequent error, diſappointment, and difficulty, would, notwithſtanding, ſeem incompatible with that attention to higher duties and more important objects, which the government and conduct of vaſt armies neceſſarily require. It was ſaid, that the emperor, miſled by ſome proſpect of partial œconomy, was induced to break through the contracts for bread, forage, and other eſſential articles of proviſion, entered into with ſeveral Jew and other merchants, whoſe wealth was a ſecurity for their punctuality. This erroneous ſtep, accompanied with an abortive attempt to ſimplify the modes of ſupplying the armies, and to place that department entirely under his own eye, not only excited the greateſt diſcontent amongſt the troops, who were continually mortified by the failure which they experienced of the moſt common neceſſaries, but, it is ſaid, that they were at length, towards the cloſe of the campaign, reduced to abſolute ſcarcity and diſtreſs, through the want of the moſt indiſpenſable articles of proviſion.

His regulations in matters of leſs importance were capricious and ſingular. A number of French, Spaniſh, and Engliſh young noblemen or officers, being deſirous of ſignalizing their valour, were allured by the magnitude of the conteſt and danger to offer their ſervices as volunteers; but, to their aſtoniſhment, they were peremptorily and indiſcriminately rejected; a public order was at the ſame time iſſued, that no volunteers whatever ſhould be received in the Imperial armies: as if

conſcious of ſome important ſecrets and new diſcoveries in the art of war, which he was apprehenſive that other nations would ſuddenly adopt, and diſpute the invention and ſhare the advantage. In purſuance of the ſame principle, all perſons, whether immediately belonging to the armies, or appertaining to the civil duties of the camps and ſupplies, were forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, from communicating, in the correſpondence with their friends, any account or circumſtances whatever, good or bad, relative to the ſtate of things or to the tranſactions of the war; while, to give full effect to this prohibition, all private letters were deſtined to the inſpection of inquiſitors appointed for the purpoſe, before they could be forwarded with ſafety by any mode of conveyance: as if it had been ſuppoſed poſſible, that the actions of half a million of combatants could by any means, or in any degree, be kept ſecret; or that any ſyſtem of concealment, or extravagance of power, could preſerve the errors of ſovereigns, any more than thoſe of other commanders, from becoming ſubjects of public inveſtigation.

Another edict favoured more of injuſtice and cruelty; for it ordained, that all Chriſtians taken in the Turkiſh armies ſhould be condemned for life to the gallies. Few are ignorant that more than a moiety of the Ottoman ſubjects are Chriſtians; that ſeveral of their vaſſal princes are likewiſe Chriſtians; it muſt ſurely then be a novel ſyſtem of caſuiſtry, and a perverſion of all moral laws and obligations, which would render men culpable, and amenable to the penal laws of foreigners, who had no authority over them, for fighting in defence of their natural ſovereign their country, and their property, whatever their peculiar modes of faith and religious worſhip might be. The preference which the Chriſtian inhabitants of the frontier and diſputed provinces have ſo often given to the Turkiſh government, rather than to that of the neighbouring ſtates in their own communion, has been frequently attended with much loſs to the latter in their wars with the Porte; and, though this circumſtance affords no demonſtration of the goodneſs of the Turkiſh government, it, however, affords a ſtrong preſumption againſt thoſe which they abandoned. It ſeems to have been a great object with the united Imperial powers, that this war ſhould aſſume the character of the ancient croiſades; and that it ſhould particularly be ſo conſidered by the Chriſtian ſubjects of the Porte; though it may be doubted whether the means were conducive to the end, admitting the wiſdom of the ultimate policy.

The firſt conſiderable action which took place after the repulſe at Dubicza, was an attack made by the Turks upon the prince of Saxe Cobourg, who commanded in the Buccowine, and having croſſed the Nieſter, with an intention of eſtabliſhing himſelf in ſuch a manner in Moldavia, as to cut off all ſupplies from the garriſon of Choczim, occupied, with a conſiderable body of forces, the heights of Rohatin. The attack was furious, and, notwithſtanding the havock made by a powerful artillery judiciouſly planted, was ſupported with unremitted vigour for three hours, until the arrival of a reinforcement to the prince obliged the enemy to retreat. But the Turks being likewiſe ſoon after reinforced, renewed the attack again in the evening,

evening, and the night was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſeparate the combatants.

The night, however, procured only a ſhort ceſſation, for the mutual animoſity was ſo implacable, that it ſeemed as if nothing leſs than the total deſtruction of one army could allay the rage of the other. The battle was renewed next morning, and, for that and the two following days the ceſſations were ſo ſhort, each ſide being frequently relieved by freſh detachments, that it ſeemed little leſs than a continued action. The ſucceſs was various, ſometimes appearing on one ſide and then on the other: the loſs of men on the ſide of the Turks was (from the careleſs and raſh manner in which they expoſed themſelves) prodigious, nor could it be ſmall on that of the Auſtrians; and the adverſe armies at length parted, without any deciſive advantage gained by either. It was reported that an Auſtrian regiment was entirely cut to pieces; but this was a looſe account, and the particulars are defectively given.

The intrepidity and enthuſiaſm of the Turkiſh cavalry, upon this and other occaſions, excited the aſtoniſhment of all beholders. They frequently, as if it had been an act of mere ſhow and bravado, unattended with danger, rode up full gallop, without cover, and unſupported by infantry, to the mouths of the enemy's artillery, where they were ſwept away by their diſcharge, without a poſſibility of ſucceſs or benefit. Their infantry likewiſe, who had long been out of repute, behaved with great valour, and made little of encountering the Auſtrians hand to hand with ſpears, oppoſed to their muſkets and bayonets. As they placed but little truſt in their own artillery, and indeed received but little benefit from it, ſo they affected to deſpiſe equally that of the enemy, notwithſtanding the repeated experience which they had of its fatal effects.

The valour diſplayed by the Turks, occaſioned as total a revolution in the ſentiments entertained by the Auſtrians with reſpect to the military character of their enemy, as that which the latter had already undergone with regard to them; and this by degrees produced no ſmall change in the aſpect and even nature of the war. They had conſidered the Ottomans as nothing leſs than ſoldiers, as a tumultuous rabble deſtitute of ſpirit as well as diſcipline; while, proud of their own military character, of their artillery, of the excellency of their officers, with the ability and experience of their generals, they could dream of nothing but bloodleſs victories, of fortreſſes ſurrendered at the firſt ſound of a trumpet, and kingdoms ſuing for mercy. But this illuſion being diſpelled, the prejudiced opinions of the Auſtrian ſoldier took a contrary direction, and the Turk, whom he before deſpiſed, appeared to him the moſt terrible of all enemies. Nor was this confined to the ſoldiers, the officers became circumſpect and cautious, and both were happy if they could maintain themſelves in their poſts, without indulging a diſpoſition to ſeek for adventures. By this means the war, without any expreſs orders for the purpoſe, became defenſive on the ſide of the invaders, and the ſpirit of enterprize appeared only on the other.

In the mean time diſcontent, diſlike to the war in general, as well as to its conduct, and execration of the

Ruſſians, who, though its authors, ſeemed to leave the emperor to ſuſtain its whole burthen and danger, became general, both in the armies and at Vienna. For the emperor's ſyſtem of concealment could by no means prevent the inhabitants of the capital from being informed of the real ſtate of things, which neceſſarily rendered the ſplendid victories, announced in their gazettes, ſubjects of ridicule. The emperor himſelf (whoſe characteriſtic it was to adopt meaſures precipitately, as haſtily to relinquiſh them, and to be ſoon overpowered by unexpected difficulty) was already ſuppoſed to be ſick of the war. The dilatory ſlowneſs of the Ruſſians, whom he expected to act as principals, and the unſatisfactory cauſes which they aſſigned for their inactivity, filled him with doubt and jealouſy; he could not help apprehending that he was become the dupe of their ſelfiſh ambition; a moſt provoking circumſtance to a mind that flatters itſelf with being beyond the reach of impoſition. The expences of the war too, notwithſtanding all his regulations and retrenchments, were ſo enormous, as far to exceed all previous calculation. Nor was the expence the only cauſe of anxiety, but Italy, Germany, and the adjoining countries ſeemed unequal to the ſupply of the immenſe quantities of proviſion which were neceſſary to the ſupport of ſuch vaſt armies, including their very numerous cavalry, and the infinite number of horſes neceſſary for their artillery and baggage. For, although the countries which were the ſcene of action are interſected by ſome of the nobleſt navigable rivers in the world, yet the number of baggage waggons exceeded 7,000, and no leſs than 20,000 horſes, and 12,000 oxen were uſed in their conveyance, beſides the army of waggoners and attendants neceſſary to their government.

From the united operation of all theſe cauſes, the diſſatisfaction and chagrin of the emperor became too great to be concealed, and to that effect may probably with truth be attributed (at leaſt in the firſt inſtance) that fatal change which he began to experience in his health. If ſuch were the untoward effects which the war, the creature of his fondeſt imaginations, had already produced on the ſovereign, we may from thence form ſome conception of its operation upon the troops, who found themſelves diſappointed in all the hopes of honour and profit, which they had eagerly formed. Soldiers at all times, however faulty in themſelves, impute, and generally with no ſmall degree of juſtice, all their misfortues and diſgraces to their commanders. This was now fully verified, and murmurs, complaints, and diſcontent, were ſpread through all the ranks of the Imperial armies.

The capture of Belgrade had been held out, even before the armies took the field, as the firſt great object of the campaign, and vaſt preparations were early made for that purpoſe. This idea was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on the public, that almoſt every week brought premature accounts from Vienna of the ſiege being already commenced. Whether it proceeded from any indeciſion in council, irreſolution in conduct, or a continual expectation that the Ruſſians would have made ſo vigorous an impreſſion as to divide and weaken the enemy's grand force, before this bold effort was made, does not appear;

pear; but, whatever the cauſe was, the affair lingered ſtrangely. The complaints and diſcontents that were now ſo prevalent, both at Vienna and in the army, probably induced the emperor to renew the deſign, and to adopt meaſures with vigour and apparent determination for carrying it directly into execution. Three bridges were accordingly thrown over the Saave, about the end of May or beginning of June, and an enormous train of battering cannon, with a profuſion of all thoſe engines which modern practice has introduced for the deſtruction of towns, and which render a long defence of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes impracticable, were brought forward from Semlin and other neighbouring garriſons.

The defenſive ſyſtem adopted by the grand vizir, by no means included a quiet ſubmiſſion to the loſs of Belgrade; on the contrary, the preſervation of that place was one of the few objects which he deemed worthy of encountering the greateſt hazards for. He accordingly quitted Siliſtria with the grand army, (now ſuppoſed to amount to about 80,000 men) and advanced with haſty ſtrides for its protection. The military world were not a little ſurprized at the judicious and excellent poſition which he choſe for that purpoſe, and which they ſaid would have done honour to the firſt general in Europe. Encamping, with the Danube extended along his whole front, his left was fully covered by Belgrade and the Saave, as his right was by the fortreſs of New Orſova, his rear being as effectually ſecured by the neighbouring Turkiſh garriſons and poſts, which on that frontier ground were every where ſpread. While thus unaſſailable himſelf, he in a great meaſure commanded the courſe of both rivers; and had it in his power to invade the enemy's territories in any direction, as the occaſion might offer, and proſpects of advantage invite.

This movement and poſition produced an immediate change in the emperor's plan of operation. The bridges over the Saave were haſtily demoliſhed, the Imperial camp at Semlin fortified on all ſides, and every where covered by a prodigious artillery; and the war became now avowedly, as well as in fact, defenſive. It was impoſſible that two ſuch armies could ſubſiſt within ſo narrow a compaſs, without ſeveral bloody encounters taking place between their detached parties. Of theſe we have few particulars, and, as they produced no other effect than the loſs of a great number of men on both ſides, the deficiency of ſuch details is little to be regretted. The Turks boaſted of a victory obtained by the baſha of Boſnia over a body of 20,000 Auſtrians, who, in their attempt to paſs the Saave, were ſaid to have been defeated with the loſs of half their number. As no notice whatever had been taken of any ſuch action in the Vienna gazettes, the account ſeems difficult of credit; and yet it muſt be allowed that the Turks ſhew no great talent for the framing of gazettes, and that they are far from being ſo great boaſters as ſome of their neighbours.

But a more dreadful, as a more irreſiſtible and deſtructive enemy than the Ottomans, had for ſome time been ſpreading deſolation thro' the Imperial armies. It is well known that the Danubian lower provinces are not only by far the moſt unhealthy, and the moſt particularly deſtructive to armies, of any part of the temperate regions of Europe, but

but that they vie in this reſpect with the moſt deadly of the tropical climates. Heat, moiſture, and putrid exhalations, produce the ſame effect in all; but to theſe is added, in the countries which were now the ſcene of action, the miſchiefs proceeding from the exceeding ſharp, cutting winds that blow at night over the ſnowy or frozen tops of the Carpathian mountains, and which ſuddenly ſtrike a mortal chill into the human body, at the inſtant that it is already fainting, and ſeems nearly diſſolved by the intenſe heat of the preceding ſun. The Hungarian camp-fever has accordingly been long conſidered by phyſicians as a ſpecies of peſtilence, and by no means the leaſt deleterious of the claſs; while Hungary has ever been conſidered, ſince their firſt obtaining a footing in it, as the general grave of the Germans. It happened likewiſe, moſt unfortunately for the ſufferers, that the heat of the preſent ſummer exceeded, by many degrees, any thing that had been before known even in thoſe ſultry regions, inſomuch that it was not unuſual for men, horſes, oxen, and other animals, to drop dead in the fields, through the mere effect of expoſure to the burning ſun.

Various cauſes concurred, which muſt have prediſpoſed the Imperial armies to the reception and generation of diſeaſes, even in a temperate climate. Of theſe, ill ſucceſs, and general diſcontent, ſhould not be the laſt enumerated. The inactive indolence under which the grand army at Semlin was ſo long ſuffered to languiſh, cooped up within the confines of a camp, produced exactly the ſame effects with the unremitting duty and exceſſive fatigue to which the detached bodies were expoſed by the boldneſs and activity of the enemy; for, though the health and lives of ſoldiers undoubtedly depend upon action, yet it ſhould be limited in degree to produce that effect.

Putrid fevers, and dyſenteries of the moſt malignant kind, ſpread their baneful influence through all the Imperial armies. Officers as well as ſoldiers became victims to the reigning diſeaſes; ſeveral of the generals were obliged to retire from the ſervice, and were carried, more dead than alive, with ſmall hopes of recovery, to their reſpective countries. As the ſeaſon advanced, the ſcene became daily more deplorable, and the mortality in the courſe of the autumn was dreadful. Diſcontent and complaint became univerſal: the ſoldiers ſaid publicly, and perhaps juſtly, that it were better and more honourable to loſe 50,000 men in a battle, with their ſwords in their hands, than to periſh thus miſerably in the infection and poiſon of hoſpitals. Deſertion likewiſe, the unfailing concomitant of ſuch a ſtate of things, became prodigious. Thoſe fly from diſeaſe who would diſdain to ſhrink from the ſword. By theſe means one of the fineſt armies in the world, and the moſt nobly provided for war at the opening of the campaign, was ſuppoſed to be reduced, before its cloſe, to leſs than one half of the number of its original combatants; the reſt being either totally loſt by deſertion, mortality, and the ſword, or rendered incapable of preſent ſervice by diſeaſe.

Although the emperor, through his reliance on the faith of the king of Pruſſia, and the pacific aſpect of the German confederacy, (whoſe band of union being only the preſervation of the conſtitution of the empire,

empire, and the protection of its members in their reſpective rights, did not at all extend its views to the aggreſſion of others) had already ſtripped the interior provinces of their troops, in a degree which would not have been generally deemed prudent or ſafe; yet in the preſent untoward circumſtances of ſickneſs, and of the great decreaſe which was daily taking place in his force, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of drawing three regiments from the garriſon of Vienna as an immediate ſupply, and at the ſame time to iſſue orders to the hereditary countries, to diſpatch 30,000 recruits with the utmoſt expedition, to fill up the vacancies.

This was, however, only a prelude to the immenſe ſupplies of men, which the inſatiate cravings of the war demanded almoſt in its outſet; for it was eſtimated that between eighty and ninety thouſand recruits were drawn from their reſpective countries in the courſe of the year. As this enormous conſumption of men, though rendered prompt in the ſupply through the coercive effect of the military conſcriptions, could be ill borne by countries which are far from being in a high ſtate of population, no pains or expence were ſpared to procure recruits from the neighbouring ſtates. The king of Sardinia, upon this occaſion, afforded an inſtance that he was by no means diſpoſed to further the ambitious views of the united Imperial courts; that he regarded their projects rather with jealouſy, if not apprehenſion; and that a cruſade againſt infidels was by no means the actuating principle of the day. That prince abſolutely prohibited the Auſtrian recruiting parties from entering his dominions, and took ſuch effectual means as prevented a man from being drawn from them for the purpoſe of the war.

Although the failure of the Ruſſians, in not joining the prince of Saxe Cobourg, had hitherto occaſioned the war to languiſh a good deal on the ſide of the Buccowine, and in the adjacent Turkiſh provinces, which, by the ceſſion of that diſtrict to the emperor, were laid continually open to invaſion, yet it had not been entirely deſtitute of event, nor of a variety of ſmall action. The Turks had early and ſuddenly loſt the province of Moldavia, along with Jaſſy its capital, through the treachery of its hoſpodar; but it had been ſince almoſt as ſuddenly recovered, through the fidelity and vigorous activity of prince Maurojeni, who had been lately appointed by the Porte to the government of Walachia. The mountainous borders of Tranſylvania were likewiſe the ſcene of many bloody actions without glory or name, through the deſperate but ineffectual efforts of the Turks to penetrate the naturally difficult, but ſtrongly fortified and well defended defiles, which lead into that iron-bound country.

The reduction of Choczim was the firſt great object of the campaign, with the Imperial courts, on the ſide of Poland and the Buccowine. Few fortreſſes have been conſtructed, ſince the uſe and effect of artillery were underſtood, which, from their evil ſituation, are rendered ſo totally incapable of defence as this place. For, hanging on the ſide of a hill over the Nieſter, which alone ſeparates it from Poland, the ſtreets, houſes, and even the movements of individuals, are generally expoſed, through the greater part of the town, to the full view and the direct fire of whatever enemy is

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ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide of the river. If Poland, indeed, had been able to ſupport its neutrality, and to maintain its independant rights of dominion and ſovereignty, the attacks of the town being then of neceſſity confined to the Moldavian ſide of the river, where thoſe diſadvantages to the beſieged do not ſubſiſt, the town might have been capable of a good defence.

The prince of Cobourg, in his impatience at the delay of the Ruſſians, made ſeveral deſultory attacks upon Choczim, with batteries of heavy artillery and mortars, from the Poliſh ſide of the river, which, from the ſituation of the place, could not but occaſion damage. In the laſt of theſe, having made uſe of the Poliſh town of Braha as a cover for his batteries, and for the men who worked them, the ſeraſquier who commanded Choczim, upon this application of a neutral place to the offenſive purpoſe of his enemy, directed, according to the eſtabliſhed rules of war, his ſhells, and the fire of his artillery, with ſuch effect againſt it, that the unfortunate town was in a few hours reduced to aſhes.

A Ruſſian body of forces under general Soltikow, having at length joined the prince of Cobourg in the beginning of July, preparations were then ſeriouſly made for commencing, with their united force, the ſiege of Choczim in form. Although the principal and effective attacks were carried on from the Poliſh ſide of the river, they were now enabled to take ſuch poſſeſſion of the country on the Moldavian ſide, as entirely to encloſe the place, and ſhut it in from the poſſibility of ſuccour or ſupply, excepting through the intervention of an equal or ſuperior army, which the Ottomans were utterly incapable of collecting in that quarter.

During the night of the 20th of July, three Auſtrian and two Ruſſian batteries were opened againſt Choczim, and were ſeconded at break of day by others erected in the ruins of Braha. The firing continued without intermiſſion for ſeveral nights and days, and the number of ſhells, carcaſes, red-hot balls, and other modern inſtruments of deſtruction, thrown into the town, was ſaid to exceed credibility. The ſituation of the place will in a great degree explain the effect of this terrible fire, which was rendered more dreadful by the correſpondent internal flames that were at the ſame time conſuming the town. All the houſes in its upper part, the principal magazine, the corn-mill, the arſenal, and every thing within the direction of the enemies fire, was reduced to aſhes; the very palliſadoes on the ſide of the fortreſs towards the river, and the gabions on the top of the baſtions, were all conſumed.

The beſieging generals, who (as did the reſt of Europe, when they heard the circumſtances) conſidered the town as already in effect taken, ceaſed the fire of the batteries, and ſummoned the gover- July 26th.
nor to ſurrender; who, inſtead of an immediate compliance, as was expected, demanded three days time for deliberation, and for conſulting his officers and ſoldiers upon a queſtion in which they were all ſo deeply affected. As there was no proſpect or apprehenſion of any relief from without, and as the deſtruction of the magazine ſeemed to render any longer defence of the

town

town impoſſible, no difficulty was made of complying with this requiſition.

But the intrepid ſeraſquier, inſtead of amuſing himſelf in framing articles of capitulation, determined to make the beſt poſſible uſe of the time allotted, by a ſtrict inquiſition into the ſtate of his defences and reſources; the reſult of which ſhould alone influence his further conduct. The powder magazine had fortunately eſcaped the danger, and meaſures were taken for its future ſecurity: the works of the fortreſs were found not to have ſuſtained any eſſential injury; he knew that many of the hard and heavy articles in the arſenal might be recovered from its ruins; and he ſaw that the garriſon would no longer be interrupted and diſtreſſed in the performance of their duty by the burning and falling of houſes.

But this favourable ſtate of things could afford little ſatisfaction, while the cruel doubt remained, whether any means of ſupporting human life were ſtill exiſting within the walls. The ruins of the magazine formed an immenſe pile of rubbiſh, and the only hope was, that this might poſſibly cover the treaſure of proviſion which was ſo much wiſhed and wanted. This hope was not entirely vain. The falling in of the building had checked the action of the fire, ſo that conſiderable quantities of meal and grain were found unconſumed, although much damaged and ſpoiled. The baſha, upon this diſcovery, returned for anſwer to the ſummons, that he did not, upon due enquiry, find that he was under any neceſſity of ſurrendering the fortreſs; and that his brave garriſon had unanimouſly declared they would periſh to a man, ſooner than ever conſent to a ſurrender, while a poſſibility of defence remained.

This unexpected anſwer was conſidered as the effect of abſolute madneſs; for, as the proviſions were ſuppoſed to be entirely conſumed, a frantic enthuſiaſm, even under the blind dominion of predeſtination, was not deemed ſufficient to account for ſo deſperate a reſolution. Nothing then could exceed the public aſtoniſhment, at finding, that the ſmoaking ruins of a demoliſhed town, with its arſenal and magazines deſtroyed, were moſt gallantly and effectually defended for two long ſucceeding months; and then only given up in conſequence of a moſt honourable capitulation. Their bad and ſcanty fare, joined to the inceſſant duty, exceſſive fatigue, with the hardſhips and incommodities of every kind which they endured, had in that time reduced the garriſon rather to the appearance of ſkeletons, than of ſoldiers engaged in the performance of brave ſervice. It ſeemed as if the inhabitants wiſhed to participate in the character of the garriſon; for, under the preſſure of miſery ſtill more extreme, without any other reſource for food than the precarious ſupply of damaged and unwholeſome proviſion, which, with infinite labour, and frequent diſappointment, they ſometimes drew from the ruins of private houſes, and although they periſhed at the general rate of about twenty in a day, through mere want, yet not a murmur was heard, nor a wiſh expreſſed for the giving up of the fortreſs.

It was only on Michaelmas day, 1788, that the heroic ſeraſquier, with his famiſhed but unconquered garriſon (amounting to about 2,800 men) and bearing all the oſtenſible honours

honours of war, marched out of that fortreſs.

The ſtate of affairs, and the aſpect of the war on the Danube, had undergone a total change long before this period. The grand vizir, inſtead of following the quieſcent example ſet by his adverſary, ſoon adopted meaſures which ſpread danger and tumult on all ſides. Having laid bridges over the Danube at Cladova, he puſhed large detachments to the other ſide, with a view of invading the Bannat of Temeſwar, and of thereby reducing the emperor to the dilemma, either of ſeeing that fine province ruined, or of abandoning his ſtrong camp at Semlin, and expoſing his army to the continual attacks of the Turkiſh cavalry, in a dry, firm, open country, where the hills being interſected by large plains, was peculiarly adapted to their acting with advantage.

The Bannat of Temeſwar is at all times difficult of conqueſt, thro' the prodigious ſtrength of its capital, its inland ſituation, its remoteneſs from the Ottoman reſources, and, above all, by its vicinity to the ſtrong holds in the mountains of Tranſylvania, which would ſubject the beſieging army to continual attack, ſurprize, and danger, beſides the impoſſibility of protecting its convoys, with ſo powerful an army as the emperor's in its rear. But the country, poſſeſſing no other fortreſs of note, is liable to be ravaged by any army that is maſter of the field, and ſecure on the Danube. This was accordingly the grand vizir's object, who had no thoughts, in the preſent ſtate of things, of involving himſelf in tedious ſieges; and who, well knowing, that from the extreme fertility and high cultivation of the Bannat, nothing could be more diſtreſſing or grievous to his enemy, he had no doubt but it would be the means of drawing him out of his faſtneſſes, and had then to hope, that he might be drawn into ſome ſituation, which would afford an opportunity of attacking him with unforeſeen and unhoped-for advantage.

Nothing could ſpread a greater conſternation and diſmay through the Imperial armies, the bordering provinces, and even the city of Vienna itſelf, than this bold invaſion of the Bannat. It was ſo ſudden, ſo unthought of, ſo ſubverſive of all the ſanguine expectations formed of the war, and of the confidence placed in the magnitude and excellence of their armies, that the people were thrown into a confuſion and diſmay as violent as if the enemy were already at their doors.

Strong detachments were immediately diſpatched from Semlin to counteract the enemy, and endeavour to ſave the Bannat; while the grand vizir ſent continual reinforcements to maintain the ſuperiority which his troops had already obtained. Thus by degrees, each movement on one ſide begetting a ſimilar on the other, both the grand armies were at length drawn from their reſpective camps, and involved, with their commanders, in the Bannat. General Wartenſleben held the principal command in that province before the arrival of the emperor; and even after, he ſtill continued in the command of a ſeparate army, until he was at length driven, whether by the deſperate courage, the ſuperior force, or both conjointly, of the enemy, from the ſtrong ſituation which he poſſeſſed on the heights of Mehadia, whereby that city was loſt, and he was obliged to take

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ſhelter under the wings of the grand army.

The Auſtrian affairs ſeemed approaching to a very alarming criſis. Not only the ſplendid views of conqueſt, which were beheld in the imagined partition of a tottering empire, had totally diſappeared, but had left in their place the ſad and gloomy reverſe of a diſcontented and impoveriſhed people, an exhauſted treaſury, and an army thinned by peſtilence and deſertion. The firſt campaign of an invaſive war had already produced an impreſſion on the territory of the invader. In this ſituation it is not ſurpriſing that that overweeing confidence in private opinion, which, amidſt the flattery of courtiers, and the calm of peace, is eaſily generated in the mind of an arbitrary ſovereign, ſhould be a little abated. And it is not improbable that the emperor, at length, thought it time to reſort to the more experienced and approved talents of a ſubject. An event now occurred, which gave a favourable occaſion for the introduction of new councils.

Prince Lichtenſtein's health had been ſo totally deranged by the deſtructive effect of the climate and ſeaſon, that he was obliged to reſign the command of the army on the ſide of Croatia, and was with difficulty conveyed in a litter on men's ſhoulders to Vienna.

Marſhal Laudohn was, with ſome difficulty, drawn from his retirement to take the command of that army. The great name of that veteran commander, perhaps not leſs than his meaſures and abilities, ſerved to inſpire the troops with vigour and confidence. Under his auſpices, fortune, which bore ſo gloomy an aſpect in all other parts, began to ſmile on the Auſtrian arms in that quarter. Indeed, ſuch a gleam of ſun-ſhine was at that time abſolutely neceſſary, to prevent the ſpirits of the Imperial armies from entirely ſinking under the torrent of ill ſucceſs, by which they were on every ſide nearly overwhelmed.

Marſhal Laudohn's firſt enterprize was the ſiege and reduction of Dubicza; which was ſo obſtinately defended, that the miſerable remains of the garriſon, when it was taken, amounted only to 366 men; and they were then compelled, it was ſaid, to ſurrender at diſcretion, thro' the intolerable ſtench of the bodies of their unburied fellows; they being ſo conſtantly occupied in the defence, as not to find time for their interment. Laudohn ſhewed all the humanity, upon this occaſion, becoming the character of a great general, who revered gallantry even in an enemy, and who had himſelf experienced all the viciſſitudes of war. The Turkiſh women and children were permitted to depart with their effects, and a part of their own garriſon allowed to eſcort them, upon their bare parole of return, and ſurrendering priſoners of war.

This place was taken on the 26th of Auguſt; and he proceeded directly from thence to the ſiege of Novi, a ſtill ſtronger fortreſs, and where he experienced the ſame obſtinacy of defence as before. The baſha of Travenick made a bold attempt to raiſe the ſiege; but he being defeated, and what appeared to be a practicable breach made, M. Laudohn thought himſelf warranted by theſe circumſtances to attempt carrying the place by aſſault, on the night of the 21ſt of September; but the place was ſo bravely defended, that the Auſtrians were repulſed

pulſed with loſs, and obliged to recommence the ſiege in form. They, however, renewed their operations with ſuch vigour, that, having formed lodgments on the breach and on the curtain, and brought cannon from both to play upon the town, this compelled the garriſon, on the 3d of October, to hang out a flag of truce, and deſire a capitulation; but this requiſition was rejected, as being made too late, and the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The remains of the garriſon are ſaid to have amounted to about 600 men, but we are not informed of their original ſtate; and forty pieces of cannon were found in the fortreſs. Marſhal Laudohn made no harſh uſe, nor took no undue advantage of the circumſtances of the ſurrender; no plunder was permitted, and the garriſon were well treated.

That general then ſat down before Turkiſh Gradiſca*, with the capture of which he intended to cloſe the campaign; but the autumnal rains came on with ſuch violence, that the Saave overflowing its banks, ſoon deluged the adjoining country, in a degree that obliged M. Laudohn to raiſe the ſiege.

During this period, the war in the Bannat raged with the utmoſt violence; torrents of blood were ſhed on both ſides; much deſperate valour diſplayed on the one ſide, and many brave actions performed on the other; while a very great part of that fine but unfortunate country ſuffered all the deſolation and ruin that fire and ſword, under the dominion of vengeance and animoſity, could inflict.

The firſt action of which we have any knowledge in the Bannat, was very unfortunate to the Imperialiſts, and took place about the 7th or 8th of Auguſt. General Papilla had the command of a large diviſion of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Old Orſova and Schuppaneck, in the ſouth-eaſt angle of the province, adjoining to the Danube, and to the borders of Walachia, the camp at Semlin being more than two long marches to the weſt. In that ſituation he was ſuddenly attacked, the Auſtrian accounts ſay on three ſides at once, with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, by the Ottomans; that the troops ſeem to have been ſo confounded and aſtoniſhed by the rapidity and violence of the ſhock, as not to have power or recollection for defence; for one of the ſame accounts ſtates, that they did not fire a ſhot; and yet the attack was made by day, and no ſurprize was pretended.

It is certain that the deſperate fury diſplayed by the Turkiſh cavalry, upon this occaſion, exceeded any thing that had been ever before known even of that impetuous body, and that every thing was borne down before them, almoſt inſtantaneouſly. Two battalions of Reiſky were cut to pieces in a moment; other diviſions of the troops, broken and routed, fled into the neighbouring defiles for ſhelter, but, being unable to recover ſo ſuddenly their order and courage, were purſued with a dreadful ſlaughter. Thirteen pieces of cannon, with all the proviſion waggons, the tents, and baggage, with their horſes, became a prey to the

* This fortreſs has in preceding inſtances been ſo confounded with Dubicza, both by the Vienna and Engliſh gazettes, that we have, more than once, been at a loſs to know which was intended; but here the name and deſcription agree.

victors.

victors. No ſtatement is given of the force on either ſide in this action, and the loſs on one was too great to encourage the Vienna gazettes to make any eſtimate of it. Orſova, with ſeveral ſmall neighbouring places, were ſet on fire and deſtroyed by the enemy, either during or after the purſuit. The grand vizir himſelf commanded the Ottomans in this battle; as he did in the ſubſequent purſuit and attacks of the emperor's army on its route to Weiſkirchen.

The immediate conſequence of this misfortune was the emperor's quitting the camp at Semlin, and advancing, in company with Marſhal Lacy, and with the remainder of the grand army (eſtimated now at 40,000 men) through the Bannat to the northward, in a line which would ſecure his communications both with Temeſwar, and with the borders of Tranſylvania; where, although general Fabris was already hard preſſed by the enemy, the mountains, and the ſtrong fortreſs of Arad, would afford great reſources in the worſt caſes that might happen. But another principal object of this movement was, the drawing off, or ſupporting, as the occaſion might require, the corps commanded by general Wartenſleben, which occupied a very advantageous camp on the heights of Meadia, lying above that city. This poſt lies on the borders of Walachia, and conſequently on the right of the emperor's line of march. The firſt ſecure poſt which he had in view to occupy on this route, was that of Weiſkirchen, the ſituation of which, from its being overlooked in the maps, we cannot pretend to deſcribe.

On this march (which ſeems to have taken up a greater number of days than the extent of the country could well require) the Imperial army was cloſely purſued and inceſſantly haraſſed on all ſides by the grand vizir; who, though by the ſuperiority of their artillery and diſcipline he was repeatedly foiled in his attempts to break in upon the main body, yet was too frequently ſucceſsful in his attacks on the wings, and thoſe outlying parts which the nature of the ground ſeparated in any degree from the ſuccour of their fellows. On one of theſe occaſions, two battalions of Breachanville were unfortunately cut to pieces, ſcarcely a man eſcaping; for it is ſaid the Turkiſh cavalry, in the violence or fury of their zeal, had for ſome time entered into a reſolution neither to give nor to take quarter. The army at length arrived at Weiſkirchen, Aug. 20th. where it had ſome little time to pauſe and to recover from its fatigue.

In the mean time the ſeraſquier of Georgia, who was properly the grand vizir's lieutenant, and commanded a ſeparate corps of ſixteen or eighteen thouſand men, moſtly cavalry, made repeated efforts to diſlodge general Wartenſleben, who commanded an inferior force, from his advantageous poſt on the heights of Meadia. One whole day was nearly ſpent in continual action, if it might properly be called action, where the Turks were ſo prodigal of life, and ſo inartificial in their attacks, that the Auſtrian infantry, covered by their redoubts, had little more to do than to mow them down by whole ranks with their grape-ſhot.

Notwithſtanding the ſevere loſs on this day's encounter, the ſeraſquier attacked, with unabated vigour, the ſtrong redoubt and defile

of Burſa, on the following evening; the poſſeſſion of which would have greatly facilitated his main object. Though he was repulſed with loſs in this attack, yet perſeverance at length ſucceeded, and the poſt, notwithſtanding a moſt valorous defence made by the Auſtrians, was carried without much ſkill or addreſs, by the joint operation of numbers and reſolution.

The emperor, after five days ſtay at Weiſkirchen, proceeded towards Karanſebes, which lies on the eaſtern ſide of the province, and conſiderably more to the northward than Meadia. This poſition he conſidered as equally calculated for the protection of Tranſylvania, and the ſupport of general Wartenſleben; while the ſituation was ſtrong, and in other reſpects advantageous for a camp. But the loſs of Burſa had rendered Wartenſleben's ſituation very critical, who, even before that event, had looked anxiouſly for the relief or reinforcement which he daily expected from the emperor. The inceſſant exertions of the ſeraſquier, who was no leſs prodigal of the lives of his ſoldiers than they were themſelves individually, ſoon increaſed that general's difficulties to ſuch a degree, that it required no common degree of ability and dexterity to extricate himſelf from the danger, before the toils were entirely cloſed.

For, beſides continual alarms on every ſide, a body of Turks, with incredible labour and perſeverance, dragged a number of heavy cannon to the top of a hill or mountain, which overlooked and commanded the Auſtrian camp, and which was ſo ſteep, and conſidered as being ſo utterly impracticable, that any ſuggeſtion of ſuch a meaſure would have been previouſly treated with ridicule. This unexpected ſtroke determined general Wartenſleben's conduct. He abandoned his camp that night, and, purſuing the route to Karanſebes, in order to join the emperor, conducted his retreat ſo ably, as to ſuffer no extraordinary loſs. He was, however, obliged to abandon Meadia, with its dependent towns or villages, together with ſome magazines of proviſion and ammunition, to the enemy. The Turks purchaſed their ſucceſs dearly, thro' the great number of men which they threw away in their various deſperate attacks. Aug. 29th.

About this time, the Turks took a town or place called Mitrouſki (of which we have no knowledge) after a very brave defence, and with an avowed conſiderable loſs of men. A famous cavern, ſituated in an impracticable defile covered with mountains, and called the Veteranſchi-hole, from general Veterani of the laſt century, by whom it was firſt fortified, was, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance made by a handful of men, at length compelled to ſurrender. The grand vizir was ſo much charmed with their gallantry, that, beſides granting them an honourable capitulation and ſafe convoy, he deſired to ſee the brave major who commanded, and his fellow officers, upon their coming out. The Ottoman treated them with great liberality, and declared to them, at parting, after a ſumptuous regale and much praiſe, "That it was with "the greateſt regret the Ottomans "found themſelves forced into a "war with the emperor, after hav-"ing, by the moſt religious ob-"ſervance of treaties, given the "fulleſt proofs of their being honeſt "and peaceable neighbours."

Vipalanka,

Vipalanka, a place of more importance than any of these, and lying far in the rear of both armies, near the Danube, was likewise about this time taken by the Turks, whose superiority was every where manifest. During all these transactions, the war was carried on with great vehemence on the borders of Transylvania, where, though the success was various, and the contests bloody, yet general Fabris, though much inferior in force, made such good use of his artillery, and defended the mountains and passes with so much ability, that the Turks were at no time able to establish themselves in the interior country.

The emperor, being joined by general Wartensleben, fixed his camp in the valley of Karansebes, which, from other circumstances, as well as its being contradistinguished from the plain of the same name, we conceive to be situated in a gorge of the mountains, and to be strongly secured on two, if not on three sides by them.

The grand vizir being likewise strengthened by the junction of the seraſquier's forces, lost no time in pressing hard upon the Imperial army, and displayed no less boldness than ability in the choice of the various posts which he occupied on all sides, in order to render their present situation untenable, and to throw such difficulties in the way, as should disable them from abandoning it without danger and loss.

In the prosecution of this plan, the Turks erected several batteries of heavy cannon and mortars on the adjoining mountains, in sight of the Austrians; who, from the height and steepness of the hills, were not able to interrupt their operations. While the fire of these batteries caused no small alarm and disturbance in the camp, a bold attempt Sept. 14th. was made, by a considerable body of Turkish infantry and cavalry, to turn the Austrian left, and to attack the army in the rear. Though this attempt did not entirely succeed, and that the Turks were said to have been repulsed with great slaughter, yet other accounts gave a very different statement of the affair, representing the Imperial right wing as being by some circumstance rendered incapable of succouring the left, by which the latter suffered extremely.

On which side the fact lay, in this instance, is of the less consequence, as within a week the Imperial army found itself involved in such difficulties, as to be under a necessity of abandoning its camp in Sept. 21st. the valley of Karansebes, of descending into the open plain, and of being subjected to the vehement pursuit of a victorious enemy, on its march to Lugos, a place more to the northward than that which they had quitted. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this retreat, nor disgraceful to a veteran disciplined army than the panic which seemed to pervade all its parts. Two columns crossing or meeting in the dark, each mistaking the other for the enemy, fired, and it was said that 1,400 men were sacrificed before the error was detected. The terror, disorder, and confusion were so great, that the batmen throwing the loads from off their horses, and the waggoners taking theirs from the carriages, made their escape different ways, as their fears directed them; while the plain was strowed with baggage and carriages, which fell, without trouble, into the hands of the enemy.

The Turks boaſted, in their account, of a complete victory gained after an obſtinate ſtruggle; of a bloody purſuit of three hours; and repreſent the artillery, arms, baggage, and accoutrements taken, as the fruits of both. Whatever truth may or may not be in this relation, it is certain that nothing can carry ſtronger marks of a complete rout, than this unfortunate affair does, even in the Auſtrian accounts of it. It was eſtimated that the emperor had not loſt leſs than 5,000 men, between the time of breaking up his camp at Karanſebes, and the arrival of his army at Lugos.

This affair nearly cloſed the campaign in the Bannat. The Imperial army, from the vicinity of Temeſwar and Tranſylvania, was in tolerable ſecurity, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon began to affect the enemy. The autumnal rains came on with a violence ſcarcely known before; and, beſides rendering many parts of the country impracticable, ruined the Turkiſh horſes in ſuch a manner, that 6,000 of their cavalry were diſmounted, and forced to ſerve on foot. The Turkiſh troops are ill calculated, either by nature or circumſtance, to withſtand the extremities of cold and wet. The grand vizir had beſides loſt a prodigious number of men, in the repeated bloody exertions of this ſhort campaign. He could not retain his new poſſeſſions in the Bannat, none of which were of any conſiderable ſtrength, without the continuance there of the whole army, which, beſides the difficulties and inconveniences ariſing from the diſtance of their magazines and reſources, would be a means of expoſing Belgrade and the Danubian provinces to great danger during the winter, when ſudden movements would be impracticable, and the troops he commanded very unfit for action.

From theſe, and probably other cauſes and motives, particularly that of maintaining an uninterrupted communication with the court, and of ſupporting his intereſt in the Divan, the grand vizir commenced his march for Belgrade. Oct. 20th. The knowledge of this movement alarmed the emperor ſo much for the ſecurity of his ſtrong lines at Semlin, that he immediately marched with the utmoſt expedition the ſame way for their protection. In this courſe he endeavoured as much as was poſſible (but without much effect) to haraſs the vizir's army on its march. Some ſucceſſes were however claimed; and one of them, as recorded in the Vienna gazettes, was attended with ſuch particular circumſtances, that they may perhaps ſerve to excuſe its inſertion. An Auſtrian diviſion having come up with a body of the retreating enemy, which they attacked with great fury, were ſo roughly received, that a battalion of chaſſeurs was cut to pieces; they, however, prevailed, repulſed and drove the enemy; when, ſtrange to relate! the vanquiſhed Turks carried off with them in their rout, the baggage, horſes, and pontons of the purſuing victors. Such is the ſtate of information obtainable from authorized gazettes, in a war of concealment!

The emperor ſoon after departed for Vienna, a meaſure which the bad ſtate of his health had long before rendered neceſſary. All the fruits which he derived for the immenſe expences, a waſte of men almoſt unheard of, and the ruin of one of the fineſt and moſt riſing provinces in his dominions, from this very bloody

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and deſtructive campaign, were two or three inſignificant places on the frontiers of Croatia, with the fortreſs of Choczim, in Moldavia, and ſome parts of the adjoining country, which he held in common with the Ruſſians. For theſe, it may be truly ſaid, that he beſides bartered his life, and ſacrificed, in no ſmall degree, that very high military character and reputation which his armies before poſſeſſed.

As this ſovereign was ſingular in many things, if not all, he is ſaid to have written a general letter to his armies at the cloſe of the campaign. In this epiſtle, he by no means ſcattered indiſcriminate praiſe; for, while he generally and highly applauded the conduct of the cavalry, he was rather ſevere upon the infantry, whom he reproached with not diſplaying that celerity and vigour of exertion, which were alone capable of repelling the impetuous attacks of their enemies. He likewiſe complained much of the jealouſy which prevailed among the commanding officers, and to which he attributed many miſcarriages.

As the grand vizir knew they muſt of neceſſity be ſacrificed, he left but ſlight garriſons, in general, in thoſe places which he poſſeſſed in the Bannat; ſo that they were ſoon and eaſily recovered. But Vipalanka, which was of greater importance, and lay within his reach, he certainly intended to retain, and ſhould have provided better than he did for its defence. Perhaps he relied more than he ſhould upon the want of vigour which had long appeared in the operations of his enemy; for, though the garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand choſen men, that number was inadequate to the purpoſe. This remiſſneſs did not eſcape the vigilance of count Harrach, who, ſoon after the emperor's departure, attacked the place with ſuch vigour and effect, that the garriſon, after the loſs of a fifth of their number, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This occaſioned the renewal of an obſervation which had been before frequently made, viz. that the Imperial generals were much more ſucceſsful in the abſence than under the eye of their maſter. It was likewiſe obſerved, that all thoſe commanders who, like Laudohn, were of ſufficient importance to demand attention to their propoſals, were uniform in their endeavours to obtain commands diſtinct and remote from the grand army.

It is very ſingular, at leaſt appears ſo in the view which can yet be taken of affairs at this diſtance, that marſhal count Lacy, who had acquired ſuch high reputation and honour, in former wars, as to be conſidered among the firſt generals in Europe, is ſcarcely ever mentioned in the tranſactions of this campaign, any other than as companion, or, as it would ſeem, as private ſecretary to the emperor.

An armiſtice was concluded in the month of November, for an indefinite term, between the Auſtrian and the Ottoman generals; but the contracting parties were each bound to give ten days previous notice to the other of their intention, before they in any degree renewed hoſtilities. Indeed the exceſſive ſeverity of the winter, which occaſioned ſuch havock among men and other animals in moſt parts of Europe, rendering it nearly impoſſible for either to ſubſiſt in the open air, ſeemed to ſuperſede for the preſent the neceſſity of a formal armiſtice; and as it was, produced the moſt

deplorable effects upon the poor relics of the war, on their way to quarters of refreſhment; ſo that the calamities of this very hard campaign did not end with its action.

As the preſent grand ſignior mixed more in the politics of Europe, and underſtood them better, than moſt of his predeceſſors, ſo he was not inattentive to the numberleſs cauſes of diſlike and diſcontent, which the emperor's harſh and arbitrary meaſures, in the government of Hungary, had afforded to that brave nation; for he had carried his contempt of all legal forms, conventions, and obligations, to ſuch an extent, that he not only diſdained to receive the kingdom upon the eaſy condition of being crowned in it, (for want of which he was their ſovereign only by force, but not conſtitutionally); but he had ſent their ancient crown and regalia to Vienna, as if they had been the ſpoil and trophies of a conquered nation. The grand ſignior accordingly publiſhed a manifeſto, before the cloſe of the campaign, calling upon and inviting them, as a people ſo long renowned for valour, to aſſert their liberty in ſhaking off the Auſtrian yoke; aſſuring them withal, of the fulleſt protection in their preſent, and the moſt perfect reſtoration of all their ancient rights and privileges, both civil and religious.

This manifeſto, though it anſwered no immediate purpoſe to the Ottomans, produced an excellent effect upon the emperor; who, at this criſis, found himſelf ſo ſeriouſly alarmed by it, that he haſtily iſſued a proclamation, in which he bound himſelf to the Hungarians for the reſtoration of their ancient conſtitution, and of all their peculiar rights and privileges. Nor did the impreſſion now made ſoon wear away, for on his death-bed, and only a few days before his deceaſe, he ordered the conteſted crown and regalia to be ſent back from Vienna to Buda. Happy would it be to mankind, if the approach of death, or any other cauſe, could always produce ſo ſalutary an effect upon their oppreſſors.

The people of Conſtantinople had been ſo long uſed to hear of nothing but defeat and misfortune from their armies, that they were not diſpoſed to give much credit to the favourable accounts which they had from time to time received of the progreſs of the campaign. But when the victory near Karanſebes, with the conſequent ruinous retreat of the Imperial army, were confirmed by the ſight of trophies, and by a detail of preceding and ſubſequent circumſtances, nothing could exceed their joy, nor, ſo far as the gravity of their manners admit, their expreſſions of it. The grand ſignior was publicly ſaluted by the mufti, clergy, and courtiers, with the title of Gazi, or conqueror; and that pleaſing ſound reverberated through the metropolis by the joyful acclamations of the people. To give full effect to this honour, the title was recognized and confirmed by a religious ceremonial, ſimilar to a general thankſgiving in Chriſtendom, which was celebrated in all the moſques of the empire.

In a direct inverſe ratio to the joy and triumph which took place upon this occaſion, was the ſudden dejection, hopeleſſneſs, and diſmay, which ſeized the people, when the news ſoon after arrived, that the grand vizir had abandoned the Bannat, and thereby, as was ſuppoſed, not only cowardly reſigned all the paſt advantages of the war, but even ſacrificed

ſacrificed its future fortune. The account of the loſs of Vipalanka, which ſoon ſucceeded, increaſed the public indignation to ſuch an extreme, that, had the grand vizir been on the ſpot, he probably would have fallen a victim to the vengeance and fury of the people.

An ignorant court and divan, who were little better judges of military affairs than the populace, and who were likewiſe operated upon by private views and cabals, adopted, or ſeemed to adopt, all their prejudices. The grand ſignior alone continued firm in the opinion he held of his general. From this, however, proceeded the ruin, which not long after, under a new, giddy, and inexperienced reign, fell upon that great commander, and which nearly involved in his fall the deſtruction of the empire. He muſt have been, indeed, a truly great man, who, deſtitute himſelf of all experience in war, and at the head of raw undiſciplined forces, who had never before ſeen the face of an enemy, could, by the mere force of his genius, have uſed ſuch aſtoniſhing efforts for reſtoring the character and honour of the Ottoman arms, and for again exalting the fallen fortune of the empire. His military errors (if any) were few, and his evacuating the Bannat can never be admitted amongſt them.

CHAP. III.

Preparations of Ruſſia for conducting the war, directed to the ſide of the Black Sea. Suppoſed cauſes or motives for her failure of co-operation with the Auſtrians on the Danube. Powerful ſquadron equipped for the Mediterranean. Light ſquadron or flotilla, under the conduct of the Prince of Naſſau, prepared on the Black Sea. Allied empires ſeem to have relied too much upon the ſuppoſed ſupineneſs of other powers, in the adoption of their preſent ambitious deſigns. General apparent diſpoſition of the powers and ſtates of Europe with reſpect to the war. Italian ſtates. Spain. France. Northern powers. Holland. Pruſſia. England. Great diſappointment to Ruſſia, and check given to the Mediterranean expedition, through the declared neutrality of England and Holland, and the reſtraint laid upon its ſeamen and ſhipping from entering into foreign ſervice by the former. Sixty Britiſh officers in the Ruſſian naval ſervice go in a body to lay down their commiſſions, upon the appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the fleet at Cronſtadt. That adventurer ſent to the Black Sea. Vaſt Ruſſian army appears on the borders of the Bog. General Soltikow marches to join the prince of Cobourg. Prince Potemkin advances to beſiege Oczakow. Several engagements between the Ruſſian and Turkiſh flotillas at the mouth of the Nieper, in which the latter are conſtantly defeated. Siege of Oczakow commenced; flotilla deſtroyed, and town bombarded by the prince of Naſſau. Unuſual length of the ſiege and obſtinacy of the defence. Winter approaches, and little progreſs yet made. Exceſſive coldneſs of the winter reduces the beſiegers to great diſtreſs. Ruſſian cavalry, incapable any longer of enduring the extremity of the weather, deſert their infantry, and abandon the ſiege. Mutiny apprehended in the camp. Prince Potemkin, as the laſt reſort, orders a general bombardment and cannonade with red-hot balls. Shell falls upon the grand powder magazine, which blows up with ſo terrible an exploſion, as to deſtroy a great part of the wall. Long and bloody engagement in the ſtreets and houſes. Town taken with dreadful ſlaughter. Great deſigns of Ruſſia againſt the Ottoman empire interrupted by the war with Sweden. Cauſes and motives which operated upon the Swediſh ſovereign in adopting that unexpected meaſure. Army ſent to Finland: fleet ſails from Carleſcroon. Note preſented by the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm, greatly reſented by the king. Anſwer to it. Circular note to the foreign miniſters. Count Razamowſki ordered to depart the kingdom. King proceeds to Finland. Hoſtilities commence. Ruſſian manifeſto. Severe naval action between the Ruſſians and Swedes. Victory claimed on both ſides. Great valour diſplayed by the Swedes, who were much inferior in force. Admiral Greig attacks the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, and burns a ſhip of the line. Ruſſians become maſters of the midland ſeas within the Sound; take a Swediſh flotilla laden with proviſions for the fleet and army. Joy at Peterſburgh. Honours paid to admiral Greig. Empreſs writes a letter to him with her own hand. His death and pompous funeral. Delinquent officers, who had been ſent home in irons for miſbehaviour in the

late ſea fight, condemned for life to the gallies. Swediſh manifeſto. Great diſappointments and mortifications experienced by the king, through the diſaffection of the principal officers of the army, which renders the campaign ineffective on the ſide of Finland. Obliged to abandon the army to the care of his brother the duke of Oſtrogothia, and to depart ſuddenly himſelf from Finland, in order to oppoſe the irruption of the Danes on the ſide of Norway.

THOUGH the warlike preparations of Ruſſia were vaſt, and the expences, in any other country, and any other form of government, would have been enormous, yet the movements of her armies, as we have already ſeen, were extremely ſlow. It is impoſſible to determine, with any preciſion, what the concerted arrangements for the operations of the campaign, between the Imperial allies, might have been; but it is evident, from the diſappointment, vexation, and complaint, which prevailed both at Vienna and in the grand army, together with the anxiety and chagrin which appeared in the emperor himſelf, thro' the tardineſs of the Ruſſians, that a ſtrong co-operation of their force was eagerly expected on the borders of the Danube.

Whatever ground there might have been for this expectation, it appears now clearly from the event, that Ruſſia directed her views principally to her own ſeparate aggrandizement, by enlarging and ſecuring her poſſeſſions on the Black Sea, in ſuch a manner, as to form there ſuch a body of power as could not hereafter be ſhaken; this being the grand magnet which, with little interruption to its power, had attracted the views of that empire from the days of Peter the Great to the preſent. Nor ſhould we attribute too much to ſelfiſh and intereſted motives her conduct in the preſent inſtance; and ſtill leſs conſider it as a ſhameful dereliction of her ally. For undoubtedly Ruſſia ſuppoſed, as the reſt of the world did, that the emperor, with the vaſt force in his hands, and the admirable nature of that force, conſiſting in tried and excellent armies, was not only fully competent to maintain the war on the Danube with effect, but was likewiſe capable of making ſuch an irruption into the Turkiſh dominions on that ſide, as might have ſhaken the Ottoman empire to its centre; more eſpecially when ſhe reflected, that, as her own powerful armies would at the ſame time be making a deep impreſſion in other parts, that would produce, by dividing the force and diſtracting the councils and attention of the enemy, perhaps a greater effect, than a direct co-operation in the ſame field. It may therefore be preſumed, that any room which Ruſſia afforded for ſuch an expectation, though it amounted even to an abſolute engagement, was intended merely to chear up and to encourage an unfledged warrior, until he had felt his own ſtrength, was grown warm by action, and become ſanguine from ſucceſs.

But if Ruſſia was ſlow in her movements by land, ſhe was by no means ſlack in her naval preparation, which was ſo favourite an object, that no labour was deemed a toil, nor no expence a waſte of treaſure, in its purſuit. For, beſides that the ſea preſented the Ottoman

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weak ſide, and that one deciſive action on that element would more fatally affect the ſecurity of the Turkiſh empire than the loſs of half a dozen battles by land. Egypt, and the beautiful iſlands of the Archipelago, held out ſuch a variety of faſcinating objects, and ſo apparently eaſy of attainment, that it would require no common degree of political temperance and ſelf-denial to withſtand the temptation of ſeizing them. It need ſcarcely be obſerved, that all the Ottoman poſſeſſions on the continent of Europe muſt, after ſuch an event, lie at the mercy of Ruſſia.

A powerful fleet of eighteen ſail of the line, moſt of them heavy ſhips, of high rates, and great weight of metal, together with a cloud of frigates, and other ſmaller and lighter veſſels, ſuited to the nature of the ſeas, and intended ſervice, were accordingly equipped, and deſtined for the Mediterranean. As the celebrated count Orlow, who had acquired ſo much glory in the laſt war, and who had the addition of Chiſme to his title, in commemoration of the remarkable deſtruction which then befel the Turkiſh fleet, in a port or bay of that name, on the coaſt of the Leſſer Aſia, had now declined, from ſome cauſes not generally known, to take upon him the command of this expedition, that important truſt was committed to the charge of admiral Greig, a Scotſman, and a brave and diſtinguiſhed ſeaman, who, in a ſtrange country, without fortune or intereſt, had riſen, merely by his ſuperior merit, from the humbleſt walks of life to his preſent exalted ſituation.

Another naval armament was prepared, with no leſs induſtry, for the ſervice of the Black Sea; but, Ruſſia not being able to cope with her enemy there, in the number or ſtrength of line of battle ſhips which ſhe could bring into action, intended to ſupply this defect by the conſtruction of a numerous flotilla, compoſed of frigates, gallies, gun-boats, and various deſcriptions of light veſſels, calculated to act near the ſhores, in a depth of water which would not admit the approach of capital ſhips. It was, however, principally intended for the ſecurity of Kinburne, by rendering the entrance of the Nieper inacceſſible to the Turkiſh fleet; which was the more eaſily accompliſhed, as the navigation is at all times difficult, and particularly dangerous to bad ſeamen, from the number of ſhoals with which the river is incumbered, together with the narrowneſs of its channels, and variety of the currents. As theſe veſſels were not, on this ſervice, liable to be expoſed to the dangers of ſeas and ſtorms, they were accordingly fortified with a tremendous artillery, compoſed of heavy battering cannon, and of large mortars: and, being beſides excellently ſtored with able ſeamen and veteran ſoldiers, they were eminently fitted for the deſigned purpoſe. The prince of Naſſau, who we may remember to have heard of in the laſt war, both in the French unfortunate attempt on the iſland of Jerſey, and in the ſtill more diſaſtrous attack of the combined nations, of France and Spain, on the fortreſs of Gibraltar; and whoſe uncommon rage for adventure, and eagerneſs to ſignalize himſelf, have led him almoſt to every part of the world, where any ſervice was to be performed, or danger encountered;

countered; was appointed to the command of this naval armament on the Black Sea.

It would ſeem as if the unaccountable ſupineneſs with which Europe looked on, as if totally unconcerned, at that dangerous precedent, and atrocious act of fraud, perfidy, and violence, the diſmemberment of their neighbour kingdom of Poland, had miſled the united allies of Auſtria and Ruſſia in their preſent ſyſtem of policy, and that they took it for granted, that the ſubverſion of an ancient, and one of the greateſt empires in the world, with the apportioning of its vaſt members and ſpoils to their mutual aggrandizement, would have been beheld with the ſame indifference in the preſent day, which had prevailed on their firſt eſſay at partitioning countries in the former memorable inſtance.

But things were now changed, and the minds of men and of nations were not aſleep; or, what amounts to the ſame thing, were not ſo entirely occupied by mean concerns, or ſelfiſh petty deſigns, as to overlook affairs of the greateſt moment. That ſupineneſs, to which both great communities and the moſt watchful individuals are at particular periods ſubject, may, perhaps, with propriety, be as much conſidered as an epidemical diſeaſe of the mind, as thoſe wuich rank under the ſame deſcription are with reſpect to the body. Some of the principal powers in Europe had long ſince looked back with wonder and regret at their own inertneſs upon that occaſion. The inſupportable haughtineſs and arrogance of one of the allied powers, which was diſpoſed to dictate to all mankind in their moſt ſecluded concerns, together with the ſelfiſh policy and known duplicity of the other, ſerved likewiſe to rouze that general attention, and to awaken that jealouſy, which their power and union alone ſhould have been fully competent to excite, without any auxiliary aid. England too, had had full leiſure to ruminate upon, and ſufficient cauſe to reprobate, that abſurd and blind policy, under the influence of which ſhe had drawn an uncertain ally, and an over to be ſuſpected friend, from the bottom of the Bothnic gulph, to eſtabliſh a new naval empire in the Mediterranean and Archipelago; a meaſure which, if it could have taken effect, that not only would have proved in the end ruinous to England herſelf, but which would have involved, while it could laſt, all the vaſt ſurrounding regions of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, in continued broils, troubles, and wars.

The allied empires accordingly now experienced a very general coldneſs, with an implied or declared diſapprobation, with reſpect to their claims, pretenſions, and deſigns, in almoſt all the courts of Europe. The republic of Genoa was almoſt the only exception; ſhe, beſides a conſiderable loan, granted the uſe of her ports to Ruſſia, and engaged to furniſh the Mediterranean fleet with ſtores and ſupplies. We have already ſeen the determination of Venice with reſpect to the war, and the refuſal of the king of Sardinia to permit recruiting in his dominions. The new commercial treaties which Ruſſia had entered into with Naples and Portugal, whatever future benefits they might poſſibly afford in ſeaſons of peace, could tell but little with reſpect to the war. But Spain, which was of much greater importance than both together, had a Turkiſh ambaſſador then at her court, who

who was treated with the greateſt honours, and was not only herſelf at all times avowedly inimical to the Ruſſians obtaining any footing whatever in the Mediterranean, but, it was now univerſally believed, would have reſiſted the paſſage of their fleet through the ſtreights by force of arms; and nobody was ignorant that her fleets were far ſuperior, both in number and goodneſs, to thoſe of Ruſſia.

With reſpect to France, ſhe made no ſecret of her diſpoſition, nor could any doubt be entertained of it though ſhe had. An uninterrupted alliance for between two and three centuries (a duration of friendſhip ſcarcely to be paralleled between nations upon any equality of power) a moſt advantageous commerce, amounting nearly to a monopoly, through that period, together with many particular acts of friendſhip, and many eſſential political ſervices in ſeaſons of great occaſion, were, excluſive of that juſt policy, which had long induced her to regard with a jealous eye any augmentation of power to Ruſſia, the ſtrong ties that bound France to the Porte. It was then eaſily ſeen, that nothing leſs than the deranged preſent ſtate of her own affairs, could compel her to be a quieſcent ſpectator to the ruin of the Ottoman empire.

As to the northern powers, Sweden ordered the ſtricteſt neutrality to be obſerved, and forbid her ſeamen, and ſubjects in general, from entering into the ſervice of any of the belligerant powers. Denmark was ſilent, and the part ſhe was diſpoſed to take not yet underſtood by her neareſt neighbours; but, although ſhe was known to be a good deal in the hands of Ruſſia, yet it was not believed that, under the influence of a wiſe political foreſight, ſhe could really wiſh any farther aggrandizement of that overgrown empire, whoſe coloſſal power had already rendered the independence and liberties of all the nations of the north extremely precarious.

Holland, the open mart of all nations, whether friends or enemies, for all commodities, lent ſome money to Ruſſia; but this was no public act, and the loan dragged on but heavily even with individuals. With regard to the political ſentiments of that republic, nobody would venture to ſuſpect her preſent government of being at all favourably diſpoſed to thoſe ſchemes of ambition and conqueſt adopted by the allied empires.

The Pruſſian monarch, both from ſituation and power, ſeemed alone capable of diſturbing the views, and even of entirely fruſtrating the deſigns of the allied empires; nor was there more than one ſovereign in Europe, to whom any great acceſſion of dominion to either would have been ſo immediately dangerous. And, though he was not perhaps competent ſingly to maintain a conteſt againſt their vaſt united force, yet, in a cauſe which affected ſo many other intereſts as the preſent, he could not long fail of effective alliances. His policy was, however, too deep to be yet fathomed. Collected in his redoubtable native force, which rendered him ſuperior to apprehenſion and circumſtance, he coolly ſurveyed the gathering tempeſt, and waited to behold it burſt, with a ſteady eye, and an undaunted countenance. The emperor had done as much, as the habitual ſtiffneſs and pride of the court of Vienna, joined to his own incur-

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able animoſity, could well admit, in order to procure the quieſcence and good neighbourhood of Pruſſia during the war. But the ſuperior haughtineſs of his great ally diſdained to ſtoop to temporizing meaſures, or to conciliatory expreſſions. It ſeemed as if ſhe rather wiſhed, that Pruſſia was conſidered as not of ſufficient importance to come within her eſtimate of things, than that it ſhould be at all regarded as interfering with her views of ambition, or as capable of diſturbing her calculations of conqueſt and dominion. Perhaps it was thought that all the ſpirit and wiſdom of that kingdom had fled with the immortal Frederic.

Such was the aſpect of public affairs, and ſo little favour did the countenance of moſt of the European powers expreſs to that war, which its partizans warmly hoped, and many others expected, would have terminated in the final ſubverſion of the Ottoman empire.

The diſpoſition of the firſt maritime power in the world was ſtill unknown; and upon that much depended. We have ſeen that the expedition to the Mediterranean was a moſt favourite object with Ruſſia; but it was not its being merely a favourite that rendered it of importance; it was conſidered as the moſt effective, if not the moſt potent arm of the war, without whoſe aid no other exertion could be deemed abſolutely deciſive. Yet it was ſcarcely poſſible that this expedition could ſucceed, in almoſt any degree, without the concurrence, favour, and even aſſiſtance of England. With an equal diſregard of future conſequences, and contempt of former favours and ſervices, Ruſſia had, for ſeveral years, heaped diſobligation upon diſobligation, in her tranſactions with Great Britain; and even now, when ſo much was immediately at ſtake, ſhe ſtill refuſed to renew the commercial treaties which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations; at the ſame time that ſhe was running about all Europe to form commercial engagements with ſtates, who from nature, ſituation, and circumſtances, were incapable of receiving or communicating any benefit from the connection; and that the Engliſh merchants, without the ſecurity of a treaty, were ſtill the great ſupporters of the manufactures and commerce of that empire.———Yet, ſhe expected, that England would again become the dupe to her ambition!

In this confidence, pilot-boats were engaged in England, to wait in proper ſtations for the arrival of the Ruſſian fleet; to guide them into thoſe ports, which, being the ſtation of the royal naval arſenals, could the more expeditiouſly ſupply them with all manner of ſtores and proviſions, and, at the ſame time, moſt effectually facilitate their equipment for the Mediterranean ſervice. Theſe objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the channel, and then to be replaced by a new ſet, equally verſed in the navigation of the more diſtant ſeas which they were to encounter.

In the mean time, ſome merchants in London, as agents to the court of Peterſburgh, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ſhips, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to ſerve as tenders to the Ruſſian fleet, in the conveyance of proviſions, ſtores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promiſing train ſeemed the ſtate of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette,

Gazette, prohibiting Britiſh ſeamen from entering into any foreign ſervice, threw a fatal damp upon the deſign. This was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for ſupplying them muſt be renounced; that the ſhips would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality during the war, with reſpect to all the hoſtile powers, and conſequently ſhould afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of remedying in ſome degree this grievous diſappointment, or at leaſt of putting the better countenance upon the buſineſs, and affecting not to regard it, Ruſſia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of large tranſports to anſwer the ſame purpoſe; but here the diſappointment was renewed, that government not only abſolutely refuſing a compliance with the requeſt, but declaring its fixed determination to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality through the courſe of the war. As this rejection was attributed ſolely to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, ſo it was added to the black catalogue of her political ſins, and ſtored up for future remembrance.

Though nothing could exceed the vexation which this diſappointment occaſioned, nor ſerve more effectually to exaſperate the court of Peterſburgh, yet it happened, ſingularly enough, that few things could have been of more eſſential ſervice to her than the failure. For, had that fleet proceeded on its intended courſe to the Mediterranean early in the ſummer (as was intended, and the ſervice required) the remaining part of her marine force, her great naval and military arſenals, her ports, her golden acquiſition, the province of Livonia, and her capital itſelf, would have been all expoſed to great riſque and apparent danger, in conſequence of the rupture which ſoon after took place between her and her jealous and exaſperated neighbour, the king of Sweden. Thus, it not ſeldom happens, that the favoured children of fortune are greatly ſerved by her in ſpite of themſelves, by her overruling and counteracting thoſe ill-laid deſigns, which the blindeſs of their paſſions and violence of their deſires have given birth to.

Although the Ruſſian fleets appeared powerful and formidable, from the number of ſhips, men, and guns of which they conſiſted, yet one defect prevailed, which was nearly an irremediable ſource of weakneſs. This was the want of native officers of ſufficient ability and experience to conduct their operations with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this want could be fully ſupplied by foreigners; it was, however, the only reſource; and the concluſion of the American war afforded a conſiderable ſupply of young Engliſh officers, whoſe minds were too active to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of theſe, had riſen to any higher rank in their own ſervice than that of lieutenant, ſo that the command of ſingle ſhips ſeemed the higheſt advancement they could yet be competent to. They were, however, of the utmoſt importance to Ruſſia in the preſent ſtate of things, and Great Britain, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſubſiſting between both courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them.

This known paucity of commanders

ders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the Engliſh pirate and renegado, Paul Jones, who had rendered himſelf ſo notorious in the American war, by the miſchiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whoſe deſperate courage, which only ſerved to render his atrociouſneſs conſpicuous, would, in a good cauſe, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the conſideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his ſervices to the court of Peterſburgh, where they ſeem to have been joyfully received, for he was immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronſtadt. The Britiſh officers, full of thoſe national and profeſſional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and ſervice, conſidered this appointment as the higheſt affront that could be offered to them, and a ſubmiſſion to it an act of ſuch degradation, that no time or circumſtance could wipe away the diſhonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of above threeſcore, without a ſingle diſſentient lagging behind, or heſitating on the account of inconvenience or perſonal diſtreſs, to lay down their commiſſions, declaring at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible for them either to ſerve under, or to act with, in any manner or capacity whatever, a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarraſſing to the court of Peterſburgh, at the preſent critical period, than this ſpirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard-of in that ſervice. No Ruſſian, under the firſt rank or order, would dare to inſinuate ſuch an idea. As it was, it could not be conſidered as leſs than a direct inſult to the court, and any ſubmiſſion to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would beſides eſtabliſh a precedent which may be troubleſome or dangerous with reſpect to her own ſubjects. Happy it was that the officers were not the ſubjects of a ſmall ſtate, and that this did not happen in a ſeaſon of peace, when their ſervices might be diſpenſed with. Under theſe united circumſtances, a ſentence of ſerving for life before the maſt, would have been deemed a lenient puniſhment for their contumacy. The neceſſity of the time, however, prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronſtadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whoſe character of an impetuous courage had made an impreſſion on the court far beyond its real value) was diſpatched to the Black Sea as ſecond to the prince of Naſſau.

In the mean time vaſt armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to inſure the moſt deciſive ſucceſs, could be withheld from the grand favourite, prince Potemkin, in whoſe department the war lay. It was even expected, that, in the diſtribution of kingdoms and empires, a ſovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his ſhare. Thoſe Ruſſians, who conſidered themſelves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences which might enſue, under certain

certain poſſible and natural circumſtances, from ſo vaſt a power being lodged in the hands of a ſingle man, as he already poſſeſſed. With reſpect to the war, nothing could exhibit a more forbidding or a more deplorable aſpect than the intended ſcene of action. Famine, peſtilence, with all the deſolation and calamity of a long and moſt cruel war, had laid waſte the Tartar countries, and ravaged both the Ruſſian and Turkiſh borders, ſo that all the proviſion for the armies, the ſingle article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immenſe diſtance.

June 18th, 1788. In defiance of theſe difficulties, a vaſt Ruſſian army, eſtimated at 150,000 men, appeared on the banks of the river Bog, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Black Sea, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general Romanzow; theſe being aſſiſted by prince Repnin, general Soltikow, and other commanders of note. This great force was ſupported by a field train of 137 pieces of artillery, beſides a vaſt park of heavy batrering cannon and mortars, deſtined for the ſiege of Oczakow; and furniſhed with that exuberance of powder, ball, ſhells, and all manner of military machines, which are the uſual concomitants of a Ruſſian army, particularly when engaged, as at preſent, upon favourite ſervice. A large portion of this army, under the command of General Romanzow, was deſigned to command reſpect on the ſide of Poland and Lithuania, and to furniſh a ſtrong ſeparate command under general Soltikow, to ſupport the Auſtrian commander prince de Cobourg, on the ſide of Moldavia, with a view firſt to the ſiege of Chockzim, and after that capture, to the conqueſt of the whole province. This aſſignment of the active and principal ſervice to prince Potemkin, was ſo deciſive a victory over his great rival, and competitor for honour and favour, general Romanzow, and ſo grievous a mortification to the latter, that it has ſince occaſioned his reſignation.

In the mean time, the captain pacha having taken the command of the Turkiſh force on the Black Sea, appeared with a numerous fleet at the mouth of the Nieper, where the ſervice grew warm between him and the prince of Naſſau, who, with his flotilla of gallies and light veſſels, oppoſed, with great ſucceſs, the attempts of the enemy to become maſters of that river.

Two, if not three, deſperate and bloody engagements took place between the hoſtile armaments, in that broad lake which is formed by the Nieper and the Bog, before their junction with the Black Sea, and which is itſelf ſo conſiderable a piece of water, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Liman Sea. In all theſe the Ruſſians were ſo highly ſucceſsful, as to afford occaſion for ſinging *Te Deum* twice, if not oftener, both at Peterſburgh and in the army of prince Potemkin. The Turks diſplayed as deſperate a valour in theſe amphibious engagements (which could ſcarcely be conſidered as naval) as their brethren had done by land, on the borders of the Danube; but, through that fatal indolence which has ſo long marked the conduct of that government, they were totally ignorant of the navigation of a river, which had for ſo many ages been in their poſſeſſion. The Ruſſians were likewiſe ſuperior

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to them in point of ſeamanſhip; ſtill more in the conſtruction and fitneſs of their veſſels for the ſervice; and above all in the management of their powerful artillery.

A looſe relation of one of theſe actions, taken from accounts which ever ſtudiouſly abſtain from any thing that carries the appearance of perſpicuity or preciſion, will, however, ſerve to convey ſome general idea of the whole, or at leaſt of the nature of the ſervice.

We are not certain whether it was in the firſt or the ſecond engagement, that the captain pacha lay with his fleet of line of battle ſhips on the Oczakow ſide of the river, but ſtretching between that fortreſs and its mouth. The prince of Naſſau's flotilla occupied the ſhoals and channels of the broad water in front, which extended to the Kinburne ſide. The Turks having failed in all their attempts to cannonade the Ruſſian light fleet, with any effect, from their great ſhips, the high admiral endeavoured to remedy this defect, by haſtily forming a ſimilar light armament to engage them upon equal terms. For this purpoſe he collected all the ſmall veſſels that were within his reach, which, with the boats belonging to the ſhips of war, the frigates, and perhaps ſome gallies appertaining to the fleet, formed, all together, an armament far ſuperior in number to that of the prince of Naſſau; but as far inferior in point of conſtruction and equipment. The victory, however, as we ſhall ſee, did not depend upon either, but upon the ignorance of the Turks with reſpect to the river and its navigation.

The great admiral, with his uſual eagerneſs and accuſtomed intrepidity, took the command of this armament himſelf, and directed the attack in a frigate, with his ſtandard diſplayed. The Ruſſian armament was very advantageouſly poſted, being drawn up in a line near Kinburne, where, beſides the difficulties of the approach, they were in a great meaſure covered by the cannon of the fortreſs. The Turkiſh veſſels ſoon began to ſtick in the ſands, and were at the ſame time wofully torn, by the inceſſant and excellently directed fire of their enemy. The grand admiral's frigate, in his eagerneſs to bear down upon a vexatious enemy, who ſeemed ſo nearly within his reach, ſtuck ſo faſt, that ſhe could never be got off; and, whether it proceeded from a raſh obſtinacy or not, continued for ſeveral hours in that poſition, equally expoſed to the fire from the town and from the veſſels. At length, though the frigate was on fire, he was not brought off until ſhe was nearly burnt to the water edge. A ſignal inſtance of intrepidity was then ſhewn by a Ruſſian, who boarded her in that ſtate, and carried off the ſtandard juſt before ſhe blew up.

Five other veſſels, including a ſecond flag, were burnt, and two taken; the remainder of the ſcattered flotilla fled for ſhelter to the ſhips of the line. Three or four thouſand priſoners were ſaid to be taken; but the loſs of veſſels holds no proportion to ſuch a number. The grand admiral was, however, obliged to proceed to the port of Varna with the fleet, either to refit, to take in ſupplies, or both; but he ſoon appeared again in the Nieper. —In another action, ſimilar to this, and which ſeems to have been pre-

vious to it, two Turkiſh veſſels were blown up, one ſunk, and the reſt routed.

As if the Ruſſian details of military tranſactions had not at all times been ſo obſcure and imperfect as to require every poſſible auxiliary aid that could be obtained for their elucidation, ſo that court, as if faſcinated by the wiſdom of the emperor's ſyſtem of concealment in war, adopted herſelf the ſame principle. A decree was iſſued at Peterſburgh, ſtrictly forbidding, under the heavieſt penalties, all merchants and others, but particularly including Jews and foreigners, from taking any notice whatever of public affairs, of the war, or of any matters relative to the ſtate or tranſactions of the fleets or armies, in the letters which they diſpatched to their foreign correſpondents.

July 12th. It was after the return of the capain pacha from Varna, that prince Potemkin inveſted Oczakow; but, as his battering artillery were not arrived, he could not yet commence a regular ſiege. His field artillery, though, running from 14 to 24 pounders, he erected batteries againſt the town, and againſt the Turkiſh light fleet of gallies and gun-boats, which were now under the batteries, with a view equally of receiving protection and of communicating aſſiſtance. While the town and the fleet were warmly engaged on the land ſide, the prince of Naſſau increaſed their peril and diſmay, by a fierce attack with cannon and mortars on the ſide of the Liman. Theſe attacks were all conducted in the night, and, from its nature, nothing could be more dreadful than the conflict, which raged without intermiſſion for eight hours. In that time the Turkiſh light marine was totally deſtroyed; and the number of veſſels and of guns which they are ſaid to have loſt (the latter being rated at a thouſand) appears almoſt incredible. It is likewiſe ſtated, that during this deſtruction of the fleet, the prince of Naſſau bombarded the town with ſuch vigour and effect, as to reduce its upper part nearly to aſhes; a circumſtance that ill accords with the long and obſtinate defence which it continued to make for ſo many months after.

Oczakow was garriſoned by about twenty thouſand choice troops, and the vigour, obſtinacy, and perſeverance of the defence, fully juſtified that character. Every foot of ground was bravely diſputed, generally maintained, and if loſt, dearly purchaſed by the beſiegers. The ſallies of the garriſon were frequent, not ſeldom ſucceſsful, and, with whatever judgment they were conducted, were ever dangerous to the enemy, and deſperately ſupported. In the firſt grand attack upon ſome of the outworks, letters from ſeveral neutral places repreſented the beſiegers to have been repulſed in a manner ſcarcely ſhort of a defeat. The ſuppoſed ſucceſſes, publiſhed in the Ruſſian gazettes, were evidently intended to ſtifle the murmurs of the people at home, and to obviate the complaints and reproaches of their allies; while the continuance of the ſiege afforded a ſilent but unanſwerable refutation to them.

It was indeed little conſiſtent with the modern compendious method of taking fortreſſes (which has cauſed ſo great an alteration in the nature and circumſtances of wars, and by which they ſeem almoſt to be conſidered as taken from the time the trenches

trenches are opened) to ſee ſo great a force, ſo vaſt an artillery, ſuch able generals, veteran troops, and expert engineers, for ſo long a time baffled by a ſingle inſulated place, detached from all hope or poſſibility of ſuccour.

Winter approached, the combatants on the Danube were retiring into winter quarters, and nothing was done at Oczakow, where the proſpects of taking the place ſeemed to be as remote as they had been on the firſt day of opening the ſiege. This was inconceivably diſtreſſing to prince Potemkin, whoſe honour, and perhaps fortune, were ſtaked on the event. Nor was it much leſs diſtreſſing to the court of Peterſburgh, who felt that the character and honour of the empire would be deeply affected by a failure in the only great object of the campaign.

In the mean time the inſufferable cold of that dreadful winter, which made ſuch havock among men and animals through the greater part of Europe, began to be felt with irreſiſtible effect in the camp. This was rendered more intolerable by the ſcarcity of fire-wood in that bare and bleak region; a want, which the length of carriage, and other difficulties, defied all human induſtry to remedy. It ſeemed as if this ſcourge of nature muſt have been deciſive in its effects. The Ruſſian cavalry, in defiance of the influence of their commanders, of the ſeverity of their diſcipline, and of the allurement of an immenſe expected plunder, deſerted the camp. The infantry, ſinking under the ſame inſupportable diſtreſs, and diſpirited by the loſs of their fellows, could ſcarcely be retained to their duty. It was in this deplorable ſtate of affairs, when rout and diſgrace appeared little leſs than inevitable, that the fortune of Ruſſia ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to all difficulties, and, by a moſt fortuitous circumſtance, to cover her arms with glory and victory.

Prince Potemkin, as the laſt effort, ordered, Dec. 17th. a dreadful general bombardment, and cannonade of the place with red-hot balls, to take place. One of theſe fell upon the grand powder magazine, which, being ſtill amply provided, blew up with ſo terrible an exploſion, as to demoliſh too great a portion of the wall to admit of the fortreſs being any longer tenable. The Turks, notwithſtanding, defended both the breach and the ſtreets with the moſt deſperate valour, and the brave aga, who commanded them, diſdaining to ſurvive his men, rejected all offers of quarter, and was of neceſſity cut to pieces. The ſlaughter was great, but no two of the publiſhed accounts agree in their eſtimate of the number ſlain on either ſide. That publiſhed at Vienna, under the ſanction of prince Galliczin, and which enters into ſuch particularity as to mention preciſe numbers, ſtates that 7,400 Turks were killed in the action, or, as it is called, in the field, beſides thoſe that were *ſabred* in the houſes. The ſlaughter was evidently great, as the number of Turkiſh military priſoners made, of ſo great a garriſon, was ſome hundreds under three thouſand. The governor baſha, not holding the ſame contempt of life diſplayed by the intrepid aga, was of that number, and, to the great chagrin of prince Potemkin's numerous enemies, ſerved to grace his triumphant return to Peterſburgh.

The loſs of the Ruſſians in this final aſſault, is generally eſtimated at about 4,000 men killed or wounded,

and near 200 officers are included in the former liſt: ſo that the action muſt have been exceedingly hard fought and ſevere. It ſeems a ſingular circumſtance of fatality with reſpect to Oczakow, that it was loſt in the year 1737, exactly in the ſame manner, by the fall of a ſhell, and the blowing up of the powder magazine; and that too at the critical period when the celebrated marſhal Munich (who was likewiſe a diſtinguiſhed favourite of fortune) would have been otherwiſe obliged to raiſe the ſiege with diſgrace, and that his retreat, in all its conſequences, would have been probably attended with the loſs of half his army. The carnage was, however, greater in the former inſtance than even in the preſent; 6,000 Turks having periſhed in the exploſion, and the whole loſs on their ſide falling little ſhort of 20,000 men.

Oczakow, independent of the value it derived from ſtrength and ſituation, ſeems to have been of much more conſideration as a trading town, than it was uſually regarded in this part of the world; for the number of inhabitants now made priſoners exceeded 25,000; a degree of population which affords no ſmall indication of former proſperity. Such are the fatal ravages of unpitying war! As this event took place on the feſtival of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Ruſſian empire, ſo the ſuperſtition of the ſoldiery and common people attributed the guidance of the fortunate ſhell entirely to their tutelary ſaint, who, they ſuppoſed, had thus gained a complete victory over Mahomet. If the occaſion had been leſs doleful, it might have been rather a laughable circumſtance to obſerve, that all the letters from Oczakow, however they diſagreed in other things, took particular notice, and ſeemed to lay ſome emphaſis upon the recital, that four thouſand very fine women were included among the priſoners.

It was during the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities with the Porte, that Ruſſia found herſelf ſuddenly involved in a new and unexpected war; the poſſibility and conſequences of which were certainly not taken into account, in her original calculations of conqueſt and ſchemes of aggrandiſement. For though the world, as well as themſelves, had long known the diſtaſte which prevailed between the courts of Peterſburgh and Stockholm, and ſaw that public jealouſies were by degrees ripened into perſonal diſlike, and even an apparently fixed animoſity between the ſovereigns, yet nobody imagined, or indeed believed, that, conſidering the prodigious diſproportion of their power, Sweden could have ventured upon entering into a direct war with Ruſſia.

The king of Sweden had ſpirit, perhaps it may hereafter be conſidered as ſagacity and wiſdom, to ſee things in a different point of view. He might have been taught (if all more remote hiſtory had been extinct) from the numerous examples afforded by his uncle, the hero and founder of the Pruſſian empire, how to diſtinguiſh between great difficulties and abſolute impoſſibilities; he might likewiſe have learnt, from the ſame ſchool of knowledge and experience, that there are certain critical ſituations, when it becomes wiſdom, and is conſonant to the ſtricteſt laws of calculation, to commit every thing to the hazard of a ſingle great exertion, rather than to wait for that irretrievable ſtate of things, when it would be impoſſible for any exertion to produce a ſingle favourable caſt.

As

As a nation, Sweden had the greateſt cauſes of reſentment againſt Ruſſia for paſt injury and loſs, at the ſame time that ſhe had every thing to dread from her preſent overgrown power and boundleſs ambition, which was as little qualified in the wanton diſplay, as it was ungoverned in the actual exertion. It was impoſſible to behold the rich province of Livonia, with the adjoining valuable ones of Eſthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, beſides a great part of Finland, in the hands of ſtrangers and enemies, without the deepeſt regret; or could a Swediſh patriot behold, without a degree of indignation equal to the regret, his countrymen periſhing all round him for want of bread, while the firſt of theſe provinces could moſt abundantly have ſupplied their wants? Theſe loſſes were embittered by the recollection of particular injuries and extraordinary cruelties. The ſavage war carried on by Peter the firſt (it may be ſaid againſt human nature) in the bowels and loweſt caverns of the earth, for the deſtruction of the Swediſh copper and iron works, and rendering the ruin irretrievable, by breaking down the mounds that prevented the water from overflowing the mines, was, ſo far as human power and malice could apply, entailing miſery and want through all generations upon a people, whoſe harveſts and means of life were produced in thoſe dark regions.

Yet, in defiance of theſe, ſeemingly incurable, national animoſities, Ruſſia has conſtantly found means to maintain a ſtrong and numerous party in Sweden, who were ever ready to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country to her ſelfiſh and dangerous views. This ſhe has accompliſhed by various means, by the common effect of power, in dazzling and ſubduing the weak and the timid; by her money, which could not fail to operate with great effect, upon a very numerous, poor, and factious nobility; to this head may be referred the facility with which her vaſt military eſtabliſhments enabled her to provide for all thoſe, and even for their relations and friends, whoſe zeal for her ſervice rendered them obnoxious to their country. The vicinity of Ruſſia too, with that overreaching affectation of friendſhip and good neighbourhood, under the covert of which ſhe endeavours to become a party in the affairs of all her neighbours, together with the common ties of language, religion, blood, and various other connections, ſubſiſting between the ſubjugated Swediſh provinces, and thoſe ſtill retained by that crown, afforded her continual opportunities of being minutely acquainted with the moſt ſecret affairs of that country, of knowing the exact ſtate, views, and value of parties, and of knowing all thoſe men who were the fitteſt for the purpoſe, and the moſt liable to be practiſed on, in order to make them proſelytes to her views.

The great revolution in the government of Sweden, effected by the preſent king, tended greatly to leſſen this ſiniſter influence; but the evil was too deeply fixed to be ſoon eradicated, and the bold intriguing diſpoſition of the Ruſſian miniſters at Stockholm, who, preſuming too much on the greatneſs of the power by which they were ſupported, diſdained to ſubmit to thoſe nice regulations, which the wiſdom of ages and nations have eſtabliſhed as laws to govern the conduct of the diplomatic body during their miſſion in foreign courts. By this means a ſtrong

foreign faction, though ſeemingly cemented by conſtitutional principles, and looking only to domeſtic regulation and concerns, was conſtantly nurſed and ſupported in the kingdom, who, directly inimical to the king, and to the new form of government, were no leſs ſo in effect, whether intentionally or not, to the real intereſts and ſecurity of their country.

That ſudden and unforeſeen revolution in the government of Sweden, was the ſource of all the coolneſs, jealouſy, and diſlike, which has ſince taken place between the courts of Peterſburgh and Stockholm. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the views of Ruſſia, or ſubverſive of the policy which ſhe has purſued during the greater part of the preſent century, than that Sweden ſhould ever again recover her former rank among nations, or any part of that weight and influence which ſhe once held in the political ſcale of Europe. A nominal king without power or effect, with a nation conſtantly rent and diſtracted by jarring factions, any of which ſhe might occaſionally ſupport againſt the others, as beſt ſuited her immediate purpoſes, would, in proceſs of time, afford her ſuch continual opportunities for interference and regulation, and ſuch frequent pretences for ſending armies into the country to ſupport her deciſions, that all the ſubſtantial benefits of conqueſt would thus be obtained, without the odium and jealouſy ever inſeparable from that term. Nor might it be entirely overlooked, that dependent kings, as well as dependent princes, would be neceſſary appendages to the ſplendor, as well as gratifications to the vanity of an imperial court.

The revolution deſtroyed all ſchemes of this nature, however fondly entertained. It is now well known, that nothing leſs than the various calamities, occaſioned by a long foreign war, a dangerous rebellion at home, and the cruel ravages of the peſtilence, all of which about that time afflicted Ruſſia, could have prevented her from taking a direct and deciſive part in overthrowing, as ſhe had not time to prevent, the ſyſtem of government then eſtabliſhed by the king of Sweden. It was, however, ſtill perhaps expected, that a young prince like Guſtavus, feeling himſelf yet weak, and not fully aſſured in his new acceſſion of power, would have gladly applied to his great, wiſe, and powerful neighbour, for her approbation and confirmation of it. That by becoming her pupil in the art of government, an eaſy way would be chalked out to him, for reaping all the fruits of her wiſdom and experience, and at the ſame time, of freeing himſelf entirely from all the trouble, care, and danger, incident to that moſt arduous of all human taſks; and that by this means, tho' the old ſyſtem of policy was changed, the ſame ends would be obtained under the new. But the new king, ſeeming to partake largely of that vanity common to young men, of holding a good opinion of his own abilities, went on boldly with the buſineſs of regulation, government, and legiſlation, without requiring any foreign advice or aſſiſtance.

Every body, however, expected, that the viſit which the king not long after paid to the court of Peterſburgh, would have amply atoned for this inattention or neglect, which might well be imputed to the giddy effect, that a ſudden acceſſion of power

power is liable to produce, on a youthful and inexperienced mind. The world is ſtill to learn the nature or deſign of the conferences which took place on this occaſion; for, whether there were witneſſes or not, the ſecret has been inviolably preſerved on both ſides; it is, however, evident from the reſult, that the ſentiments, ideas, or principles of the empreſs and of the king did not accord in all reſpects, although the ground and matter of difference are unknown. For the king ſuddenly departed from the court of Peterſburgh, it was ſaid, without taking leave, while the expedition which he uſed in returning to his own dominions carried almoſt the appearance of precipitation; and from that period, the breach between the two courts, inſtead of cloſing, has been continually growing wider.

The effects produced by the revolution, fully juſtified the apprehenſions entertained from, and the averſion conceived by Ruſſia to that meaſure. A prompt, firm, executive government, union and deciſion in the cabinet, with a tolerable degree of apparent harmony between the king and the deliberative orders of the ſtate, ſucceeded to anarchy, weakneſs, and diſcord. Inſtead of that wretched ſtate of civil and military affairs, which brought ſuch ruin and diſgrace on Sweden, in the unfortunate war of 1740, and the ſucceeding ignominious peace, ſhe now ſhewed a good and well-ſupplied army, with an excellent fleet, and ſuch a well-regulated ſtate of finances, as would give energy to both in caſe of emergency.

A deep ſenſe of the ſuppoſed danger to which the liberties of the north are expoſed by the power and ambition of Ruſſia, may be conſidered as the peculiar characteriſtic of the preſent reign, and an endeavour to provide againſt that evil, as the firſt and laſt object of the king's attention and care. He endeavoured, but in vain, to impreſs Denmark with the ſame ſentiments; although the only favour which, under a certain conſummation of things, that kingdom could in wiſdom hope for, would be that ſimple one, of being the laſt that was devoured. The deſign of ſubverting and partitioning the Ottoman empire, with the vaſt military preparations for carrying the deſign into act, could not but increaſe in the higheſt degree the king's apprehenſion and alarm. He ſaw, by the laſt war, the inability of the Turks to oppoſe the power of Ruſſia only, how then could they be ſuppoſed capable now of reſiſting the immenſe combined force of both empires? If Ruſſia was already too formidable for the repoſe and ſafety of her neighbours, how muſt ſhe appear when cloathed and armed in the Herculean ſpoils of the Ottoman empire?

It is ſtated, in a pamphlet ſaid to have been written by himſelf on the ſituation of public affairs, that the king of Sweden had early endeavoured to avert the impending ſtorm, by offering his mediation to reconcile the differences between Ruſſia and the Porte; an office he was peculiarly qualified to ſucceed in, from the long-eſtabliſhed friendſhip ſubſiſting between Turkey and Sweden. The contemptuous ſcorn with which the propoſal was received, and the diſdainful manner in which it was rejected, ſeems to have been ſenſibly felt by the royal writer. A ſimilar propoſal made by Great Britain, ſupported by Pruſſia, was ſcarcely better received. To

this pertinacious adherence to her ambitious deſigns, the king directly attributes the ſubſequent meaſures, which, he ſays, he was under a neceſſity of adopting on the principle of defence.

Common danger, the grand cement betweer the moſt heterogeneous characters and diſtant nations, had many years ſince laid the foundation of a ſtrict offenſive and defenſive treaty between Sweden and the Porte. Ruſſia, by name, was the avowed and only object of this treaty, which was concluded in the year 1739, and by which the contracting parties were mutually bound to aſſiſt each other with their whole force, in caſe of either being attacked by her. The weakneſs and timidity of the Swediſh government occaſioned their evading the performance of theſe ſtipulations in the laſt war between the Ruſſians and Turks, under pretence that the latter had been the aggreſſors. The good correſpondence which had ſubſiſted between both courts, ever ſince the reign of Charles XII. was, notwithſtanding this failure, ſtill continued.

It would add little importance to the ſubject, if we were able to inform our readers, whether Sweden or the Porte made the firſt overtures, upon the approach of the preſent ſtate of things, for the revival and giving efficacy to this treaty. In fact, the danger was ſo common to both, that it was not eaſy to ſay which was the leaſt affected by it, or which it behoved moſt to make every poſſible proviſion to oppoſe it. However that was, the king of Sweden began to arm by ſea and land in the ſpring of the preſent year; while Ruſſia ſeemed to ſurvey his motions with ſuch ſovereign contempt, as not to deign to make any enquiry into their cauſe; ſhe, however, did not neglect to repleniſh her magazines on the ſide of Finland, and to order ſupplies of troops to that country. In thoſe regions whoſe principal products are, in the beautiful language of the poet;

"Iron and man, the ſoldier and his
"ſword,"

money being always a ſcarce commodity, becomes an indiſpenſably neceſſary ingredient in the hands of thoſe who wiſh to give energy to both. This ſeems to have been adopted by the Porte as a ſtate maxim; for the watchful jealouſy of Denmark, with reſpect to her neighbour, had diſcovered, pretty early in the year, and publiſhed to the world, that a foreign ſhip, ſuppoſed to be Spaniſh, had paſſed through the Sound, in her way to Stockholm, with a large quantity of coined ſilver on board, ſaid to amount to 2,400,000 rixdollars (which we eſtimate at about 400,000 Engliſh guineas) and which was farther ſaid to come from the Levant.

But though Ruſſia did not ſeem to take any direct notice of the armaments preparing in Sweden, ſhe was indefatigable in the exertion of her uſual artifice and ſpirit of intrigue, to foment ſuch diſſentions between the people and the ſovereign, as ſhould not only render them ineffective, but might poſſibly produce a very different ſtate of things. The accompliſhment of this deſign could not appear difficult to a power ſo thoroughly acquainted with the internal ſtate of affairs in the country. For, however matters were outwardly gloſſed over, and however ſmooth they appeared to the eye, there ſtill remained in the kingdom a powerful and numerous party (including moſt

moſt of the ancient nobility, with their numerous friends and partizans, with a great number of military officers, of all degrees of rank and condition) who, being utterly adverſe to the late revolution, and to every principle upon which it was founded, were neceſſarily little ſatisfied with its fruit in the preſent order of government; however they might poſſibly eſteem or approve of the king perſonally. Theſe men had no manner of natural predilection for Ruſſia, but indeed the very reverſe, only ſubmitting to her influence, through the hope of recovering, by her means, their favourite form of government. Another, perhaps, more numerous body of men, under the aſſumption of the ſame livery, and of holding the ſame patriotic principles, were undeſervedly claſſed with theſe, and, though their ſecret views were very different, contributed much to render the general maſs of oppoſition to the court formidable. Theſe were the direct partizans of Ruſſia, who, corrupted by her money, or debauched by the various means which her greatneſs and vicinity afforded, were ready to embark in all her ſchemes, without regard to the intereſts or ſecurity of their country.

The power of commencing a war, without the authority of the ſtates, was not, according to the ſtrictneſs of the conſtitution, lodged in the hands of the king of Sweden. An innovation in that reſpect could not accordingly but afford a colourable pretence to the oppoſition for endeavouring to counteract the views of the court, by exciting a jealouſy and raiſing a clamour among the people, and an opening for the direct interference of Ruſſia, in the ſupport of objects ſo oſtenſibly dear to her as the conſtitution of Sweden and the liberties of that people. This opening was ſeized, and occupied with great vigour and induſtry, and ſoon rendered a ſtrong ground of offenſive and defenſive operation againſt the king; upon whom the ſame game was attempted to be played, by which Ruſſia had formerly ſo ſucceſsfully diſtracted and embittered the reign of his father, as to bring that prince to the act of reſigning that nominal ſhadow of royalty which they allowed him to poſſeſs. Without paying any regard to the change which the revolution had wrought in the government, the preſent ſovereign was repreſented, and affectedly conſidered, as a mere cypher in, and inſtrument of, the ſtate; who, poſſeſſing no authority in himſelf, but what he violently and arbitrarily wreſted from it, in defiance of the conſtitution, it became therefore the firſt duty of all true Swedes to reſiſt ſuch dangerous aſſumptions of power to the utmoſt.

To prevent the Danes from taking umbrage at the great armaments he was making, and relying upon the near ties of blood and affinity which united both the royal houſes, as well as the evident common intereſts of both nations, which, under the immediate preſſure of affairs, ſeemed to require their being joined in the ſtricteſt bands of political union, the king of Sweden thought it fitting, along with an amicable aſſurance that he harboured no deſigns contrary to the friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, to communicate to the court of Copenhagen the real motive for the meaſures he was purſuing; and which he ſtated to be confined merely to ſelf-defence, againſt the vaſt military preparations

and

and dangerous deſigns of Ruſſia; as well as to fulfil the engagements by which Sweden and the Ottoman Porte were bound for mutual ſecurity.

As the king was thoroughly acquainted with the unbounded influence and the unconcealed aſcendency, which Ruſſia has maintained, during the preſent reign, in the public councils, and even in the private conduct of the court of Copenhagen, he ſeems to have built too much upon the efficacy of friendſhip and family ties, or even upon the influence of a ſound and wiſe policy, in making this communication, if he really expected (which ſeems to have been the caſe) that it ſhould be made a ſecret. It was immediately diſcloſed to the court of Peterſburgh; and this diſcloſure was the means of ſoon bringing things to a remarkable criſis between the king and the Ruſſian miniſter at the court of Stockholm.

The king fell into another error, of much greater conſequence, upon this occaſion. As truſt begets faith, in any ſituation proper for its production, it was undoubtedly upon that principle, that, to ſhew his entire confidence in the good faith, honour, and friendſhip of Denmark, he ventured to ſtrip the frontier provinces of Sweden, bordering on Norway, ſo entirely of their troops, (which were ſent to the remoteſt boundary of that large country, in Finland) as to leave them almoſt totally defenceleſs, thereby expoſing ſome of the beſt parts of the kingdom to ſudden ravage, and the city of Gottenburgh, ſo far ſuperior to any other it contains, with reſpect to commercial conſequence and wealth, to the danger of abſolute ruin.

Count Razamowſki, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm, was deeply initiated in all the intrigues, deſigns, and political myſteries of his court; at the ſame time that he derived from nature and habit no ſmall portion of that haughty and overbearing ſpirit, which marked her conduct in all tranſactions with her weaker neighbours. He is charged with even exceeding his predeceſſors, in the contempt with which he trampled upon the general laws of nations, with reſpect to the conduct preſcribed to public miniſters in their miſſion at foreign courts; with paying no regard even to outward appearances; and with carrying on his intrigues of ſeduction and corruption, in forming factions againſt the ſtate, openly, and too ſucceſsfully, in the capital, and under the eye of the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided.

Although the preparations for war made by Sweden were ſo obvious to all the world, that nobody doubted her object in arming; that an army of 35,000 men was aſſembling, in order to embark for Finland; that the king was on the point of ſetting out for that province; and that the fleet was on the point of ſailing from Carleſcroon; yet no public notice had been taken of any of theſe proceedings by the court of Peterſburgh, until the notification communicated by Denmark.

In conſequence, however, of that intimation, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm preſented a reſcript or memorial June 18th. of a ſingular nature to the Swediſh miniſters. This piece ſeemed to be directed to every man in the kingdom excepting the king himſelf, to whom alone it ſhould have been directed. It is addreſſed in ſpecific terms to the miniſters, and to all who have any ſhare in the adminiſtration

miniſtration of the country; to all of whom, as well as to the nation at large, the greateſt regards are profeſſed, and the ſtrongeſt deſire of preſerving their tranquillity declared; but a marked diſtinction is made between the king and the nation, who ſeem to be regarded as ſeparate and unconnected intereſts.

This document was warmly reſented by the king. It produced a direct anſwer, and a circular note which was preſented to all the foreign miniſters. In theſe pieces he ſeverely reprehended the perſonal inſult offered to himſelf, in the inſidious diſtinction made between him and the nation, which he, however, repreſented as only a continuation of the ſyſtem long conſtantly purſued, and particularly adopted by the preſent miniſter, of exciting diſſention and diſcord in the ſtate, and ſpreading their dangerous effects through the kingdom. He ſeems rather diſpoſed in general, at leaſt in terms, to confine the charges of inſidious deſigns and endeavours hoſtile and dangerous to the tranquillity of the nation, of wiſhing to renew the former anarchy, and of this laſt wound to his dignity, by an appeal to all the members of the adminiſtration and to the nation at large againſt their ſovereign, to the agents, than to their principal; reſerving himſelf, until his arrival in Finland, for an explanation with the court of Peterſburgh. He at the ſame time ordered count Raſamowſki to quit the kingdom, as he could no longer treat with, or acknowledge him as a public miniſter; premiſing, that he ſhould be allowed a week to prepare for his departure, and that full attention ſhould be paid, in providing proper veſſels, and all other conveniences for his conveyance.

The Ruſſian miniſter was not at all diſpoſed, at this intereſting period, to quit the proper ſphere of his action, to leave unfiniſhed thoſe ſchemes which were yet only in train, or to truſt entirely to others the execution of thoſe which had been already determined upon. He refuſed to obey the order for his departure, appealed loudly to the law of nations, talked largely, as uſual, of the power, greatneſs, and dignity of his principal, and declared finally, that he ſhould obey no orders, nor receive any inſtructions whatever for the regulation of his conduct, from any other than his own court. It does not appear that the foreign miniſters reſident at Stockholm, afforded the ſmalleſt ſanction, by countenance or otherwiſe, to the conduct of count Razamowſki in any part of theſe tranſactions.

The king's ſudden departure to Finland occaſioned the adjuſtment of this troubleſome affair to fall upon the regency, who were appointed to the government of the kingdom during his abſence. The regency, to prevent the diſagreeable neceſſity of being urged to greater extremities, placed a guard upon the ambaſſador's houſe, who, ſtrictly prohibiting all intercourſe, by letter or otherwiſe, between the confined family and thoſe without, and denying all acceſs of proviſions or neceſſaries for their ſupport, this ſort of ſiege compelled, without abſolute violence, the miniſter to accept of the means which were provided for his conveyance to Peterſburgh.

Hoſtilities were commenced between the Swedes and Ruſſians, in Finland, a few days after the king's arrival in that province. Each ſide charged June 21ſt.

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the other with the firſt aggreſſion, and it would be of little uſe to enter into the merits of the queſtion; the hoſtility was conſidered and treated by each as a declaration of war. The Swedes were generally ſucceſsful in the ſmall actions and ſkirmiſhes that now took place, taking ſeveral places of no great conſequence, beſieging others of greater, and ſeizing ſome ſtrong poſts and difficult defiles, which might ſerve to facilitate their further operations, in a country which nature had rendered in all reſpects ſo extremely impracticable.

This commencement of hoſtility ſpeedily brought forth the manifeſto or declaration of war from the court of Peterſburgh. This piece was couched, in whatever related to the Swediſh nation, or in which the public in general ſeemed concerned, in terms of the greateſt moderation; and breathed throughout a ſpirit of candour and equity, abhorrent of violence, injuſtice, and war, which had not always adorned ſimilar documents from the ſame quarter. It likewiſe abſtained from thoſe odious aſſumptions of power, greatneſs, and ſuperiority, which had often been ſo painfully endured in other caſes. Their place was ſupplied with advantage by a long juſtificatory detail of the empreſs's conduct with reſpect to Sweden for twenty-ſix years paſt, fairly inferring, from the equity, kindneſs, and friendſhip that attended her commerce with that nation through ſo long a period, the purity of her preſent as well as paſt intentions. This ſtatement likewiſe afforded an opportunity, which was well taken, of overthrowing the ill-founded pretence adopted by the king, that the apprehenſion of an immediate attack on his own dominions, had urged him to the neceſſity of the preſent proceedings. This was refuted by an appeal to the common ſenſe of mankind, whether, after an obſervance of peace and good neighbourhood, through all the opportunities for a contrary conduct which ſo long a period offered, it could be rationally ſuppoſed that ſhe would chooſe the preſent moment, when ſhe was already deeply engaged in war with a powerful enemy, wantonly to involve herſelf in another.

30th.

But with reſpect to the king himſelf, as diſtinct from the nation, a mixture of the moſt violent perſonal animoſity, and of the moſt ſovereign contempt, is every where apparent. An uneaſineſs or reſtleſſneſs of mind, ariſing from envy and jealouſy of the power of others, a ſort of weak and boyiſh ambition, ſeem to be conſidered as the ſources of all his actions. A contempt of that good faith which ought more particularly to actuate the hearts of ſovereigns, is implied in one part, and a breach of faith, that marked his whole conduct, directly charged in another. A practice of falſe and inſidious imputations, is ſo ſtrongly applied as not to be miſtaken; and ſome odd or ludicrous expreſſions, ſuch as wiſhing to *give a flight to his paſſions*, are made uſe of.—Particular care is taken to remind both the king and the nation, that he was bound by a ſolemn compact not to undertake any war without the conſent of his ſubjects.

So near an approach of an enemy could not but greatly alarm the capital, where the voice of war, except in iſſuing its decrees againſt remote nations, had never before been

been heard, from the firſt laying of its foundations by Peter the Great. Troops were drawn from all quarters for its protection, and every poſſible meaſure adopted to ſecure it from the effect of any ſudden attack, to which, from ſituation, it was ſo much expoſed. The younger branches of the Imperial family were removed to Moſcow; but the empreſs, with her uſual magnanimity, waited unappalled to face the tempeſt. All the Coſſacks within reach were haſtily collected to be turned looſe, as opportunity ſerved, upon the Swediſh provinces; and admiral Greig ſailed with a ſtrong fleet from Cronſtadt, to counteract the deſigns of the enemy by ſea, on which ſide only, they could yet menace Peterſburgh.

The gulph of Finland was too confined a theatre of action, for two hoſtile fleets to manœuvre long without an encounter. That of Sweden, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, conſiſted of fifteen ſhips of the line, but including no high rates, and conſequently no ſuperior weight of metal; the higheſt rates were one of ſeventy, and three of ſixty-eight guns each, the other eleven being only of ſixty guns each; a rate nearly exploded from the Engliſh line of battle.

On the other ſide, the Ruſſian fleet, under admiral Greig, amounted to ſeventeen ſail of the line, including in that number ſeveral great ſhips, with a proportionately heavy weight of metal; the admiral's ſhip carrying 108 guns, eight others 74 each, and the remaining eight 66 guns each; poſſeſſing upon the whole a ſuperiority of 294 pieces of cannon; while that in the weight of metal was perhaps of greater moment than what proceeded from the exceſs in number of either the ſhips or the guns. To counterbalance this in ſome degree, the Swedes had five large frigates of 40 guns each, which, admiral Greig obſerves, carried heavy metal, and fought in the line. The number of ſmaller frigates, on both ſides, was pretty much on an equality.

The hoſtile fleets came in ſight, or rather approached each other, in a fog, off the iſland of Hoogland. No ſcene was ever leſs calculated for the action and evolutions of two ſuch numerous fleets, compoſed of great and heavy ſhips; a narrow ſea, every where ſtudded with innumerable iſlands, rocks, and ſhoals, intermixed with deceitful channels, and rendered more dangerous by violent, irregular, and jarring currents: nor were the climate and face of the heavens more favourable: overcaſt ſkies, a frequently foggy, and generally hazy air, with ſudden tempeſtuous ſqualls, and unexpected dead calms, were among the incommodities which ſeemed to ſet ſeamanſhip and naval ſkill at defiance. Indeed ſuch an exhibition, in ſuch a ſituation, ſeemed ſcarcely leſs than an outrage upon nature.

The Ruſſians, along with their great ſuperiority in force, had likewiſe the advantage of the wind, while any laſted, for at one time it ſeems to have fallen to a ſtark calm. The action did not commence until five o'clock in the afternoon; and ſo great was the fury of the combatants, that in two hours ſo many ſhips were diſabled on each ſide, that they were mutually obliged to lie by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a freſh acceſſion of rage on both

both ſides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obſtinacy with which it was maintained. National pride, animoſity, a ſenſe of former glory, with a deep recollection of paſt injuries, operated upon the Swedes with all the force which their combination was poſſibly capable of exciting. The darkneſs was ſo great, that the knowledge of each ſhip was in a great meaſure confined to her own ſphere of action; ſo that ignorant of, and inattentive to, what was paſſing elſewhere, ſhe fought as if all depended upon herſelf individually, and as if victory or deſtruction were the only alternatives.

The Swedes ſeem to have had much the advantage in this latter action, to which the unequalled exertions of the gallant count Horne, in extricating the duke of Sudermania, when ſurrounded and overlaid by a great ſuperiority of hoſtile force, not a little contributed. Every body regretted that neither this nobleman, nor his two brave aſſociates, the firſt and ſecond captains, by whom he was nobly ſeconded, ſhould have ſurvived to enjoy that glory which they ſo heroically purchaſed. Two hours limited the action of this bloody encounter, like the firſt. About ten o'clock, the diſorder and confuſion, together with the total ignorance on each ſide of their friends or their adverſaries ſtate, all produced by the darkneſs, with the ſevere loſs and general damage which the ſhips ſuſtained, obliged the exhauſted combatants to withdraw from the ſcene of action. Many of the Swediſh ſhips had likewiſe expended all their ammunition, and there was not a ſufficiency left, in any part of the fleet, to afford them an adequate ſupply for freſh adventure.

The victory, as is uſually the caſe in actions not apparently and abſolutely deciſive, was claimed by both ſides; and each had an honourable trophy to ſhew in ſupport of its claim. The Uladiſlaff, a flag-ſhip of 74 guns, and 783 men, commanded by brigadier Berger, was taken by the Swedes, having ſtruck to the duke of Sudermania. On the other hand, the Prince Guſtave, of 68 guns, likewiſe a flag, and one of the beſt ſhips in the Swediſh fleet, commanded by count Wachtmeiſter, after having bravely fought until ſhe was rendered entirely defenceleſs, and nearly immoveable, was taken by the Ruſſians. The loſs of men on both ſides muſt have been great, and, from the nature and circumſtances of the action, was probably pretty equally balanced. Two hundred men had been killed or wounded in the ſhip taken by the Swedes; and the Ruſſians ſay, that the loſs in the ſhip taken by them amounted to three hundred; the difference undoubtedly proceeded from the deſperate reſiſtance of count Wachtmeiſter. Admiral Greig is ſaid to have declared, in the account publiſhed by authority at Peterſburgh, "that he never ſaw a fight better ſuſtained than this was on both ſides." This, however, accords but badly with the number of delinquent officers (of whom ſeventeen were captains) loaded with chains, who he ſent home in a frigate, for ill behaviour in this action.

The duke of Sudermania takes notice in his public letter, that the Ruſſian fleet being intended for the Mediterranean, no expence was ſpared in its preparation; that nothing could accordingly exceed the completeneſs

completeneſs of its equipment; and that the weight of its metal was great and unuſual. It ſeems, upon the whole, that the Swedes, in the brighteſt period of their glory, had never diſplayed greater gallantry by ſea or land, than they did in this engagement. Their princely commander merited more glory than he really obtained, for the conduct as well as intrepidity which he ſo eminently diſplayed in this his firſt action.

For the vaſt ſuperiority of power on the ſide of Ruſſia enabled her, in a few days, to carry away all the fruits of victory, and to weaken, if not to cancel, that praiſe, which, in deſpite of fortune, and independent of circumſtance, ſhould ever be the meed of diſtinguiſhed valour, when illuſtriouſly exerted in the cauſe or defence of its country. Admiral Greig, from the acceſſion of freſh ſhips, and the nearneſs of the great naval magazines and arſenals, was enabled, in leſs time than ſeemed credible, to put again to ſea with greater force than before. He came ſuddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, in Finland, where they were as inapprehenſive of attack, as they were from ſituation and circumſtance incapable of defence. He attacked them furiouſly in this moment of conſternation and ſurprize, and during the diſorder occaſioned by their endeavours to get within the protection of the forts. The Guſtavus Adolphus, of ſixty guns, ſeemed a ſacrifice deſtined to the ſecurity of the reſt; ſhe was taken and burnt by the Ruſſians.

From this time to the end of the campaign, the late victors continued ſhut up in the harbour of Sweaburg, being precluded even from the means of re-equipment, while the Ruſſian fleet rode the triumphant miſtreſs of all the ſeas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of ſmall veſſels, laden with proviſions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet, through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this ſudden turn of affairs occaſioned at Peterſburgh, may be eſtimated from the panic which had ſo lately, for the firſt time, ſeized that capital; and the importance in which the ſervice was conſidered by the court, was fully ſhewn by the favours which the empreſs conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter, written to him with her own hand, was filled with praiſe and acknowledgment; and this honour was ſucceeded or accompanied by the ſubſtantial benefits of a conſiderable ſum of money, and of a good eſtate in Livonia. This commander, who was ſingularly fortunate in his life, ſeems to have been no leſs ſo in its period, which took place before the cloſe of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he ſeemed well capable of receiving. For by this means he not only eſcaped the common danger of a reverſe of fortune, to which military character and honour are ſo particularly liable; but he eſcaped the more certain and fatal effects of that jealouſy, envy, and malevolence, which the various circumſtances of his being a foreigner, without weight or natural intereſt in the country, his ſudden riſe, and the greatneſs of his favour, all ſerved eminently to expoſe him to, and which long experience has ſhewn to be either interwoven in the nature or conſequences of the ſyſtem adopted in that court and ſervice. The diſtinction and honour

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paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the expreſs orders of the empreſs, celebrated with the greateſt pomp, being decorated and adorned by all thoſe appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have aſſigned as the laſt tribute to the memory of the brave.

The wretched officers who had been ſent in chains to Cronſtadt were, without any form of trial, or public enquiry into their conduct, condemned to that deplorable ſtate of exiſtence, in which death would have been the firſt of mercies, of ſerving in the gallies, and of wearing iron collars round their necks for life. So much attention was paid to their families, as not to publiſh their names.

July 21ſt. The king of Sweden's manifeſto, which was publiſhed after his arrival in Finland, but ſome time later than the Ruſſian, was fraught with much ſevere charge againſt the conduct and views of the court of Peterſburgh, for a ſeries of paſt years; and the effect heightened, where the charge is deficient, by the bitterneſs of implication, which leaves more to be conceived than directly meets the eye. But the ſcolding of ſovereigns affords no more pleaſure or edification than that of common people; and moſt of the real cauſes of complaint we have already gone over. The deſigns and attempts of Ruſſia upon the province of Finland, which are here delineated, being new ground, yet untouched upon, we ſhall here lay open. That power is charged with having, almoſt continually, ever ſince the concluſion of the peace at Abo, endeavoured to debauch the Finlanders from their connection with Sweden, under the ſpecious pretence of rendering that great dutchy independent, under which it would have experienced the fate which Courland already has done, of becoming a feudatory province to Ruſſia. The failure of theſe projects, which is attributed only to the integrity and attach ment of the people, ſeemed to damp the deſign for a time; but the defection of an officer of high rank, whom ſhe found means to draw into her ſervice, and who had been long entruſted by the king in commands of importance in Finland, is ſaid again to have rouzed all the ambitious projects of that court. That ſhe has accordingly laboured inceſſantly ſince to excite a ſpirit of diſſention and revolt among that people; and had even ſent a general officer privately into the country, to reconnoitre the poſts, and to ſound their diſpoſition.

The king of Sweden was deſtined to meet with the greateſt diſappointments, and to experience the moſt grievous mortifications, in his endeavours to emancipate his country from foreign interference and controul, to redeem, in ſome degree, her antient glory, and to enable her once more to hold her former rank among nations. But the ſtar of Ruſſia was ſtill predominant, while that of Sweden was not only obſcured for the preſent, but afforded too much room for apprehenſion, that it was upon the point of ſetting to riſe no more.

Thoſe machinations and intrigues, of which the king complained ſo much in his manifeſto, had taken much deeper root, and their effect was much more widely diffuſed, than he was yet aware of. A counter revolution, by which the antient forms of government would be preſerved,

ſerved, the ambition and venality of the nobility gratified, while the nation was in fact governed, as Courland long has been, by a foreign miniſter reſident in its capital, was the grand and determined object of Ruſſia; and her meaſures were ſo laid, that ſhe probably calculated to a certainty upon the event. For ſhe was ſeconded in the open and avowed part of her views, (which went no farther than the reſtoration of the former government) by much the greater part of the antient nobility, with all the influence which ſo numerous and eminent a body neceſſarily poſſeſſed; to which were to be added the infinite number of others, who, from various cauſes, were inimical to the late revolution, and conſequently to the ſyſtem of government founded upon it.

It was ſaid, and ſeems probable, that a counter-revolution was only part of the object, that no modification would be admitted, and that nothing leſs than abſolute dethronement could afford ſatisfaction. That the king's croſſing, at ſo critical a period, the favourite views of his great adverſary, the contemplation of which had long afforded the moſt ſublime gratification, had created a perſonal animoſity beyond all bound and meaſure, and which the moſt ſignal vengeance could ſcarcely be ſufficient to allay. It was even rumoured (and rumour is not always unfounded, particularly in deſpotic governments) that, in the height of reſentment, an idea was once entertained of reviving the title of the grand duke to the crown of Sweden, as ſucceſſor to the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third, who had, unhappily for himſelf, relinquiſhed that quiet and ſecure inheritance, for the deluſive proſpect of ſucceeding to the unſtable and bloody throne of a vaſt, but diſjointed and diſordered empire.

However that was, the excellently conſtituted, diſciplined, and well-appointed army, which the king commanded in Finland, rendered ſtill more formidable, by the native unconquered courage of the troops, and the ſingular intrepidity of their royal leader, would have been able, if nothing ſiniſter intervened, and that no internal unſoundneſs vitiated its compoſition, to carry diſmay and terror to the gates of Peterſburgh; nor could the wiſeſt foreſee what revolution in public affairs ſuch an event might not have occaſioned. But, inſtead of the gratification of theſe flattering ideas, the king ſoon diſcovered that he could place no confidence in his army; that a general diſaffection was ſpread among his officers, eſpecially thoſe in high commands, and of the moſt noble families; that they were not only determined to counteract all his deſigns in the field, but that ſeveral of them carried on a traitorous correſpondence directly with the enemy, while a greater number (and undoubtedly the honeſteſt part) declared openly, that they could not, without a violation of their conſcience, and the oaths they had taken to their country, draw their ſwords in a war, undertaken without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom, and of courſe contrary to the conſtitution.

This unexpected diſgrace and misfortune, Guſtavus was doomed to encounter at the ſiege of Fredericſham, where the officers, refuſing to lead on the troops to the attack, and he appealing to the latter, on whom

he ſtill relied, to his utter aſtoniſhment and diſmay, they generally laid down their arms. While the king ſeemed inextricably involved in theſe difficulties and dangers (for even the ſafety of his perſon, in his own army, appeared to be ſufficiently problematical) and that the ſeeds of diſſention and diſaffection were equally ſhooting up in the capital and other places, the violent irruption of the Danes from the ſide of Norway, into the richeſt provinces of Sweden, ſeemed deſtined to overwhelm him entirely. Under this additional preſſure, he was obliged to abandon the army in Finland, in its preſent uncertain and disjointed ſtate, to the care of his ſecond brother the duke of Oſtrogothia, while he undertook himſelf a perilous voyage by ſea, expoſed to the greateſt of all dangers, that of being captured by a moſt cruel and implacable foe, from whom deliverance could ſcarcely be hoped; and, after a ſevere circuitous journey by land, proceeded to the ſouthern extremity of his dominions, to oppoſe, without troops or means, a new and very formidable enemy.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Cauſes of the early meeting of parliament declared in the king's ſpeech; diſputes in the United Provinces; intended interference of France; declaration of the court of Great Britain; treaty with Heſſe Caſſel; ſucceſs of the Pruſſian forces; final accommodation; ſpeech of lord Fielding upon the works of Cherburgh; of Mr. Fox upon continental alliances; upon the diſpoſitions of the French court; upon the ſubſidiary treaty; the increaſe of the army; and the appointment of admiral Pigot. Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Fox on thoſe ſubjects. Speeches in the houſe of lords; of the biſhop of Llandaff, upon our right of interference in Holland, and upon the balance of power; of lord Stormont, upon the ſame ſubject, and the negligence of miniſters. Addreſſes in both houſes, nem. con. State papers laid before parliament. Mr. Fox complains of the retention of the French notification; anſwered by Mr. Pitt; motion for an addreſs for that paper negatived. Debate on the ſubſidiary treaty; objections of Mr. Fox; Mr. Pitt's defence. Opinion of Mr. Burke upon foreign alliances, and upon the merits of the treaty. Debate on the augmentation of the land forces; objected to by Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox; defended by Mr. Pitt. Debate on the ordnance eſtimates; on the plan of fortifying the Weſt India iſlands; on the government manufacture of gunpowder; on the new corps of artificers. Account of the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings and Sir Elijah Impey in the ſeventh chapter.

Nov. 27th, 1787. THE interval between the prorogation of parliament, on the 30th of May 1787, and its ſubſequent meeting on the 27th of November following, was not diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable domeſtic occurrences. The ſpeech from the throne contained a very full and explicit declaration of the reaſons which induced the king to aſſemble the two houſes at ſo early a period. He informed them, that the diſputes which ſubſiſted in the republic of the United Provinces had become ſo critical as to endanger their conſtitution and independence, and thereby likely in their conſequences to affect the intereſts of his dominions—That, upon this account, he had endeavoured by his good offices to maintain the *lawful* government in thoſe countries, and had thought it neceſſary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France—That, in conformity to this principle, when his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in conſequence of an application for aſſiſtance againſt the king of Pruſſia, made by the party which had uſurped the government of Holland, had notified to him his intention of granting their requeſt, he had declared that he ſhould not remain a quiet ſpectator, and had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by ſea and land—and that, in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he had thought proper to conclude a ſubſidiary treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel—That the rapid ſucceſs of the Pruſſian troops having ſoon after enabled the provinces to re-eſtabliſh their *lawful* government, and all ſubjects of conteſt being thus removed, an

amicable explanation took place between him and the moſt Chriſtian king, and both parties had engaged to diſarm, and to place their naval eſtabliſhments on the ſame footing as at the beginning of the year. His majeſty next acquainted them with the friendly aſſurances he continued to receive from all foreign powers, and with the war that had unfortunately broken out between Ruſſia and the Porte. He further informed them of a convention, explanatory of the thirteenth article of the laſt peace, which had been agreed upon between him and the French king; and that he had ordered copies of the ſeveral treaties and declarations, before referred to, to be laid before them.

He then proceeded to inform the houſe of commons, that the uſual eſtimates, together with an account of the extraordinary expences lately incurred, would be laid before them; and told them, that though he was always deſirous of confining the public expences within the narroweſt limits, which a prudent regard to the public ſafety would permit, yet he muſt at the ſame time recommend to their particular attention to conſider of proper means for maintaining his diſtant poſſeſſions in an adequate poſture of defence. The ſpeech concluded with ſome general reflections upon the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and revenues, the advantages to be expected from the continuation of public tranquillity, and the ſtrong tendency which, he was perſuaded, the zeal and unanimity ſhewn on the late occaſion would have to ſecure it.

An addreſs in the uſual form was moved in the houſe of commons, by the honourable Mr. Ryder, and ſeconded by Mr. Brooke, member for Newton, Lancaſhire. The ſubſtance of the addreſs met with the general concurrence of the houſe; but a ſhort debate took place upon a few topics ariſing out of it. Lord Fielding, after expreſſing the ſtrongeſt approbation of what had been done by his majeſty's miniſters upon the late occaſion, ſuggeſted a doubt, which had ariſen in his own mind, whether or not they had fully availed themſelves of the favourable opportunity that had preſented itſelf, and whether they might not, and ought not, to have gone farther, and done more for the future ſecurity of this country againſt the ambition of France. The object, he ſaid, which he had particularly in his view, was the demolition of the ſtupendous works that were projected and carrying on at Cherburgh.—He ſtated at large his opinion of their vaſt importance, not only as rendering our rival more formidable in herſelf, but as being evidently in their deſign hoſtile to this kingdom. He conceived, that as the manifeſt ſuperiority of this country had put it within our power to enforce, ſo the great expence, which we had been obliged to incur, would juſtify the demand of ſome compenſation from the French court. The object he alluded to had been ſhamefully overlooked, or corruptly relinquiſhed, in the laſt treaty of peace; and he therefore deſired to enter his proteſt againſt any conſtruction of his vote, that ſhould pledge him to approve of the miniſter's conduct, if it hereafter appeared that he had again neglected this important object.

Mr. Fox followed lord Fielding in expreſſing the fulleſt approbation of the meaſures that had been lately purſued, and took credit to himſelf, as one of thoſe who had been invariably

riably of opinion that this country was at all times deeply interested in the situation of affairs upon the continent, and ought, whenever the occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. This system had been ridiculed by his adversaries, upon former occasions, as wild and romantic, and he had therefore a peculiar satisfaction in finding it recognized in the speech from the throne, and pursued at a time when the heavy burdens, which had been laid upon the people, made it so extremely desirable to avoid every unnecessary occasion of expence. Perhaps, he said, it might have been better, and the whole of the expence lately incurred avoided, if these principles had been earlier adopted and acted upon.

Having expressed his approbation of the substance of the speech and address, he begged leave to make a few remarks upon particular passages in them. He observed, that it was asserted, that the French king had notified his intention of assisting the usurping faction in the province of Holland; but, upon looking into the counter-declaration, he found it roundly asserted that the court of France never had such intention—This matter, he conceived, wanted explanation; not that he had any doubt of the real designs and intentions of the French, or that he should have trusted to their declarations, had they been positively made, but on account of the apparent contradiction which the two assertions implied. He then reminded the house, how frequently he had warned them of the perfidy and treacherousness of France, when the commercial treaty was under discussion in the last session, and that one of the principal arguments in support of that treaty was drawn from the friendly disposition of that nation, and the probability of its being confirmed and perpetuated by a free commercial intercourse. He had been thought too severe and uncandid in the distrust he had expressed of those friendly professions; but the event had fully justified him. Within one year from the conclusion of that treaty, our new friend, our faithful commercial ally, had engaged to support a party, usurpers too of the lawful government of their country, who were well known to be hostile to the essential interests of this nation.

With respect to the subsidiary treaty with Hesse Cassel, he thought it necessary to defer the discussion of it till the house was in possession of fuller information. He approved in general of the principle of such treaties, so far as they enabled us to reduce our military establishments at home, and to apply the public treasure to the increase of our naval strength, the natural force of Great Britain. It remained to be seen whether this was designed to be the effect of the present treaty, as likewise whether it was merely intended to answer the temporary purpose of present necessity, or was a part of some general plan founded upon a permanent basis, and which, though it added somewhat to the national expence, was convertible to the national service whenever occasion should require. Such a plan he should expect from his majesty's ministers, as one of the beneficial effects of the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces.

The agreement that had been entered into for mutually disarming, required also further explanation.—

The propriety of such an engagement would greatly depend upon the real and effective state of the naval establishments of the two countries at the beginning of the year mentioned, and upon the construction that was put upon it with respect to any future occasions for increasing it. One thing he remarked, that the speech stated that the forces of this country had been augmented both by sea and land; whereas in the agreement it appeared that the naval establishment only was to be reduced. He concluded therefore from that circumstance, and more particularly from that part of the speech where the attention of the house was called to the proper means for maintaining our distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence, that it was the intention of government to increase the land force of the nation. If any circumstances had arisen which demonstrated the necessity of such a measure, they would doubtless be laid before the house, which would then judge, whether the present peace establishment, which, having obtained the sanction of parliament, ought to be presumed to have been, at least originally, adequate, was in fact now adequate to its purpose or not.

Mr. Fox concluded with complimenting the minister, who had the direction of our naval affairs, for the choice he had made of an officer to command the grand fleet upon the late occasion. This, he trusted, would be a full answer to the calumnies of those, who had objected to the nomination of admiral Pigot to the command of the West India fleet in 1782, since it proved that the persons, who were now at the head of the admiralty, entertained as high an opinion of that officer's character and professional abilities, as he and those connected with him had done.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Fox; and, after expressing his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the house, gave a short reply to the observations made by the latter gentleman. With respect to continental alliances, he said, that he perfectly agreed with him in the general principles he had laid down; that the right honourable member, by claiming them as exclusively his own, had bound himself by the strongest tie to maintain and support them; and that he should not, therefore, endeavour to weaken that tie, nor attempt to make him less in love with them, than he appeared to be at present, by assuming to himself an equal honour in having long since adopted them. He also assured the house, that all proper steps had been, and would continue to be taken, for the purpose of securing, by a strict alliance with the United Provinces, all the advantages which could be derived from the late successful exertions.

With regard to subsidiary treaties, he did not entirely agree in the doctrine that had been laid down, that they were only to be justified upon a supposition of their enabling this country to reduce our own military establishment, or to increase our naval force. He shewed that the latter measure might, under many circumstances, be neither safe nor expedient; and yet at the same time it might be highly advantageous to have recourse to the former. The treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, he said, had been entered into merely on the spur of the occasion, but it had since been enlarged,

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and put upon ſuch a footing as would make it uſeful upon any further emergency; and he did not doubt, when it ſhould come to be diſcuſſed, but that it would meet with the perfect approbation of the houſe.

Upon the propoſed increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment, he obſerved, that the right honourable member had ſuggeſted a ground of diſcuſſion, which he ſhould be extremely unwilling to enter upon; and that he ſhould always be averſe from the practice of conſidering how far meaſures propoſed to be adopted, might have a tendency to juſtify or condemn ſuch as had already been purſued. Such a practice would ſet up a dangerous influence over miniſters, and might be a temptation to them to perſevere in errors of their own, leſt they ſhould appear to acknowledge them, and to abandon the moſt prudent inſtitutions of their predeceſſors, leſt they ſhould bear teſtimony to their wiſdom. He therefore did not conceive it neceſſary to enquire whether the preſent eſtabliſhment had been too ſmall originally, or whether a change of circumſtances had made it ſo: all that would be neceſſary for their conſideration was, what degree of force was actually neceſſary for our defence. Meaſures of this nature were unavoidably adopted by parliament, in a great meaſure, upon the credit of the executive government. They were therefore to be conſidered as the meaſures of miniſters; and, whether he had himſelf made the original arrangement, or had found it, as in the preſent caſe, made to his hands by a preceding adminiſtration, he ſhould never, to avoid the acknowledgment or detection of an error, incur the guilt and danger of continuing it, after he had found it to be ſo. He did not heſitate to acknowledge, that the late important criſis had led him to look more carefully and minutely into the ſtate of our ſeveral eſtabliſhments, than he before had occaſion to do; the conſequence of which was a firm perſuaſion, that, in the preſent ſituation of the country, they were not adequate to their object, that is, to the keeping our poſſeſſions in ſuch a ſtate of ſecurity, as to leave no reaſonable room for anxiety on their account, without appropriating to their defence that force, which, in caſe hoſtilities ſhould at any future period become unavoidable, the immediate object of the war might demand.

In the houſe of lords the addreſs was moved by the earl of Harrington, and ſeconded by lord Bulkeley. After which the biſhop of Llandaff roſe to expreſs the ſatisfaction he had felt in ſeeing the republic of the United Provinces again united in their views, as he had always conſidered them to be inſeparably united in one common intereſt with Great Britain. One difficulty, which he conceived to be of ſome importance, had occurred to him in weighing the ſubject, and he begged leave to ſtate it to their lordſhips. It was, on what principles of the law of nature and nations had Great Britain and Pruſſia a right to interfere by force in ſettling the internal diſputes of an independant ſtate? Was it a right which every individual poſſeſſes, of aſſiſting thoſe whom he ſees oppreſſed by unjuſt force? No: that would be to take the queſtion for granted, ſince the opponents of the ſtadtholder will not allow that he was oppreſſed by unjuſt force. Was it the right of aſſiſting the majority of a country to recover their ancient civil conſtitution from the incroachments and uſurpation of a faction? He hoped the fact would bear out ſuch a juſtification; but he was not well

enough acquainted with the wishes of the majority of the Dutch nation upon that head. Upon what other ground did he approve of our late interference? It was on the ground of self-preservation; for if France had gained Holland, we had been undone. When it is said that Holland and the other states of Europe are independant states, the proposition is true only on a certain consideration: for they all depend one upon another, like the links of a chain; and it is the business of each to watch every other, lest any one become so weighty and powerful as to endanger the security or political importance of every other.

The bishop of Llandaff was followed by lord viscount Stormont, who, after joining in the general approbation of the late measures, reminded the members of administration of their credulity and blindness, in trusting to the friendly disposition of the court of France; and of the ill-humour with which they had borne the warnings and cautions that had been given them, when the commercial treaty was under discussion. It now remained no longer a secret, that the cabinet of Versailles was at that very period exerting every engine of intrigue to ruin our interests in Holland, and to possess itself of an absolute control over the United Provinces. To judge from the language of the speech, one would be led to suppose that the disturbances in Holland had originated within a short time preceding the late revolution: whereas in fact, administration had, with an unpardonable supineness and indifference, suffered the stadtholder to be driven from the Hague, to be divested of his most essential rights, and his authority to be nearly extirpated, before they took any steps to relieve him; and, if this country had now recovered her ancient influence and connexion with the United States, it was rather to be attributed to singular and unforeseen occurrences, than to the wisdom and foresight of ministers. —The addresses were finally agreed to, in both houses, nem. con.

On the twenty-ninth, Nov. 29th. the chancellor of the exchequer, by his majesty's command, presented the following papers to the house *:—A copy of the declaration and counter-declaration signed at Versailles on the 27th of October, 1787:—A copy of the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, signed on the 28th of September, 1787:—A copy of the convention between his Britannic majesty and the most Christian king, signed at Versailles on the 31st of August, 1787:—and, An account of the expences incurred by the late armament, amounting, for the land forces, to £. 59,878; for the naval department to £. 175,407; for the ordnance to £. 18,300; for secret services £. 83,166: in all to £. 336,751.

Upon the production of these papers Mr. Fox remarked, that two papers were omitted, which he conceived to be very material for the information of the house upon the subject appointed for their discussion, namely, the notification made on the 16th of September by the French minister, announcing that succours would be given in Holland; and the resolutions imparted by the king of Prussia, and alluded to in the counter-declaration. Mr. Pitt said, in reply, that the notification in question was mixed with other matter, in an official dispatch received

* See State Papers.

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by the French minister in London from the court of France, and read by him to the ministers of this country; they had afterwards indeed procured a copy of this paper, but that no further information, respecting the object to be discussed, could be obtained from it, than what was contained in the speech from the throne, and that the other parts of the dispatch were of a nature that made them extremely unfit to be laid upon the table of the house. With respect to the resolutions notified by the king of Prussia to the court of Versailles, he should be ready to state them to the house when called upon, but he did not conceive there were any reasons that could make it necessary that they should be laid upon the table. This account not appearing satisfactory to the members in opposition, Mr. Fox moved the house, on the Monday following, for an address to his majesty, "that he would direct copies or extracts from any notification made by the court of France, of the intention of the most Christian king to interfere by force in the affairs of Holland, to be laid before the house." He contended, that, parliamentarily speaking, the house had not any proof before them, that the court of France had ever had any intention of interfering in the affairs of the Dutch provinces; that, on the contrary, such intention was expressly disavowed in the counter-declaration; and, consequently, that the house could not with propriety pronounce their approbation of the late armaments, or provide for the expences thereby incurred, while there appeared, on the face of the evidence laid before them, a broad and gross declaration that there never had existed a reason for those preparations, and that declaration solemnly made in a public instrument. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, insisted, that the intimation of the fact conveyed in the speech from the throne, was sufficient for the house to ground their proceedings upon, since no person, he believed, would venture to suggest a doubt of its reality; and that, with respect to the apparent contradiction so often alluded to, it doubtless would admit of explanation. In the paper moved for, the king of France had not expressly declared, that he would interfere in the internal concerns of the United Provinces by force; but that the states of Holland having, on the approach of the Prussian army, applied to him for assistance against that armament, he had determined to afford them assistance; a measure, which though not implying in terms a direct intention of using force, appeared to his majesty's servants sufficient to justify the preparations that had been made. After a short debate, Mr. Fox's motion was negatived without a division.

On the 5th of December, the day appointed for taking into consideration the subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Mr. Pitt rose and moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £.36,093, be granted for the subsidy to the prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year 1788." Mr. Fox observed, that before the house concurred in this vote, it was necessary they should receive some farther information, than they had hitherto been favoured with, respecting the general plan of foreign alliance which government intended to pursue. It was from its reference to and connexion with such a plan, that Dec. 5th.

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the merits of the treaty in queſtion could alone be fairly decided upon; and, though he was ready to vote the ſubſidy required, as a part of that plan, yet if, for reaſons which he allowed might exiſt, no further communication could at preſent be made, he hoped that he ſhould not be conſidered as pledging himſelf, by ſuch a vote, to ſupport any future meaſure that might be propoſed as a conſequence of the Heſſian treaty. He then proceeded to make a few remarks upon particular parts of the treaty. He objected to the limitation, by which the Heſſian troops were to be employed in no part of the Britiſh dominions, except Great Britain and Ireland; the reverſe of this arrangement he ſhould have thought more adviſeable, becauſe he conceived there was little probability of thoſe troops being required to ſerve in thoſe iſlands, but they might be of great ſervice in Gibraltar, America, or the Weſt Indies.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, repeated what he had ſaid on a former day, that the Heſſian treaty formed but a part of a general ſyſtem, which it would doubtleſs be improper for him at that time to detail, but which, he was confident, would be entitled to the approbation of the houſe. In defence of the ſtipulation of not employing the ſubſidiary troops beyond ſea, he intimated, that the ſervices moſt probably to be expected from them would be upon the continent, where the part we had lately taken, and the connexions we had formed, might, in caſe of a rupture with any foreign power, afford us an opportunity of employing them with ſingular advantage. The only queſtion therefore, which he conceived to be before the houſe, was, whether it was adviſeable for this nation to give the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel £.36,000 a year by way of a retaining fee, to hold him in our intereſts, and for an aſſiſtance, in caſe of need, of 12,000 troops, without any deſignation of the place or manner in which thoſe troops were eventually to be employed.

Mr. Burke followed Mr. Pitt, and expreſſed his entire approbation of the ſyſtem of meaſures that had lately been purſued, with reſpect to Holland, and the renewal of continental connexions. Subſidiary treaties, as applicable to and a neceſſary branch of ſuch a ſyſtem, he conſidered as meaſures generally adviſeable, and peculiarly adapted to the circumſtances of this country. But, in proportion as ſuch a ſyſtem was in itſelf prudent and adviſeable, it ought to be conſtructed and put together with the moſt wary caution, ſo that all its parts ſhould fit and adhere cloſely together, and by its ſtrength and ſtability inſure the good effects that were to be expected from it. The utmoſt care ought to be taken to prevent ſuch excellent ſyſtems from being diſgraced and diſcredited by imperfections and miſchievous conſequences reſulting from the want of foreſight in their original conſtruction. It was theſe miſchievous conſequences that had put many great and good men out of humour with continental alliances; and therefore, in proportion to the real policy of the meaſure itſelf, a provident regard ought to be had to the prejudices of mankind, in order, at leaſt, not to make them leſs fond of them.

With regard to the preſent treaty, the whole effect of it was not, as had been ſtated, merely the giving the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel a retaining fee of 36,000 l. per annum. The

landgrave

landgrave was too wiſe a prince to engage to furniſh Great Britain with 12,000 men for ſuch a conſideration. The quantum of banco crowns was not the only, nor, in fact, the moſt conſiderable advantage to be eventually derived from the treaty by him. By the treaty this country ſtipulated to guaranty the dominions of the landgrave, and might therefore be involved in a war, in conſequence of that ſtipulation. Should that event happen, inſtead of receiving the aid of 12,000 troops, we might have to aid that prince with 100,000. It required therefore more conſideration, to form a judgment upon the balance of advantage and diſadvantage likely to reſult from the treaty, than might at firſt be imagined. He took it for granted, that miniſters had taken the neceſſary meaſures to guard againſt the landgrave's being involved in a war on account of the preſent treaty, or to provide for his ſupport in caſe of an attack. If this ſyſtem of our continental connexions (of which he took the preſent treaty to be only a ſmall part) was not formed with a proviſion for that event, the ſyſtem was an inadequate and bad ſyſtem, and of conſequence the treaty a diſadvantageous treaty. Mr. Burke followed up theſe general remarks, with a view of the ſtate of our alliances, and of the balance of power in Europe, and concluded with making a few obſervations upon the introduction of foreign troops into this iſland. He reminded the houſe of the jealouſy that had always manifeſted itſelf in this country upon that ſubject; and particularly in the year 1755, when Heſſians were laſt employed in England. At that period, the popular alarm had increaſed to ſuch an height, that the dread of the danger that threatened at the time, an invaſion, was much leſs than the dread of the means that were reſorted to for its prevention. Mr. Burke begged to be conſidered, in the mention of theſe facts, rather as the narrator of jealouſies which had prevailed, and at the ſame time were certainly to be conſidered as characteriſtic feelings of the nation, than as the foreteller of their revival, in conſequence of the preſent treaty. The motion was agreed to, nem. con.

On the 10th of the ſame month, the ſecretary at war brought forward the augmentation of the land forces, which he ſaid was propoſed to be effected by re-eſtabliſhing the third and fourth battalions of the ſixtieth regiment, and increaſing the number of men in the regiments on the Weſt India ſervice; the augmentation amounting in the whole to 3,064 men. At the ſame time he informed the houſe, that his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to declare, that, as his houſehold troops were not, in proportion to their expences, ſo materially conducive to the ſtrength and ſecurity of the kingdom as the other forces; and, as the augmentation propoſed would be the cauſe of laying additional burthens upon his ſubjects; he was willing to contribute his ſhare, by ſacrificing ornament to ſervice, in ſuch a reduction of his houſehold troops, as ſhould be deemed neceſſary and proper. Dec. 10th.

Theſe propoſitions gave riſe to a long and intereſting debate. It was argued by colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox, that the peace eſtabliſhment of the army, as ſettled by the adminiſtration of 1780, had been adopted

adopted upon a view of the comparative ſtate of our foreign poſſeſſions, at the concluſion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, and at the peace of 1762, and of the eſtabliſhments that were thought neceſſary at thoſe two periods. It had been held in the year 1763, when the whole of North America was in our hands, that the eſtabliſhment ought to be larger than it was in 1749, when a great part of Louiſiana, part of Nova Scotia, and all Canada, were in the hands of the French. In the eſtabliſhment, therefore, of 1783, when we had loſt thirteen entire colonies, and alſo the iſland of Minorca, a medium had been taken between the eſtabliſhments of 1749 and 1762; and this eſtabliſhment, allowing the force of the argument upon which it was founded, might certainly have been objected to (and in fact it had actually been objected to by a confidential friend of the preſent miniſters) as too large and expenſive for the reduced ſtate of the empire. On what grounds therefore were they now called upon to vote it too ſmall and contracted? Miniſters had declared, that, upon a minute inquiry into the ſtate of defence of our weſtern poſſeſſions, they had found them *ſubjects rather of anxiety than comfort*: and that this opinion had been confirmed by the reports of the officers commanding in the Weſt Indies, who had been ſeverally conſulted upon the force which each thought requiſite for the ſecurity of the iſland he commanded.

Upon the firſt of theſe points, it was urged, that, unleſs parliament meant to reſign, in compliment to the preſent adminiſtration, all pretenſions to inveſtigation, check, and controul, they were bound to proceed upon more ſolid ground than the mere words of miniſters, before they authoriſed an innovation ſo burthenſome in the expence, and odious to the ſentiments of their conſtituents. Many caſes there undoubtedly were, in which it was both wiſe and neceſſary to place a full confidence in miniſters. Such a proof of their confidence they had lately given, in voting 80,000l. for the ſecret ſervice money expended during the late tranſactions on the continent. Even in the preſent caſe, had the augmentation propoſed been temporary, and the miniſter had declared, that he had reaſons ſufficiently cogent, but which he could not at preſent ſafely explain, for demanding it, they might have been induced, without betraying their truſt, to have given him credit for the validity of thoſe reaſons. But in a meaſure ſo important, in every point of view, as the preſent, and which was meant to be permanent and unalterable, they were bound in duty to call for the reaſons upon which it was grounded, and to examine them with the utmoſt care and attention.

With reſpect to the ſecond point, the opinions of our commanders abroad, it was contended, that they by no means afforded a ſatisfactory ground for increaſing our preſent eſtabliſhment. It was obvious that each commander of an iſland would demand as large a force as he thought adequate to his defence on his own particular ſituation, and would govern himſelf, in ſuch requiſition, merely by a regard to his own reſponſibility; whereas, in judging of an adequate peace eſtabliſhment for all the poſſeſſions of Great Britain, the whole would depend upon a general view of all its parts, and their relative exigencies.

And,

And, as the houſe was thus left without any ſolid foundation upon which they could ground the vote propoſed, ſo neither was there any rational ſpeculation upon it could be ſupported. The late tranſactions upon the continent, upon which ſo much applauſe had been deſervedly beſtowed, were chiefly entitled to it upon the account, that by creating a diverſion for France nearer home, we thereby weakened her power of hoſtile attack abroad. It would naturally be expected that ſuch a circumſtance would enable the houſe to ſave the money of their conſtituents, and to leſſen their peace eſtabliſhment, inſtead of inducing them to augment it. For whence aroſe our apprehenſions? If for our new friends, if the neceſſity of increaſing our army, and taking the laſt ſhilling out of the pockets of their conſtituents, aroſe from our late alliances, greatly and univerſally as ſuch alliances and connexions had hitherto been applauded, they ought for ever to be abandoned and abjured. In ſhort, if thoſe tranſactions ſhould be found to terminate in the diſarming of our naval armament, as ſtipulated in the agreement with the French king, and in adopting the propoſed augmentation of our land forces, France, and not we, would have cauſe to triumph in the event. She would obtain a great and a rational object: ſhe had at no time been unwilling that we ſhould augment our army; ſhe knew that it was the increaſe of our navy only that ſhe had to dread.

In the laſt place, much was ſaid upon the policy of œconomy; and it was contended, that it was by a judicious ſaving of our reſources alone, that we could enable ourſelves to meet a war with probability of ſucceſs. The example of France was ſtrongly urged. She had an effective army of 160,000 men, a powerful marine, and her frontier towns ſtrongly fortified, and in complete repair. What then could have induced her to ſubmit to the diſgrace reſulting from her late conduct, but her inability to go to war, in conſequence of the miſerable ſtate of her finances, exhauſted by the impolitic extent of her military eſtabliſhments. Mr. Fox declared, that when, in oppoſition to many of his own moſt reſpectable friends, he ſupported laſt year the propoſition of not calling out the militia ſo frequently as uſual, he did it entirely from a conſideration, that the œconomy of the meaſure would be a greater national advantage, than any benefit that could reſult from continuing to embody them ſo frequently as had been done before: but he did not therefore approve of ſupplying that force by the introduction of foreign troops into this country; and he thought it rather extraordinary, that the ſon of lord Chatham, who had been a ſtrenuous advocate for the militia, and for a reduced land but a ſtrong naval force, ſhould countenance the introduction of mercenary troops in preference to calling out the militia, and conſent to a ſtipulation with France, to reduce the naval armaments of the country, and then come forward with a propoſition for an augmentation of the army.

The propriety of the augmentation propoſed was principally defended by Mr. Pitt. With reſpect to the unlimited confidence which the houſe had been ſo zealouſly cautioned againſt repoſing in miniſters, he acknowledged, that the occaſions for ſuch confidence were always to be

be lamented, as well by thoſe who were to grant it, as by thoſe, who, in conſequence of the grant, were obliged to take upon them a deep and extenſive reſponſibility. That ſuch occaſions, however, might occur, he preſumed, would not be denied; and he contended that the preſent was of that nature, ſince it was obvious, that it would be highly improper for him to enter into any detail reſpecting the defence of our diſtant poſſeſſions, or to proclaim in what particulars the iſlands were thought vulnerable, unleſs ſtrengthened by an additional force.

The objections that had been made to the opinions of officers commanding in the Weſt India iſlands, had proceeded upon a falſe ſuppoſition. Their opinion had never been aſked upon the whole force neceſſary for the defence of all our foreign poſſeſſions, nor was it ever intended preciſely to calculate the whole, by the mere addition of what was required for each part ſeparately; but government, after having aſcertained, through the knowledge and experience of thoſe who had been on the ſpot, what might be conſidered as a force adequate to the defence of each individual iſland, would undoubtedly form a general plan for the protection of the whole, with a due regard to the relative circumſtances of each, and to a variety of other conſiderations, which it would be neceſſary to take into the account. And ſurely it was ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that government ſhould be able to form a comprehenſive permanent eſtabliſhment for this purpoſe, by mere inſtinct, and without any previous conſultation with ſuch perſons as were moſt able to furniſh them with the information that was neceſſary in the detail.

The arguments taken from the late events on the continent were, he contended, inapplicable to the matter in queſtion; ſince, whatever concluſion was drawn from them, the neceſſity of having our diſtant poſſeſſeſſions at all times in a poſture of defence, and ſecure againſt ſurprize, would remain the ſame. It had indeed been inſinuated, that he had ſhewn a predilection for defending them by a land, rather than a naval force. This was an argument adapted to the prejudices, he was ready to admit, the laudable prejudices, of that houſe; but he was convinced, that, upon examination, it would appear merely calculated to ſerve a popular turn. He ſhould take it for granted, that the Weſt India iſlands were objects of ſuch importance to this country, as to make their ſecurity a matter of the firſt conſideration. There were but three ways by which this could be attempted: either by keeping a large ſtationary fleet in the Weſt Indies; by ſending out ſuccours on the proſpect of any rupture; or by keeping a military force upon the iſlands, equal to their defence againſt ſudden ſurprize. Experience had proved that a naval force alone could not protect them, ſince, with a large fleet in the Weſt Indies laſt war, ſometimes ſuperior to that of the enemy, the French had wreſted ſeveral of the iſlands from us. With regard to the ſecond expedient, to ſay nothing of an attack without a previous declaration of war, it might happen to be inconvenient or unſafe to detach any part of our force from Europe; and if it were not, our ſuccours, from a variety of cauſes, might not arrive in time to prevent the miſchief. The laſt therefore appeared clearly to him the moſt eligible

gible mode of accompliſhing this object, and the more ſo, when it was conſidered, that, from the diſperſion and diſtance of the iſlands, and the peculiarities of that climate, with reſpect to winds and currents, it would ſometimes be abſolutely impoſſible for a fleet to afford that ſpeedy relief which the occaſion might require, unleſs there was a ſufficient military force upon the iſland to ſecure it from ſurprize.

Upon the ſubject of œconomy he obſerved, that his opinions were well known upon that article, and that, from the ſituation he held in his majeſty's ſervice, no one could be more anxiouſly intereſted in it than he was. But, he contended, that every moderate expence, by which the continuance of peace could be more firmly inſured, was true œconomy, and the beſt œconomy this country could purſue. It was upon this principle, and after a due conſideration of the preſent ſtate of our finances, that it appeared to him well worth our while to lay out 80,000 l. annually, the ſum which the propoſed augmentation would coſt, for the purpoſe of keeping our diſtant poſſeſſions in ſuch a conſtant poſture of defence, as might deter any hoſtile power from attempting to wreſt them by ſurprize from us: to act otherwiſe, to tempt an attack by leaving them expoſed and defenceleſs, would be to be ſparing of our wealth, and laviſh of the proſperity of the Britiſh empire.

It having been remarked, in the courſe of the debate, by general Burgoyne, that the plan of augmenting the forces in the Weſt Indies, ſeemed neceſſarily to imply a correſpondent ſyſtem of fortification in that quarter, and that ſome explanation of the intentions of government upon that point was requiſite for the information of the houſe; Mr. Pitt avowed that ſome additional fortifications, upon a moderate ſcale, and with a view to render the military force more efficient, was intended, and was ſo connected with the plan of augmenting the land force to be ſtationed there, that it might be conſidered as an indiſpenſable part of it. For the propriety of this meaſure, they had not only the ſanction of a board of Engliſh general officers, but that of the moſt eminent French engineers; ſince not only every iſland belonging to that nation was fortified, but they alſo had begun to fortify thoſe they took from us in the laſt war, as ſoon as they came into their hands.

This avowal of Mr. Pitt's, called up Mr. Fox again, who urged, in the moſt earneſt manner, the neceſſity of a more full and accurate inveſtigation of the ſubject, before they proceeded to authorize a meaſure, of the extent and expences of which they were left in total ignorance. Mr. Pitt aſſured the houſe, in reply, that the whole of the expence of the intended fortifications would not exceed 200,000 l.; that the works propoſed would neceſſarily take ſome years in completing; and conſequently, that the additional annual expence to the nation would be very trifling.

A diviſion at length took place upon the motion, that 315,865 l. be granted for the forces for the plantations and Gibraltar, for the year 1788; when there appeared, ayes 242, noes 80.

The eſtimates for the ordnance were afterwards brought forward; and a motion being made, that the conſideration of them ſhould be adjourned to the next day, the ſame

was

was rejected by a large majority; and a grant for the amount of the eſtimates was voted without debate.

17th Dec. The lateneſs of the hour at which the ordnance eſtimates were voted, having prevented the diſcuſſion of them upon the 10th, Mr. Sheridan took occaſion to introduce that ſubject again into the houſe upon Monday the 17th. The intention of government to fortify the Weſt India iſlands had, he ſaid, been candidly avowed, and the limits of the expence, in a looſe way, aſcertained. But, he conceived, that before parliament gave its final ſanction, either to the propoſed augmentation of the army, or to eſtimates of the ordnance, it was neceſſary they ſhould underſtand more accurately the propoſed extent of the ſyſtem of fortification to be adopted for the Weſt Indies. They had been repreſented as neceſſary to give efficiency to troops that were to be ſtationed there, and perhaps, the next year, the houſe might be called upon to vote more troops as neceſſary to give efficiency to the fortifications. In a report of the board of ordnance, laid upon the table of that houſe in the year 1783, by the preſent maſter-general, the duke of Richmond, his grace had ſuggeſted a ſyſtem of fortification, both at home and abroad, which, ſo far as related to the former part, had been fully diſcuſſed in that houſe and rejected. The preſent propoſal of fortifying the Weſt Indies, was a part of that original plan, and not, as the miniſter had pretended, a new idea ariſing out of new circumſtances. In order, therefore, to rouſe the houſe to a due attention to the important ſubjects before them, he ſhould move, "That there ſhould "be laid before the houſe, an eſti"mate of the expence of compleat"ing the fortifications intended in "the Weſt Indies, with an account "of the number of troops neceſſary "to garriſon the whole."

Mr. Sheridan obſerved, that there were ſome other articles in the ordnance eſtimates which required animadverſion. Amongſt the reſt, a charge of £. 10,000 for the purchaſe of powder-mills at Waltham Abbey, upon a project of government's manufacturing powder there for its own uſe; a project which, he thought, in every point of view, abſurd and impolitic, as it tended to diſtreſs and perhaps deſtroy the gunpowder manufactures of the country, to ſubſtitute an unfair monopoly in the hands of government, and as the expence attending the eſtabliſhment was ſo enormous, that every pound of powder coſt four times the price at which it was ſold by the manufacturers; a fact that had been already aſcertained from the experience of the royal powder mills at Feverſham.

Another moſt ſingular and extraordinary project was, that of raiſing a corps of artificers, to conſiſt of 600 men, and dividing them into ſix companies. Mr. Sheridan ridiculed with great ſucceſs the idea of putting artificers under martial law, and ſubjecting them to military diſcipline. — He did not conceive, he ſaid, that men, capable of earning half a crown a day, would enliſt as ſoldiers, and work in their reſpective occupations, at one-third of that ſum, for the mere douceur of military diſcipline. With regard to the œconomy of the meaſure, he remarked, that in the report of 1783, before alluded to, the maſter-general had ſtated, that, by ſuffering ſome of the artificers at Woolwich, Sheerneſs, &c. to be put into companies, the artillery would never want artificers,

ficers, and a saving of £. 15,000 would be made to government. Before, therefore, any new plan of raising a distinct corps of artificers was authorized, it would be proper to know what the saving made in consequence of the original plan had amounted to; because, if no great saving had been made, the plan now proposed would evidently be attended with additional expence to the public.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that he must necessarily resist the motion which had been made, because it was obvious, from the nature of things, that it could not at present be complied with. He had mentioned before what he thought nearly would be the gross amount of the expence, and so soon as the particulars could be estimated, they would, without doubt, be submitted to parliament.—He said, the rejection of the general system of fortification proposed by the master-general of the ordnance, upon which occasion he had the misfortune to differ in opinion from one half of the house, by no means involved all the parts of it in the same condemnation; since many of the principles admitted by those, who opposed the general system, would apply to the support of that at present in agitation, and there were besides others in its favour of sound policy and unquestionable wisdom.

With respect to the other topics that had been touched upon, they would, no doubt, be fully discussed on some future day. At present, he should only remark, that the measure of taking additional powder-mills into the hands of government was highly expedient, as well for the purpose of trying experiments in the manufacture, and endeavouring to remove the cause of those complaints, which it was well known the gunpowder served last war had occasioned, as to guard against the consequence of finding themselves, on an emergency, wholly at the mercy of the manufacturers. The primary expence of the establishment would necessarily be great, but in future very inconsiderable when weighed against its utility and importance.

Mr. Sheridan, with the consent of the house, withdrew his motion.

Upon several days, which intervened in the course of these and the subsequent debates of the present session of parliament, the impeachment of Mr. Hastings continued, in various shapes, to occupy the attention of both houses of parliament.—Articles of impeachment against sir Elijah Impey were also brought into the house of commons by sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, and proceeded upon in part, at various times, during the course of the session. But as these form subjects distinct from the ordinary proceedings of parliament, we shall throw them into a chapter by themselves, and give our readers, at the end of our parliamentary history, as full an account of them as the nature and limits of this publication will admit.

CHAP. V.

Caſe of the late promotion of officers to the flag; motion relative thereto, by lord Rawdon; defended by lord Howe, as expedient and agreeable to precedents; the motion ſupported by lord Hawke; objected to by the earl of Sandwich, on the general ground of inexpediency. His account of the eſtabliſhment of the ſuperannuated liſt; anſwered by lord Rawdon; motion rejected. Mr. Baſtard's motion on the ſame ſubject in the houſe of commons; oppoſed by Mr. Beaufoy and Mr. Pitt; different opinions of naval officers upon the ſubject; motion withdrawn. Second motion of Mr. Baſtard, for a committee of enquiry; detail of the caſes of the rejected captains; defence of the board of admiralty; the promotion defended by captain Berkeley; condemned by Mr. Fox; opinions of ſeveral military officers; of country gentlemen; charge of partiality againſt lord Howe; denied by his friends; motion rejected by a majority of only 16. Third motion, on the ſame ſubject, by Mr. Baſtard; ſpeakers in the debate; rejected by a majority of 49. Debates on the India declaratory bill; occaſion of bringing in the bill; objected to, upon the general principles of declaratory bills, as unparliamentary, unjuſt, and as a dangerous precedent; motion for bringing in the bill defended by Mr. Pitt, on the plea of neceſſity; anſwered by Mr. Flood; India company heard by counſel on the ſecond reading; bill oppoſed on two grounds; 1ſt, as not containing the true ſenſe of the original act of 1784; 2dly, as veſting an arbitrary power in the board of controul, and authorizing a meaſure injurious to the company, and dangerous to the conſtitution; defence of the bill againſt theſe objections; Mr. Pitt's conduct cenſured by ſeveral of his friends; motion for committing the bill carried by a majority of 125 to 182; bill re-committed and amended; debate on the third reading; names of ſpeakers; paſſed by a majority of 54. Bill debated in the houſe of lords; ſpeech of the marquis of Lanſdown; paſſes by a majority of 71 to 28; proteſt entered.

THE firſt object of importance, which engaged the attention of parliament after the receſs, was the promotion of flag officers in the navy, which had taken place on the 15th of Sept. preceding.

In order to enable our readers to enter more accurately into the merits of the diſcuſſion, it may be neceſſary to ſtate, that by an order of council, dated in the year 1718, and addreſſed to the lords commiſſioners of the board of admiralty, they are directed to proceed, in the promotion of officers to the rank of admirals in the navy, according to the ſeniority of ſuch officers upon the liſt of captains, regard only had to their being duly qualified for the rank to which they ſhall be promoted. By a ſubſequent order of 1747, the lords of the admiralty are authorized to ſuperannuate ſuch captains of long and meritorious ſervice as ſhall be diſabled from ſerving as admirals, by age or infirmity, under the title of admiral upon the ſuperannuated liſt, or, as it is commonly called, the liſt of yellow admirals.

I

In the promotion made by the board of admiralty at the time abovementioned, in which ſixteen captains were promoted to the flag, upwards of forty captains had been paſſed over, the greateſt part of whom had the offer made them of being put upon the ſuperannuated liſt; but, conceiving themſelves entitled, from their paſt, and their capacity for future ſervice, to the rank of acting admirals, they refuſed the retreat that was offered them, and had endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to obtain their re-eſtabliſhment from the board of admiralty.

This partial promotion had occaſioned a great and general diſguſt, and eſpecially amongſt the officers of the navy, who were alarmed to find that the expectations of reward for the longeſt and moſt meritorious ſervice, were to be dependent upon the caprice of the firſt lord of the admiralty; and it was therefore thought a proper ſubject for parliamentary animadverſion. Accordingly, on Monday the 20th of February the buſineſs was brought forward by lord Rawdon, in the houſe of lords. He ſtated the circumſtances of the late promotion, as we have juſt related them, and ſtrongly inſiſted upon the acknowledged and indiſputable merit of the officers who had been paſſed by. This neglect, he contended, was contrary to the eſtabliſhed practice of the ſervice, and was without a precedent. At the ſame time, he ſaid it was not his intention to impute improper motives to any one, and he had therefore framed his motion in ſuch a manner, as he hoped would appear perfectly inoffenſive and unobjectionable. He conceived the ſubject to be of the utmoſt importance to the naval ſervice of this country, and had no doubt but that their lordſhips would become the protectors of the many brave and deſerving officers, who could not but conſider themſelves as injured in their juſt expectations, and degraded in the eyes of their countrymen—He ſhould therefore move, "That an humble "addreſs be preſented to his ma- "jeſty, praying that he would be "graciouſly pleaſed to take into his "royal conſideration the ſervices of "ſuch captains of his majeſty's na- "vy as were paſſed over in the laſt "promotion of admirals."

Feb. 20th.

The motion being ſeconded, lord Howe immediately roſe to juſtify his own conduct. After ſtating the ſeveral orders under which the board of admiralty acted, and the practice of the board at various periods, he ſaid, that he ſuppoſed it would be admitted, that the board was not ſtrictly bound to promote captains according to their ſeniority upon the liſt, but was entruſted with a diſcretionary power, for the uſe of which they were doubtleſs reſponſible—But at the ſame time, he was reſponſible for the good conduct and well-being of the ſervice; and with the reſponſibility, he muſt neceſſarily be entitled to exerciſe his own judgment and diſcretion in every branch of the executive duty of the admiralty board; and therefore it was incumbent on every man, ſtanding in a ſituation ſimilar to his, to be careful in the promotion of officers, and more eſpecially in the promotion of captains to flags. It was painful for him, undoubtedly, in the exerciſe of his diſcretion, to ſet officers aſide; nor could he in a public aſſembly ſtate the particular reaſons which

operated on his judgment in the late promotion of captains to the rank of admirals. It would be invidious in him to explain them unneceſſarily, as it would be cruel in the houſe to deſire him to make ſuch declaration. He had acted to the beſt of his judgment, and with the ſtricteſt impartiality.

With regard to the nature of the reaſons which might direct the judgment of a firſt lord of the admiralty to paſs over any number of captains in a promotion to flags, the houſe would have the goodneſs to recollect that there might be ſeveral. Thoſe who were likely to be entruſted with the care of our fleets, ought to be men not only of firm minds, but poſſeſſed of bodily ſtrength, to enable them to endure the fatigues of the hard ſervice they might have to ſuſtain. Officers who had ſerved ably and meritoriouſly all their lives, might not appear, to the judgment of a firſt lord of the admiralty, to be fit to be entruſted with the care of a fleet. The noble lord who brought the motion forward knew that in the army the ſame obſervation applied. A ſerjeant of grenadiers, though an able and excellent ſoldier, might not be qualified to command a body of troops on a forlorn hope. Theſe, and other conſiderations, had neceſſarily operated on his judgment in the late promotion. If the houſe thought proper to take upon themſelves the promotion of military officers, he ſhould feel himſelf eaſed of the greateſt cauſe of anxiety in his ſituation, and of courſe eſcape from the painful reſponſibility of office.

Had the officers who were paſſed over ſucceeded their rank, as had been ſuggeſted, and not been called into ſervice, as would probably have happened, they muſt have gone through the ſuperior degrees of promotion, that of vice-admiral, and of admiral, before the officers from whoſe ſervice the country were to derive advantage; and thus the officers who did not ſerve, would have ſtood in the way of thoſe who did ſerve. He appealed to the houſe whether ſuch a circumſtance would have been fair or warrantable.

He then ſtated to the houſe the nature of the eſtabliſhment planned by the board of admiralty in 1747, for the maintenance and ſupport of ſuch officers as were paſſed by in a promotion of captains to flags. In order to make a ſuitable proviſion for them, and to enable them to ſpend the latter years of their exiſtence in eaſe and retirement, that liſt of rear-admirals upon half pay (or as they were commonly called yellow admirals) was eſtabliſhed, and all upon it received £. 320 a year. If the ſuperannuation pay appeared too ſmall, it ought undoubtedly to be increaſed. He concluded with remarking, that the late promotion, if it ſtood in need of the countenance of a precedent, was not without that ſupport; and he inſtanced a promotion of the ſame kind made by the late lord Hawke.

Lord Hawke roſe to vindicate the conduct of his father, and denied that it was a precedent in point, becauſe that promotion had taken place with the approbation and ſanction of parliament. He reprobated that ſyſtem of naval diſtinction which overlooked the veteran officers in order to get at the man who had the chance of being the longeſt liver. It was a ſyſtem which every man, who had at heart the honour of the ſervice muſt view with indignation. He would, therefore, give the motion his moſt cordial ſupport.

T

The earl of Sandwich, in a long and able ſpeech, gave his reaſons for differing in opinion from the noble lord who had brought forward the motion. He thought it extremely improper for that houſe to interfere with the executive government. They had much better leave it to itſelf, and thoſe noble lords who would adviſe the houſe to accede to the preſent propoſition, he was perſuaded, were not aware of the infinite miſchiefs which might enſue. The parliament of Great Britain ſtood high in the opinion of all Europe; it had acquired abundant credit from the propriety of its proceedings, from confining itſelf to its proper province, and from not aſſuming offices and functions which did not belong to it, but leaving them where the conſtitution had wiſely placed them, in the hands of the ſeveral departments of the executive government. Let their lordſhips for a moment conſider the embarraſſments which muſt be felt, if promotions of admirals were to be made by the two houſes of parliament. The idea was revolting and monſtrous in the extreme. A want of knowledge of the qualifications of the different candidates, would preſent itſelf in the firſt inſtance, and the influence uſed to obtain promotion would be at once moſt abſurd, and moſt ridiculous. Let parliament place a due confidence in the firſt lord of the admiralty, and ſuffer him to exerciſe the diſcretion that belonged to his ſituation, unmoleſted by their interference. The reſponſibility lay with that officer and the board; and there the diſcretion ought to reſt likewiſe. Whenever a complaint was formally made of breach of truſt, or improper conduct, in any reſponſible member of adminiſtration, the houſe had a right to inſtitute an inquiry, and, upon ſufficient proof of the facts alledged, to addreſs his majeſty to remove the miniſter ſo miſconducting himſelf. *That* was the conſtitutional power of parliament, and one of its moſt important and ſalutary privileges; but, it was widely diſtinct from that of the other houſe taking upon themſelves to exerciſe the functions of the executive government.

For his own part, he would not enter into any diſcuſſion of the late promotion of captains to flags, becauſe he did not think that houſe the proper place for ſuch a diſcuſſion; but, having himſelf had a ſhare in forming the eſtabliſhment which, in vulgar words, was termed the liſt of yellow admirals, but the true name of which was the ſuperannuated liſt, he would ſtate to the houſe the origin of the eſtabliſhment. It had been found, at different periods, extremely inconvenient and detrimental to the ſervice, that promotions to flags ſhould be governed by ſeniority. In the year forty-ſeven, a promotion to flags was neceſſary, and thoſe then at the board well knew that there were on the liſt of captains ſeveral officers in a ſuperior degree qualified to command fleets; but the difficulty was how to come at them, without loading the public with an amazing and intolerable expence. In concert, therefore, with two noble lords, the late duke of Bedford, and the late lord Anſon, he had taken his ſhare in planning the ſuperannuated liſt, and he had been the perſon in whoſe hands it had principally been brought to bear. The object of it was to provide an income for ſuch captains as, in a promotion to flags, the board of admiralty did not appoint admirals,

not meaning to call them out into farther ſervice. At the time of inſtituting the eſtabliſhment, the object was to make eight admirals only, and in order to that, nineteen captains were paſſed over; and yet there was no complaint then, no motion before that houſe to addreſs his majeſty on the ſubject, nor any idea of injuſtice or partiality entertained. The eſtabliſhment of the ſuperannuated liſt had been originally received with univerſal applauſe, and generally conſidered as a humane and benevolent inſtitution. Thoſe captains who were put upon it were not ſtigmatiſed, as a noble lord had contended, nor in any degree diſgraced; but it was an honourable retreat from ſervice. The noble lord had alſo ſtated, that the late promotion had been altogether without a precedent. No ſuch thing. There were a great number of precedents for it. In ſhort, there was ſcarcely a precedent to the contrary.

Beſides, what did the preſent motion mean? It deſired his majeſty to take the caſe of the officers, in whoſe behalf the motion was made, into his conſideration. That had been done already. Was it his majeſty's better conſideration of the caſe of the officers that was deſired by the motion? If ſo, let their lordſhips conſider, for a moment, the groſs impropriety of their interfering with the prerogative in a caſe of that nature. If they did it in one inſtance, they would be called on to do it in another, and what infinitely miſchievous conſequences might not ſuch an unwiſe confuſion of the diſtinct functions of the different branches of the legiſlature lead to? He concluded with remarking, that with regard to the noble viſcount's reaſons for having paſſed over ſome captains, undoubtedly it muſt have been painful for him, as a profeſſional man, to have conſidered it as his duty ſo to regulate the promotion; but, whatever had been the reaſons by which either the noble viſcount, or any former lord of the admiralty, had been governed, it would prove in the higheſt degree improper publicly to ſtate them. It was not in human nature for any man to think himſelf inſufficient; and, undoubtedly, one officer believed himſelf to be as fit for an admiral as another. Would it, therefore, be humane, or even juſtifiable, for a firſt lord of the admiralty to ſingle out and characteriſe what he held to be ſuch diſqualifications, as rendered it incompatible with the good of the ſervice for ſuch and ſuch captains to be promoted to flags?

Lord Rawdon contended, in reply, that the motion did not interfere with the prerogative, or aſſume the exerciſe of the function of military promotion. Had it been of that tendency, he was ready to admit it would be highly indecent and improper. It only deſired his majeſty to take the caſe of ſeveral meritorious and able officers into his royal conſideration, upon the preſumption, that, in the late promotion to flags, their merits had been overlooked. He then ſtated a caſe in the reign of queen Anne, when the captain of admiral ſir George Rooke's ſhip, who was then at Portſmouth, juſt preparing to ſail on an important expedition, was paſſed by; ſir George Rooke, thereupon wrote to prince George of Denmark, remonſtrating againſt ſo groſs an act of injuſtice to his captain, nor would he ſail before juſtice was done him

him, and he was reſtored to his rank. With regard to the nineteen captains that the noble earl had ſaid were ſuperannuated, to make eight admirals, the noble earl had not ſtated, whether they had withdrawn themſelves from the ſervice or not. He had, therefore, a right to conclude that they did withdraw; and it was on all hands admitted, that ſuch officers as had withdrawn themſelves from the ſervice, had no claim to farther promotion. But, was that the caſe with the officers in whoſe behalf he had made the motion then upon the table? Directly the reverſe. They were all officers lately in ſervice, and ready and willing to be employed again. They were not men liable to be ſet aſide upon ſo harſh an imputation as incapacity. The noble viſcount had aſked, if a ſerjeant of grenadiers, though a brave ſoldier, was fit to command on a dangerous enterprize? Were the caſes in the ſmalleſt degree analogous? Surely not. The officers for whom he then contended had actually been in command often. They were looked up to by their whole profeſſion as officers of the firſt ability, and as fit for command as any naval characters whatſoever. In the higher ranks of the army, officers always roſe by ſeniority, colonels became major-generals, and ſo on; and, unleſs there was ſome ſtain in an officer's character, which rendered him unworthy of promotion and unfit for rank, he ſaw not the inconvenience that could ariſe from the ſame practice obtaining in the navy. The noble earl's argument went ſo far as to ſhut the door completely againſt inquiries into the conduct of a firſt lord of the admiralty, on any occaſion; a principle which he hoped he ſhould never ſee the houſe adopt, ſince it was poſſible for a marine miniſter to act as detrimentally againſt the intereſt of his country, by abuſing his authority, and purſuing improper meaſures, as the miniſter of any other department in the ſtate.

After a ſhort reply from lord Sandwich, in which he ſtated that the promotions in the army were not attended with any additional expence, whereas in the navy, where we had already near ſixty admirals, the promotion by ſeniority would entail on the public an enormous expence—the motion paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

The fate of lord Rawdon's motion did not prevent the ſame queſtion from being agitated in the houſe of commons. A motion was made on the day following, by Mr. Baſtard, for an addreſs to the king to confer ſome mark of his royal favour upon captain Balfour and captain Thompſon, who had received the thanks of the houſe for their behaviour on the 12th of April 1782. Theſe officers, Mr. Baſtard ſaid, he had ſeparated from the reſt, merely on account of the peculiar circumſtance alluded to in the motion; and that he meant to include all the other officers, who had been paſſed over in the late promotion, in another motion, which he ſhould make for that purpoſe. Mr. Baſtard, after urging the arguments that had been uſed on the ſame ſide in the houſe of lords, ſtrongly contended that the houſe of commons was conſidered to be in a peculiar manner the guardians of the intereſts and honour of naval officers; and he quoted to this purpoſe a ſpeech made there on a former occaſion by the preſent firſt lord of the admiralty, in which he April 12th.

aſſerted, that the protection of that houſe was what officers always look up to, and what contributed eſſentially to keep up a ſpirit of emulation amongſt them. He remarked, that public opinion was the principal aim and object of every officer; that their exertions would always be proportionate to the intereſt which the nation took in their characters and welfare; and that, if the people ſhould ever ſhew an indifference towards theſe, the ardour of the ſervice would ſink accordingly.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Beaufoy, and the chancellor of the exchequer, on the ſame ground as was taken in the other houſe. Amongſt the naval officers, members of the houſe, who took a part in the debate, ſir George Collyer and captain Macbride declared, that nothing ſhort of ruin to the ſervice muſt follow, if ſuch a ſyſtem of promotion, as the laſt, was to continue; and, on the other hand, lord Mulgrave and lord Hood were of opinion, that the interference of the houſe might in the end prove more detrimental to the ſervice than advantageous. On all ſides it ſeemed to be admitted, that ſeveral of the officers who were paſſed over, did not appear, to common judgments at leaſt, in any reſpect diſqualified for the rank to which, in the ordinary courſe of the ſervice, they were entitled. Mr. Baſtard finding, however, that the mode in which he had brought the ſubject forward, was not generally agreeable to the houſe, withdrew his motion, with a promiſe of bringing it before them in ſome other ſhape.

April 18th. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, he moved, "That the houſe do reſolve it-"ſelf into a committee of the whole "houſe, to enquire into the condu "of the board of admiralty, touchin "the late promotion to the flag." As this motion went to a direc charge of miniſterial miſconduct a gainſt the firſt lord of the admiralty and was free from the objection o interfering improperly in the func tions of the executive governmen it was neceſſary to meet it upon th diſtinct merits of the caſe.

In ſupport of the preſumption o miſconduct, Mr. Baſtard ſtated th caſes of captains Balfour, Thomp ſon, Uvedale, Shirley, Bray, an Laforey; and ſeveral others wer mentioned in the courſe of the de bate. The firſt of theſe officers ha diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in compar with captain Laforey, in the wa before the laſt, by an enterpri which required equal ſkill and bra very, the cutting out two Frenc ſhips of the line in the harbour o Louiſbourg. He had ſince conti nued to ſerve his country with credi in the late war, and was declare by ſeveral officers, members of th houſe, to be well qualified, ſo far a they could judge, for promotion t the flag. The ſame general teſti mony was borne to the character o the other officers. It was farthe ſtated, that he had written to th board of admiralty to be informe of the reaſons for which he wa paſſed over in the promotion, bu had been refuſed an anſwer. Ad miral ſir Edmund Affleck declare that he had been acquainted wit captain Thompſon nearly forty years; that he knew him to be a honeſt a man, and as brave and ſkil ful an officer, as any in the ſervice that he could not account for h having been paſſed by, and was a much ſurpriſed at it as he ſhoul have been to have been paſſed b himſel

himſelf. Captain Uvedale had alſo ſerved with conſiderable reputation. In the late war he had been appointed by lord Rodney to the command of a part of the fleet, for the purpoſe of drawing out the ſquadron of Monſ. de Graſſe, and by that means affording an opportunity of bringing on a general action. This important ſervice, which required the exertion of all the ſkill as well as bravery of a commander, he ſucceſsfully performed. Captain Shirley had alſo commanded ſeveral ſail of the line, and had received the approbation of the admiralty. He had alſo applied to the board, on the late occaſion, to have his claims exhibited to the council; but the firſt lord refuſed to lay his caſe before them. The caſe of captain Bray was ſingular: he had been employed during the late war in the impreſs ſervice, and, upon his application to the board for a flag, he had been adviſed by lord Howe, on account of his advanced age, to give up his claim to rank, and to apply for ſuperannuation: this advice he had accordingly followed, but it was afterwards diſcovered that he was precluded from being put upon the yellow liſt by the order of council of the year 1747, which expreſsly excepts captains who had not been ſent to ſea during the war. Upon this caſe it was ſtrongly argued by captain Macbride, that if the officers who are employed in this difficult and diſagreeable, though eſſentially important ſervice, were to be conſidered as thereby forfeiting their claim to rank, none but thoſe of the loweſt characters would undertake it in future. Captain Laforey had been ſet aſide merely on account of his having, ſome time before, accepted the appointment of naval commiſſioner at Antigua; although at the ſame time ſir Charles Middleton, late one of the commiſſioners reſident in London, had been promoted to the flag.

In order to obviate the unfavourable concluſion which theſe caſes ſeemed ſtrongly to ſupport, it was argued by the chancellor of the exchequer, in defence of the admiralty, that none of the circumſtances alledged amounted to more than a negative proof, that the officers in queſtion were not diſqualified for the rank for which they contended: but that, where a ſelection was to be made (and that a ſelection was expedient would appear, not only from the uniform practice of the navy, but from the great expence and ſundry inconveniences which would unavoidably reſult from an overloaded liſt of flag officers) it was neceſſary that a diſcretionary power of making that ſelection ſhould be lodged in the commiſſioners of the board of admiralty. He admitted that they were reſponſible to parliament for the uſe of that diſcretion, and that whenever a caſe was made out ſtrong enough to warrant a ſuſpicion of ſuch abuſes as deſerved cenſure or puniſhment, it was the indiſpenſable duty of the houſe to proceed to inquire. But he denied that ſuch a caſe had been made out. It had not been alledged that there was any officer of incompetent merit amongſt thoſe who were promoted, on which a charge of partiality or corruption could be founded. It had not been aſſerted that the firſt lord was actuated by any malice or other ſiniſter motive towards thoſe who had been paſſed over, upon which he could be charged with injuſtice or oppreſſion. The point to be decided by the houſe was, whether they

could infer, from the ſtatement of caſes they had heard, that the judgment of the noble viſcount, upon profeſſional merits, was not to be truſted, but ought to be corrected by theirs? Such a caſe might undoubtedly occur; but he warned the houſe of the miſchiefs that would inevitably ariſe from opening their doors, without the moſt palpable and urgent neceſſity, to the diſcuſſion of profeſſional qualifications, and the arrangement of military promotions. He then proceeded to make a variety of ingenious obſervations upon the ſeveral caſes that had been ſtated, with a view to take off the impreſſion which they ſeemed to have made upon the houſe.

The only naval officer who, upon this occaſion, ſupported adminiſtration, was the honourable captain Berkeley; who lamented that ſuch a queſtion ſhould have been brought before the houſe; but ſaid, that as it was, he muſt declare his opinion to be, that the houſe ought not to interfere, but to leave the diſcretion unclogged where the reſponſibility was placed.

In reply to the arguments of Mr. Pitt, it was urged, by Mr. Fox, that the rank of admiral might be conſidered in two views; that the principal view undoubtedly was proſpective, and to future ſervices; and in this view a more ſtrict ſelection was proper and juſtifiable: but it might be conſidered alſo retroſpectively, as an honour and reward for paſt ſervices. In the latter view, the late promotion could not be defended a moment, it was moſt ſcandalouſly partial and unjuſt. And, as a proof that the admiralty had conſidered it in this point of view, he mentioned the promotion of ſir John Lindſay, who, though unqueſtionably an officer of the firſt reputation in the navy, was well known to be in ſo deplorable a ſtate of health, as to leave no room for the expectation of future ſervices. As a farther proof, he ſtated, that as there were twenty-four admirals on the old liſt fit for ſervice, and no ſervice very likely to be wanted ſoon, the late promotion could not be juſtified on the principle of ſtate neceſſity, and muſt therefore come under the notion of honorary reward and emoluments; and under that conſtruction, no one, he again repeated, could heſitate to pronounce it partial, capricious, and oppreſſive. But he alſo contended, that where, in addition to negative merit, ſignal and approved paſt ſervices could be pleaded, there was a fair claim, even on the former ground, to the higheſt ranks in the ſervice. At leaſt, he ſaid, a contrary determination would do infinite miſchief, by checking the ardour and damping the ſpirit of enterpriſe amongſt our officers.

In this argument he was joined by ſir George Oſborne and ſeveral other military officers. The houſe ought not, ſaid that gentleman, to imagine, that men led by their genius, and qualified to follow the military profeſſion in either ſervice, looked to the number of paltry ſhillings they were to receive per day, as a compenſation for their laborious life and perilous ſervices. There was not a man, he would venture to ſay, that ever got a commiſſion in the navy, who did not aſſure himſelf, that, by a continued ſeries of honourable and meritorious conduct, he ſhould obtain a flag. It could not, therefore, but prove a deep and cutting mortification for any man, conſcious that he did not deſerve it, to find that he was put aſide in the

day of promotion. Military men, from the nature and danger of their profeſſion, muſt be allowed to feel more poignantly, and with more nicety and quickneſs of animation, than thoſe accuſtomed to the frigid rules of civil office. To ſuch feelings he had ever been accuſtomed, and he truſted they were feelings neither miſbecoming a gentleman nor an officer. The power of ſettling promotions and appointing to command had ever been lodged in the board of admiralty; but if either were wantonly and capriciouſly exerciſed, that houſe would act wiſely and with becoming dignity to employ its conſtitutional functions of enquiry and controul.

Admiral ſir Peter Parker remarked, that he ſaw no reaſon for ſelection at preſent in a promotion to the flag. Formerly, when we had only nine admirals, a ſelection was indiſpenſably neceſſary; but now, when the liſt of admirals was fifty-ſeven, ſurely a ſufficient number fit for any ſervice might be found at all times. He ſpoke of the peril and fatigue of a marine life, and ſaid, if neither honours nor emoluments were given to officers, who had behaved meritoriouſly, and gallantly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, he feared the thanks of the houſe would be conſidered only as an empty compliment.

Several of the country gentlemen ſupported Mr. Baſtard's motion, and declared, that they did not think the paltry conſideration of a few thouſands a year, which they underſtood was all the ſaving that would be made, could at all juſtify the cruelty and hardſhip with which they thought many deſerving officers had been treated. An attempt was alſo made to fix a charge of partiality upon the firſt lord of the admiralty, by remarking that there was a marked neglect, in the late promotion, of the officers who had ſerved their country ſo gallantly under the auſpices of lord Rodney. This was warmly denied by Mr. Strachey, who appealed to the liſt of the late promotions. The queſtion being put, the houſe divided, ayes 134, noes 150.

The ſmallneſs of the majority by which the miniſter defeated this enquiry, encouraged Mr. Baſtard to make a third attempt. On Tueſday the 29th of April, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that the arbitrary powers claimed by the board of admiralty, having in ſome meaſure received the ſanction of the houſe, he hoped that, in order to prevent the miſchievous conſequences that might enſue, they would at leaſt adopt ſome permanent principle as a rule of ſervice, to which officers might truſt. He moved the following reſolution, "That it is highly in- "jurious to the ſervice, and unjuſt, "to ſet aſide from promotion to "flags, meritorious officers of ap- "proved ſervice, who are not pre- "cluded by the orders of his ma- "jeſty in council."—The motion was ſeconded by ſir William Moleſworth; and, after a debate of ſeveral hours, (which was ſupported on the one ſide by ſir J. Miller, captain Bertie, general Norton, Mr. Martin, Mr. Loveden, Mr. Drake, &c. and on the other by Mr. Grenville, lord Apſley, and admiral Hood) the houſe divided upon the previous queſtion, noes 220, ayes 169. April 29th.

During the time that the conduct of the board of admiralty underwent theſe diſcuſſions in the houſe of commons, another ſubject was introduced

duced by the chancellor of the exchequer, which gave riſe in both houſes to ſeveral of the warmeſt and moſt intereſting debates of the preſent ſeſſions of parliament. The caſe was briefly this. During the apprehenſions, which had exiſted in the courſe of laſt year, of a rupture with the court of France, government had taken a reſolution of ſending out four additional regiments to India, on board the company's ſhips, for the protection of our poſſeſſions in that quarter; and the propoſition had been received with general approbation by the court of directors. But in the mean time the ſtorm having blown over, and government ſtill adhering to their reſolution of ſending out the four regiments, with a view to form a permanent eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's troops in India, a queſtion had ariſen reſpecting the expence of ſending them out, and of their future payment. By an act, which paſſed in the year 1781, it was ſtipulated that the company ſhould be bound to pay for ſuch troops *only* as were ſent to India upon their requiſition, and upon this act the directors had refuſed to charge the company with the expence of the troops in queſtion. But it was contended by the board of control, eſtabliſhed in the act of 1784, that the commiſſioners of that board were inveſted with a power of directing, in caſe of a refuſal of the company, ſuch expence to be defrayed out of the revenues ariſing from their territorial poſſeſſions. Upon this caſe the court of directors had taken the advice of ſeveral eminent lawyers, who were of opinion that the board of control was not inveſted, by the act of 1784, with the power contended for; and the directors had accordingly refuſed to take the troops on board the ſhips that were about this time to ſail for India.

Upon this ground Mr. Pitt moved the houſe, on the 25th of February, for leave to bring in a bill for removing the doubts in queſtion, by declaring the intention of the legiſlature, in the act of 1784, to have been agreeable to the conſtruction put upon it by the board of control.

He ſtated to the houſe, that though the names of ſeveral reſpectable gentlemen of the profeſſion were ſubſcribed to the opinion which had been given to the court of directors, yet he was at a loſs to imagine on what principle thoſe doubts were entertained, ſince in his mind nothing could be more clear than that there was no one ſtep that could have been taken, previous to the paſſing of the act of 1784, by the court of directors, touching the military and political concerns of India, and alſo the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial poſſeſſions, that the commiſſioners of the board of control, as it was commonly called, had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authorities veſted in them by that act. In this opinion Mr. Dundas, chairman of the board, declared his concurrence; and added, that if it ſhould appear to them neceſſary, for the ſecurity of our poſſeſſions in India, they had a power to apply the whole of the revenues of India to that purpoſe, without leaving the company a ſingle rupee for their inveſtments. As doubts, however, had been entertained, he thought the beſt way of meeting thoſe doubts was by the authority of a ſpecial act of parliament.

The motion was ſtrongly oppoſed in the outſet, as being extremely unparliamentary,

parliamentary. It was argued that the opinions of counſel, taken perhaps upon a falſe or imperfect ſtate of the caſe, was not a fit ground for the introduction of a declaratory bill: that if ſuch a practice were to obtain, it was obvious that declaratory acts might be multiplied *ad infinitum*: that the legiſlature ought never to have recourſe to ſuch an expedient, except when either the wording of an act was evidently ſo ambiguous as to ſtand in need of explanation; or where, in conſequence of the claſhing judgments of courts, or doubts expreſſed by judges from the bench, it became neceſſary for the legiſlature to propound anew its own meaning:—in all other caſes, parliament by interfering would quit its legiſlative and aſſume a judicial capacity, and, in the preſent inſtance, would decide in a cauſe, in which it is in ſome reſpects intereſted as a party, and was to be a gainer by its own deciſion. It is a diſpute between the crown, or the public, and an individual, upon a pecuniary tranſaction—the king inſiſts upon a certain ſum of money from the company, upon certain pretences—the company admit a ſum to be due, but not the amount demanded; here is a clear and ſimple queſtion on which an iſſue might be tried in a court of law. If the miniſter, inſtead of ſubmitting the claim of government to a legal deciſion, was reſolved to ſuperſede the queſtion by an extraordinary declaration of parliament, what was it but to declare that he choſe to remove the cauſe from the courts of law, where he knew he could have no undue influence, into the two houſes of parliament, where he knew that he had:—ſuch a proceeding was a manifeſt and violent oppreſſion of the ſubject.

It was further argued, that the meaſure propoſed was liable to many ſerious political objections, and might be uſed as a precedent for the worſt purpoſes. A miniſter, it was ſaid, has nothing to do but to propoſe and bring in a bill for granting new powers, in doubtful and ambiguous words, under reſtraints indiſtinctly defined, and with clauſes that had a double aſpect. He had nothing to do but to introduce this bill with general declarations of the moderate principles upon which it is formed, and of ſacred regard to the rights which it is intended to control. By this affected moderation, the conſent of the parties concerned in the bill might be obtained, and the alarm and unpopularity of a violent and odious meaſure might be prevented: and when greater powers are aſſumed, than thoſe, who are affected by them, ſuppoſed they were ſubject to, and reſiſtance is made to the exerciſe of thoſe powers, then the propoſer ſweeps away all objections and doubts by an high over-ruling ſtretch of parliamentary authority, and declares that what he contends for was and is the law of the land. It was evident that ſomething of this ſort had happened in the matter in queſtion: that the company had been induced to conſent to the act of 1784 upon pretences, which now proved to be deluſive; and that the miniſter, having obtained that conſent, was reſolved to put his own conſtruction upon it, contrary to the original intention of the party concerned.

In anſwer to theſe arguments it was urged, that, allowing the juſtice of the general reaſoning upon declaratory

declaratory bills, the meaſure propoſed was juſtified by the neceſſity of the caſe, which did not admit of having recourſe to a judicial determination; that the delay of ſending out the troops might poſſibly be dangerous; that the company's ſhips, in which it was intended to embark them, could not be detained much longer; and that the expence of providing tranſports ſpecially for the purpoſe, upon whomſoever that expence ſhould finally be adjudged to fall, would be enormous.

With reſpect to the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed conſent of the company to the act of 1784, under a conſtruction different from that which was now contended for, it was denied by Mr. Pitt, that the conſent of the company had ever been formally given. They had indeed agreed to the general principles, upon which the bill was to be formed, but it was well known, that they had ultimately diſapproved of it.

Mr. Flood, in reply to the former of theſe arguments, obſerved that the neceſſity of the caſe was by no means made out: that the regiments, which were ſaid to be neceſſary for the defence of India, might be ſent out, and it might be determined hereafter, by whom the expence of tranſporting and paying them ought to be defrayed. The houſe therefore ought not by its interference to intercept the queſtion on its way to a tribunal, where it might be judicially determined; and it ought ſtill leſs to interfere in the preſent caſe, becauſe it was an intereſted party, and was about to give judgment in its own favour, to ſpare its own pocket. He conſidered parliament and the company in the light of landlord and tenant; and the charter, modified by the acts of 1781 and 1784, as the leaſe; and conſequently, that it was extremely unfit either party ſhould be the judge on a queſtion affecting that leaſe.

After a long debate, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried without a diviſion; and on its ſecond reading, upon the 3d of March, the Eaſt India company were heard by their counſel, Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Rous, againſt the bill, at the bar of the houſe. Upon this occaſion, and in the ſeveral debates which followed, the merits of the bill underwent a full and accurate diſcuſſion. Thoſe who oppoſed it, founded their objections principally upon two grounds; 1ſt, That the conſtruction attempted to be put upon the act of 1784, was not its true and juſt conſtruction; and 2dly, That, allowing it to admit of ſuch conſtruction, the powers it veſted in the board of control were injurious to the rights and intereſts of the company, and of a dangerous political nature, and therefore ought not to be confirmed.

In ſupport of the former propoſition, it was argued, in the firſt place, that the charter granted to the company having been purchaſed for a valuable conſideration, every ſtatute diminiſhing their rights and privileges ought to be conſtrued, like penal laws, in their mildeſt ſenſe, and ſo as to infringe in the leaſt poſſible degree upon thoſe privileges: that in ambiguous caſes all acts of parliament ought, if poſſible, to be taken in that ſenſe which makes them conſiſtent with each other; and conſequently, that whereas in the act of 1781, confirming

ing their charters, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that the company ſhould defray the expence of no troops but ſuch as were ſent to India upon their own requiſition, the act of 1784 ought to be conſtrued in ſuch a manner as to make it conſiſtent with the preceding acts, which could not be conſidered as repealed in the act of 1784 by mere implication, a direct and expreſs enacting bill or clauſe being neceſſary for that purpoſe.

Secondly, it was argued, that the beſt and ſafeſt mode of expounding a ſtatute was, to explain and illuſtrate one part by others of the ſame ſtatute; a mode of expoſition which would evidently beſt explain and diſcover the meaning and intent of the makers. In the act of 1784 the board of commiſſioners "are authorized and impowered, from "time to time, to ſuperintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any "wiſe relate to the civil or military "government or revenues of the "territorial poſſeſſions of the company, *in the manner in the ſaid act "directed,*" and "the court of directors are required to pay obe-"dience to, and to be governed and "bound by, ſuch orders and directions as the ſaid court ſhall re-"ceive from the ſaid board."—Upon theſe clauſes the new powers claimed by the board of controul reſted; and, taken by themſelves, they certainly admitted of the unlimited conſtruction intended to be put upon them. But, by ſubſequent clauſes, they appear evidently to be reſtricted to certain acts. In the eleventh ſection it is enacted, "that, "in order that the ſaid board may "be duly informed of all the tranſ-"actions of the ſaid company, relative to the management of their "concerns in India, the court of directors ſhould deliver to the board "copies of all minutes, &c. and of "all diſpatches which they ſhall re-"ceive from their ſervants in India, "and alſo of all letters, orders, or "inſtructions propoſed to be ſent to "any of their ſervants."—It then follows, "that within fourteen days "after the receipt of ſuch letters, "&c. the commiſſioners ſhould re-"turn them to the directors, either "with their approbation, or their "reaſons for diſapproving and "amending them, and the directors "are bound to pay obedience to "ſuch orders ſo amended or altered: and if, within fourteen days "after requiſition made, the court "of directors ſhall neglect ſo to do, "*it ſhall and may be lawful* for the "ſaid commiſſioners to prepare "and ſend to the directors any or-"ders or inſtructions to any of "their governments, concerning "the civil or military govern-"ment or revenues of the Britiſh "territories in the Eaſt Indies; "and the directors are *in ſuch caſes* "required to tranſmit diſpatches, "in the uſual form, purſuant to "the tenor of ſuch orders," &c. From theſe latter clauſes it was argued, that if the commiſſioners were inveſted with the abſolute and poſitive authority contended for, and if the directors were bound to pay implicit obedience to their orders in all caſes, it was abſurd to ſpecify *certain caſes* in which it *might be lawful* for them to ſend orders and inſtructions to the company's ſervants in India without the conſent of the company; and conſequently that it was evident, from the whole tenor of the clauſes taken together, that the power veſted in the commiſ-

ſioners

ſioners was no other than a power of ſuperintendency and control over the tranſactions of the company in their management of their affairs in India; a power of altering and amending their orders and inſtructions, and, in caſe of neglect in the directors, of carrying ſuch orders ſo amended into execution; and not a power of originating meaſures, in oppoſition to the chartered and ſtipulated rights of the company.

Thirdly, it was ſtrongly contended, that the language of the miniſter, when he brought in the bill in 1784, coincided in the moſt expreſs manner with the conſtruction here put upon it; and Mr. Pulteney and ſome other members, who uſually voted with him, declared, that they ſupported him at the time from a perſuaſion that ſuch was the intention and meaning of the act, and that otherwiſe nothing ſhould have induced them to vote for it; that the conſtruction attempted to be put upon it by the declaratory bill, made it equally obnoxious with the celebrated bill rejected by the lords in 1783, with only this difference, that what the one had for its profeſſed object openly, and without diſguiſe, the other was attempting to effect by fraud and diſſimulation. Mr. Powis argued, from the various amendments which the act received in its paſſage through the houſe, that no ſuch ideas of its extent, as were now endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed, were then entertained of it, much leſs expreſſed, and that if they had, it muſt have been rejected. Mr. Baring, one of the directors, declared, that it was generally underſtood at the time, by that board, to be utterly incapable of the unlimited conſtruction now put upon it. And colonel Barré declared, that, having aſked one of the directors, why they had ſuffered the bill to paſs unreſiſted, and with the ſanction of their concurrence, the director had admitted with him, that the bill darkly and tacitly conveyed powers to the board of control as hoſtile to the rights of the company as Mr. Fox's bill, but that they had a confidence in the adminiſtration which introduced it, and had no doubt of their exerciſing thoſe powers with gentleneſs and moderation.

Upon this ground Mr. Fox and his friends took occaſion to triumph upon the complete juſtification, which the meaſure he had formerly propoſed, had now, they ſaid, obtained by the tacit confeſſion of his adverſaries themſelves. It is with great pleaſure, ſaid he, on the cloſe of one day's debate, that I have heard (for I muſt have been gifted with extraordinary feelings indeed, if I had not been peculiarly gratified at hearing) a complete and able defence of almoſt every principle of my own bill from the mouth of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt); at hearing almoſt the whole of that meaſure maintained and ſupported with an irreſiſtible eloquence, and in a flow of language peculiar to himſelf. It will now no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the uſurper of the powers of the India company. Had the right honourable member acted in the ſame open and fair way in 1783, all that abuſe which I have ſuſtained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular phrenſy which diſgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked. He would then have ſaid, "You take away the "company's charter, there I am "with

with you; the flagrant abuſes the company have made of it, could not have been put an end to, unleſs you did ſo! You ſuſpend all their rights; there again I am with you; the ſuſpenſion is neceſſary for their ſalvation! You aſſume the complete management and controul of all the company's affairs, civil and military, and the diſpoſition and application of all their revenues; in all this you do right; ſuch an aſſumption is requiſite to give effect to your ſyſtem! But you put theſe powers into the hand of a board of commiſſioners appointed by parliament; there you do wrong, and there I am not with you. I contend that a board of control, appointed by the crown, is the proper board to entruſt all theſe powers with." Upon that ſingle point ought to have reſted the whole diſpute, for that is the only eſſential difference between the two bills.

In the laſt place, it was contended that the board of control itſelf did not underſtand the act as conveying to them the unlimited powers they now claimed under it. The counſel for the company offered to produce evidence at the bar, to prove, that, for two years and more after the paſſing of the act of 1784, the commiſſioners of that board had acted upon the ſtatute of 1781, and particularly in the year 1786, when they admitted that they had no power to ſend out any of his majeſty's troops to India without the conſent of the company; which ſhewed that they conſidered the ſtatute of 1781 to be unrepealed, and conſequently the terms of the compact therein ſtipulated to be ſtill in force.

In ſupport of the ſecond propoſition, upon which the oppoſition to the bill was founded, it was argued, that the power contended for by the board of control went to the total annihilation of the court of directors, and even of the property of the company: for that, the territorial revenues being in many inſtances unavoidably implicated in their commercial concerns, the abſolute control over the former, as to their application and expenditure, would neceſſarily carry with it a control over the latter, and might be uſed to ſuperſede the power of the directors over the only branch of the company's affairs that was left to their management. And further, that, as the ſettlements abroad had a power of drawing upon the treaſury at home to the amount of one million, the board of control would not only have their Indian treaſuries, but the treaſury in Leadenhall-ſtreet at its diſpoſal.

Secondly, it was ſaid, that the meaſure itſelf, of ſending the four regiments to India, was not leſs injurious to the rights and intereſts of the company, than the unlimited power under which it was to be executed. Colonel Barré, colonel Fullarton, Mr. Baring, Mr. Pulteney, and ſeveral other members, were decidedly of opinion, that it would have been both a more juſt and more œconomical meaſure, either to have ſuffered the company to raiſe four regiments, or to have ſent over the 2,400 men which were wanting to complete the king's regiments already in India:—more œconomical, becauſe in the one caſe the company's troops are, and would be, maintained at infinitely leſs expence than the king's:—in the other, the company would be free from the additional burden of all the of-

ficers of the four new regiments:—more juſt, becauſe in the former caſe the company would have enjoyed the patronage of the troops they were to pay, and might provide for many of their own deſerving officers, 600 of whom were living in very diſtreſſed ſituations in India, who had been reduced at the late peace. The meaſure was alſo condemned as being impolitic, and tending to produce confuſion in the company's government in India, by putting the power of the ſword into two hands, and by creating jealouſy and diſguſt in the minds of the officers in the company's ſervice.

As a corollary from theſe arguments, it was contended in the third place, that adminiſtration could have no other inducement to adopt the meaſure propoſed, than a view to the extenſion of their own influence and patronage, at the expence of the India company. As a concluſive proof of this allegation, colonel Barré referred the houſe to a paper, ſtating the conteſt between the court of directors and the board of control, relative to the ſettlement of the peace eſtabliſhment of the company's troops in India, which the former wiſhed to have kept up to a certain number, whilſt the latter contended for a greater reduction. Now that very board comes forward of itſelf, and propoſes to ſend four king's regiments in addition to that very eſtabliſhment, which they had contended, with the laſt degree of obſtinacy, was too large, and ought to be reduced. But, he added, I have long ſeen, and I now ſee more diſtinctly, a ſyſtem of patronage, a ſettled and regularly digeſted plan at the bottom of the whole buſineſs. It was, he too plainly perceived, a regular progreſſive plan to graſp all the patronage of the India company; and the declaratory bill then before them was only one ſtep more towards its completion: he therefore conjured the houſe to be aware, and look about them; and declared, that if the preſent bill paſſed, a fatal ſtab would, in his opinion, be given to the conſtitution. It was alſo ſtrongly urged by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, that the power of an abſolute control over, and of a diſcretionary application of the territorial revenues of the India company, amounting to near nine millions ſterling, as claimed by the board of control, was an object of ſo enormous a magnitude as to require no common degree of caution before it was ſanctioned.

Laſtly, doubts were ſtarted, whether the power claimed by the board of control, of keeping an army of the king's forces in India to any amount they choſe, and appropriating the revenues of the company to their payment, was conſiſtent with the principles of the conſtitution. It was ſtated, that the raiſing and keeping a ſtanding army in time of peace, is declared by the bill of rights to be unlawful, but with the addition of theſe words, *within this kingdom*. This declaration was generally ſuppoſed not to extend to the keeping an army out of the kingdom, in any of the dominions of the crown; and accordingly, in the eſtimates for the plantations, the number of troops was not voted, but the money for their raiſing and maintaining was granted; parliament not being afraid of the crown's keeping a ſtanding army there beyond the number which could be raiſed and ſubſiſted by the money voted for that ſervice; the crown having no revenue in the plan-

ſations. But in the 12th of William the Third, a jealouſy having ariſen reſpecting the army in Ireland, where the king had a revenue for its ſupport, parliament limited the number which was to be kept there. There appeared the ſame ground of jealouſy in the preſent caſe; there was a revenue at the diſpoſal of the king's miniſters, for raiſing and paying an army without conſent of parliament, and conſequently the power claimed by the board of control was a dangerous departure from the principles of the conſtitution.

Such were the principal arguments uſed by thoſe who oppoſed the paſſing of the Declaratory Act. On the other ſide, it was contended, that with reſpect to the conſtruction of the act of 1784, conſidered in the light of a penal law, the principle laid down could only be admitted ſo far as was conſiſtent with the ſpirit and expreſs objects of the act itſelf; that it would be abſurd to put a ſenſe upon an act that would defeat the main ends for which it was paſſed; and that, with regard to the act of 1781, ſuch parts of it as were inconſiſtent with the proviſions of the ſubſequent act, were, ipſo facto, virtually, though not expreſsly, repealed.

In oppoſition to the ſecond argument, drawn from the particular caſes ſpecified, in which a power of originating meaſures, and carrying them into execution, was veſted in the board of control, the avowed and expreſs deſign and intention of the act in general, and in all its parts, was ſtrongly inſiſted upon. Its expreſs object, it was ſaid, was to take the entire management of the territorial poſſeſſions, and the political government of India, out of the hands of the company, leaving them only the direction of their commercial concerns. The board of control was in future to be reſponſible to the public for the proſperity, defence, and ſecurity of our Indian poſſeſſions, and was therefore to be inveſted with all the powers and authority neceſſary for the due diſcharge of the important duties delivered over to it. Theſe powers were given in general terms, and the mode of exerciſing them in particular caſes was ſpecified; in ſome, they had a negative upon the orders of the directors; in others, where a difference of opinion aroſe, it was enacted, that the board might enforce the execution of its own; and could any man be abſurd enough to imagine, that if the directors were at any time to fold their arms acroſs, and remain in a ſtate of inactivity, that the board were not authorized and bound to iſſue ſuch orders as the exigence of the caſe might require? In the inſtance then before the houſe, could it be ſuppoſed that parliament intended to leave to the company, who it might be expected, from the ſhort duration of their charter, would attend chiefly to their own immediate pecuniary intereſts, the entire diſpoſition of their revenues, without enabling the board of control, who were reſponſible for the defence and permanent ſecurity of the whole, to appropriate ſuch part of them as ſhould be thought neceſſary for thoſe purpoſes?

With reſpect to the language ſaid to have been held by adminiſtration, when the act of 1784 was brought into parliament, Mr. Pitt denied, in the moſt poſitive manner, that he had ever given, by any declarations of his, reaſon to ſuppoſe that the

act was intended to bear any other conſtruction, than that which he now contended for. He particularly remembered an expreſſion, which, tho' ridiculed at the time, would clearly explain the ideas he had formed upon the ſubject, when he termed the board of commiſſioners, as conſtituted in the bill, a board of *active control*. With reſpect to what might have been the intentions of other gentlemen in ſupporting that meaſure, or the expectations of the court of directors, he did not apprehend that the merits of the preſent queſtion were at all concerned in them.

As to the opinion which the board of control itſelf was aſſerted to have entertained of the limits of their own authority, it was alſo argued to be foreign to the queſtion. Mr. Dundas, however, denied, that any proofs exiſted of their having admitted their want of power, in the manner that had been ſtated; and the counſel for the company offering to produce certain papers as evidence of the fact, at the bar, a ſhort debate enſued upon the propriety of producing ſuch evidence, and the queſtion being put, its production was negatived by a majority of 242 to 118. It was urged on the other hand, in ſupport of the power claimed by the board of control, that they had in ſeveral inſtances exerciſed it to the extent now contended for. That particularly in the year 1785, when it was well known that the company's treaſury in India was not only inadequate to the payment of the current demands, but ſcarcely contained a ſufficient ſum to pay the arrears of the army, the commiſſioners for India immediately ſent an order for the payment of the troops in the firſt inſtance, and to poſtpone all other demands. It was well known that the army was at this time ripe for a mutiny, and that in all probability ſuch a misfortune might have happened, had not the board of control taken the ſtep they did; a ſtep which they could not have taken, had they not been veſted with a power to apply the territorial revenues as they thought proper. In fact, ſuch a power was indiſpenſably neceſſary to be given to thoſe who were to be reſponſible for the ſafety of India, and without it the board would have been a nugatory and inefficient body.

Upon the ſecond head of arguments uſed in oppoſition to the bill, it was ſaid in the firſt place, that the power given to the board of control over the revenues of the company, as explained by the declaratory act, was almoſt univerſally admitted by both ſides of the houſe to be neceſſary for the purpoſes for which it was conſtituted, whether ſuch power was actually given in the original bill or not; and that, with reſpect to the poſſible abuſe of that power, it was ſufficient to anſwer, that the board was reſponſible to, and under the controul of parliament. The inconſiſtency of thoſe gentlemen who brought in and ſupported the rejected bill of 1783, who condemned the bill of 1784 as impotent and ineffectual, and now condemned the extenſion of it as an unjuſt violation of the company's rights, was ſtrongly animadverted on.

With regard to the œconomy and policy of the meaſure of ſending out the four regiments to India, it was admitted that the company's troops were raiſed and maintained at a leſs expence; but in the preſent caſe great expedition was required, and this could only be effected in the mode adopted. The impolicy of having

having two armies in India, in two distinct services, was also admitted, and Mr. Pitt avowed his opinion of the expediency of incorporating them into one; but that, he said, ought undoubtedly to be the king's; and he did not scruple to declare, that it was not without a distant view to that measure, that government were desirous of increasing the permanent establishment of the king's forces in India. As to the additional patronage which would thereby accrue to the crown, he protested in the most solemn manner that his conduct was in no degree influenced by that consideration; and said, that in order to lessen the hardships of the half-pay officers in the company's service, it was the intention of government to divide equally the new commissions with them; a proposition which he hoped would not be thought unreasonable, when it was considered, that there are upwards of 2,000 officers in the half-pay in the king's service, many of whom had even a claim upon the East India company from their services in that country in the last war.

Upon the great constitutional question of standing armies, Mr. Pitt remarked, that there were great inaccuracies in all the existing laws relative to that subject. The bill of rights, he said, was not very explicit: it hardly stated the illegality of a standing army within the kingdom, but was silent with respect to an army out of the kingdom. The mutiny act was drawn up still more loosely; and he hoped that one good effect attending the present dispute would be a revision and emendation of the law upon points so deeply affecting the constitution; and he promised his assistance and support in so necessary an undertaking. In short, he declared his readiness and most earnest wishes, that every guard and check that could be devised should be adopted. If any danger was apprehended from the bill before the house, relative either to the augmentation of the army, or the patronage of India in general, he was ready to receive any clauses that might be offered, from whatever part of the house they might come, from whatever individual, or accompanied by what language they might, for guarding in the most effectual manner against it.

Notwithstanding the moderate and conciliating language used by the minister in defence of the declaratory bill, the unfavourable reception it met with in the house, and even from many of his own friends, was apparent through the whole progress of it. Some of these latter suggested their apprehensions, that he had been led into this measure by persons of whose principles they did not much approve, and with whom they were sorry to see him so intimately connected. One gentleman, speaking of him, said, that he was sure his *conscience had been surprised*; an expression which gave occasion to Mr. Sheridan to remark; "that, without doubt, his "original crime had been, that he "had connected himself with those "from whom no good counsel could "come; and that, lamenting as "they all must do, the consequences "of his want of vigilance, and the "misfortunes of his connections, it "was earnestly to be wished, either "that his conscience would keep a "better look out, or that he would "keep better company." On the motion made on the 5th of March for committing the bill, there were

noes 125 to ayes 182. And on the 7th, when the report was to be brought up, though Mr. Pitt declared, that, for the purpoſe of having further checks, to prevent troops being ſent to India without the approbation of parliament, and to prevent the improper application of the territorial revenues, he ſhould move for its re-commitment, and that the committee ſhould be inſtructed to receive clauſes for the ſaid purpoſes, the queſtion for bringing it up was carried by a majority of only 67.

Upon its re-commitment, on the 10th, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the clauſes before alluded to. The firſt was to limit the number of forces, for the payment of which the commiſſioners of the board of control were empowered to iſſue their orders, to 8,045 men of his majeſty's troops, and 12,200 of the European forces in the company's ſervice. The ſecond was to prevent their increaſing the eſtabliſhed ſalary of any office in the ſervice of the company, unleſs ſuch increaſe ſhould be propoſed by the directors, and laid before both houſes of parliament. The third was to prevent the commiſſioners from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any perſon, on account of ſervices performed in India, except as is excepted in the preceding clauſe. The fourth and laſt was to oblige the directors to lay annually before parliament an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of their diſburſements. Theſe clauſes were agreed to without debate.

On the third reading of the bill, upon the 14th of March, it again underwent a long diſcuſſion, in which, in addition to the arguments before urged, Sir Grey Cooper contended, that the bill had come out of the committee more unparliamentary in its form than it was before. He ſaid, that no precedent had been adduced of enacting clauſes being added and annexed to declaratory bills; and that he would venture to aſſert, that it was incongruous with the ground and principle of declaratory laws, to ſuperadd to the declaration of *what was and is law*, explanatory clauſes, qualifications, and reſtraints. What was it but to ſay, that the power declared to be in the commiſſioners was *firſt veſted in them by law*, provided certain things be done, and certain conditions obſerved by them, which *were not law* before. The clauſes propoſed by the miniſter, to cover his rear, were *prepoſterous* in the correct ſenſe of the word; they were in their nature antecedent to the declaratory bill, and ought to have made a part of the act to be explained, if the act intended to give the extraordinary powers which the declaration aſſumed, but which the omiſſion of theſe clauſes clearly prove that it did not.

Beſides the gentlemen whoſe names have been already mentioned, the bill was oppoſed by Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Anſtruther, Mr. Francis, Mr. Baſtard, Mr. Martin, &c.; and defended by Mr. counſellor Scott, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Rolle, Mr. Thornton of the court of directors, Mr. Addington, and lord Mulgrave. The bill finally paſſed by a majority of 54, and was ordered to the lords.

On the 17th of March, the day appointed for its ſecond reading, lord Portcheſter propoſed, that, before they proceeded farther, the opinion of the judges ſhould be taken upon the conſtruction of the act

of

of 1784; and he moved a queſtion for that purpoſe. This motion was oppoſed by lord Hawkeſbury and the chancellor, as tending to produce unneceſſary delay, at a moment when the company's ſhips were detained in port at the enormous expence of three or four hundred pounds a day, and might, if they waited the iſſue of the mode of proceeding now recommended, loſe their voyage for the preſent year. It was urged in vain, on the other ſide, that declaratory bills, being of the nature of judicial acts, ought to be proceeded upon with more than ordinary delay and deliberation; and that in the preſent caſe eſpecially, in which the private rights of individuals were materially affected, conſiderations that were merely political ought not to be allowed any weight. The motion was rejected by a majority of 76 to 30; as was alſo a motion made by the duke of Norfolk, for deferring the ſecond reading to the Thurſday following, agreeable to the prayer of a petition which he preſented from certain of the proprietors of India ſtock.

In the debate upon the main queſtion, the bill was attacked and defended upon the various grounds on which it was diſcuſſed in the houſe of commons. The debate was cloſed by the marquis of Lanſdown, who took a large view of the bill with reſpect to its declaratory operation and its general political principles. He expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that any one, who recollected what had paſſed in that houſe in the years 1783 and 1784, could contend for a moment that the principles of the preſent bill were contained in that of 1784. Their lordſhips had refuſed to ſuffer the bill of 1783 to be ſent to a committee, becauſe it was bad in its principle; and yet the act which they afterwards paſſed in 1784, as now intended to be explained, manifeſtly holds one and the ſame principle. The preference of the latter to the former could not have been given on account of its particular proviſions. He, at leaſt, ſhould have preferred that which gave the government of India to parliamentary commiſſioners for four years. It would now have expired. But if the power propoſed ſhould once be given to the crown, what time and exertion would not be required to recover it, or to keep within due bounds the influence of the crown, when all the patronage of India was added to influence it already poſſeſſed? If it was capable of erecting a fourth ſtate, and overturning the conſtitution in fourth hands, how much more capable of miſchief would it be, when united in one of the three eſtates, and that the crown, there being eleven millions ſterling per annum to adminiſter? After fifteen years oppoſition, and a concurrence of many favourable circumſtances, all that the virtue of parliament could effect, in reduction of the influence of the crown, had been the abolition of the board of green cloth; and ſince that reduction, the crown had got on faſter than ever. To what then were they to look for the ſafety of the conſtitution, when the crown ſhould acquire ſuch an acceſſion of influence as would controul parliament itſelf?

As a proof that miniſters had inſidiouſly concealed their deſign, if they had ever really conceived an idea of conſtruing the act of 1784 in its preſent extent, he quoted a pamphlet publiſhed by Mr.

Pulteney at the time, which adminiſtration avowedly diſperſed all over the kingdom, as containing ſentiments which they wiſhed to be conſidered as the principles of their conduct. The part which Mr. Pulteney had taken upon a late occaſion, clearly proved the ſenſe he had of the conſtruction of that act. In corroboration of this argument, his lordſhip alſo adverted to another tranſaction, which had taken place during the paſſing of the act, when a clauſe, expreſsly empowering the board of control to originate diſpatches, was, upon the remonſtrance of the directors, that ſuch a clauſe amounted to a total aſſumption of their rights, given up and omitted.

With reſpect to the particular meaſure which the bill deſigned to enable government to carry into execution, he conceived it to be not only unjuſt to the company, by filching patronage at their expence, and to their military officers, by throwing them back in their promotion, but indefenſible upon any military or œconomical principle. The latter he proved by a variety of calculations; and as to the former, he ſaid the policy of having many officers and few men was exploded throughout Europe, and was only calculated for patronage.

His lordſhip concluded with objecting to the bill, as in ſome meaſure deciding a point purpoſely left ſuſpended hitherto, the public right to the territorial poſſeſſions in India. He allowed that ſome deciſion upon the ſubject muſt ſoon be made, and a general ſyſtem for the government of India adopted. He was ready to enter into a cool and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion of that moſt important meaſure, but he did not think that they ought to place ſo implicit a confidence in the profound wiſdom and great experience of his majeſty's miniſters, as blindly and precipitately to adopt all their projects. If it be neceſſary to ſend four regiments to India, a ſhort act might paſs for that purpoſe, and the reſt be reſerved for a more mature deliberation.

In the committee ſeveral amendments were propoſed, but rejected; and on the 19th of March, upon its third reading, the bill was again debated by the lords Camden, Coventry, Hopeton, and the lord chancellor, on one ſide, and lord Loughborough, lord Grantley, lord Stormont, lord Carliſle, and lord Hawke, on the other. The argument principally inſiſted on by the former was, that the act of 1784 authoriſed the board of commiſſioners to *direct*, as well as to control, all acts, operations, &c. and they contended that the limiting words, "*in the manner hereinafter deſcribed*," had merely a reference to the ſubſequent clauſes, but did not take away the general power of ſuperintendence and direction in all caſes not ſpecified. It was alſo ſaid by the chancellor, that the power given to *amend and alter* diſpatches, admitted in terms a power to add new matter to them. With reſpect to the omiſſion of the word *revenues*, in one of the general clauſes, giving a power of ſuperintendence and direction, it was ſaid that it might either have been omitted by accident, or, waving that ground, was ſubſtantially included in the words *civil and military concerns*. The validity of theſe inferences was denied by oppoſition; and the example of our own conſtitution was brought in oppoſition to

the laſt, in which the right of appropriating the revenue is not a neceſſary conſequence of the power in civil and military affairs. On the diviſion, there appeared contents 71, not contents 28. A ſtrong proteſt, (which the reader will find amongſt the ſtate papers of this volume) was entered againſt the bill, and ſigned by ſixteen of the diſſentient peers.

CHAP. VI.

The clauſe in the mutiny bill, for incorporating in the army the new corps of military artificers, objected to in the houſe of commons, and carried upon a diviſion. Debate upon the ſame in the houſe of lords. Duke of Richmond's account of the new-eſtabliſhed corps; ſupported by lords Cathcart and Rawdon; oppoſed by the duke of Manchеſter, lords Portcheſter, and Carliſle. Debate on the bill for preventing the exportation of wool. Arguments adduced by the manufacturers in ſupport of the bill; oppoſed by the country gentlemen. Speakers upon the queſtion. Chancellor of the exchequer decides in favour of the bill; carried by a conſiderable majority. Budget opened. Flouriſhing ſtate of the finances. Services voted; and the annual diminution of the national debt provided for without any additional tax. Progreſſive improvement of the revenues, and increaſe of commerce. State of the finances controverted by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. Further debate upon the report of the budget; remarks upon it by ſir Grey Cooper. Bill for better regulating the trials of conteſted elections brought in by Mr. Grenville; objects of the bill; paſſed with general approbation. Motion by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the ſhop-tax. Additional arguments for the repeal; oppoſed by Mr. Pitt; rejected by a majority of 43. Particulars relating to the queſtion of aboliſhing the ſlave-trade. Petitions preſented againſt it. Committee of privy council appointed to enquire into it. Motion by Mr. Pitt, that the houſe would take it into conſideration early next ſeſſion. Delay oppoſed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the reaſons adduced by Mr. Pitt ſolemnly proteſted againſt. Bill propoſed by ſir W. Dolben, for regulating the tranſportation of ſlaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies; objects of the bill; oppoſed by the merchants of Liverpool and London. Counſel heard againſt the bill. Paſſes through both houſes, and receives the royal aſſent. Compenſation voted to the American loyaliſts; principles upon which it was to be apportioned, explained by Mr. Pitt. Caſe of Mr. Harford recommended by Mr. Fox; amendment acceded to by Mr. Pitt. Act paſſed for granting an annuity out of the Derwentwater eſtate to lord Newburgh.

HAVING given our readers, in the two laſt chapters, an account of ſome of the principal debates which occurred in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, we ſhall now revert to ſeveral other ſubjects of importance, which occaſionally engaged the attention of both houſes during the ſame period.

On the 12th of March, the report of the committee on the mutiny bill was

March 12th.

was brought up, and, on reading the clauſe for incorporating in the army the newly-raiſed corps of military artificers, the ſame was ſtrongly objected as a dangerous innovation, and as militating againſt the moſt favourite principles of the conſtitution. The ſame ſyſtem, it was ſaid, might next be extended to ſhipwrights, and ſo to every other deſcription of perſons in the ſervice of the executive government; and therefore the houſe was called upon to repel ſo alarming an innovation *in limine*. In defence of the meaſure it was urged, that it would be attended with an annual ſaving of £. 2,000, upon an expenditure of £. 22,000; and that it was neceſſary to extend the military law to the corps in queſtion, as the only means of keeping them together, and preventing their deſertion of the public ſervice in time of war.

This diſpoſition to adopt a new principle of expediency and œconomy, upon a ſubject which went to the diminution of the liberties of the ſubject, inſtead of the old principle of actual neceſſity, was ſeverely reprobated. Several country gentlemen declared, that if the houſe ſhould agree to put 600 Engliſhmen under martial law, merely for the paltry conſideration of ſaving £. 2,000 per annum, they would betray their conſtituents, and would be devoid of thoſe feelings for the conſtitution, which ought to make their diſtinguiſhing character. It was denied, that any neceſſity for ſo extraordinary a ſurrender of the liberties of a part of the community was made out; it having never been aſſerted, nor being indeed true in fact, that there was any difficulty in procuring artificers for the ordnance ſervice in time of war. The ſenſe of the houſe being taken on the clauſe, there appeared ayes 114, noes 67.

The ſame ſubject was again diſcuſſed on the third reading of the mutiny bill, when it was aſked, whether any part of the corps was already enliſted and embodied? This queſtion being anſwered in the affirmative, it was ſtrongly contended, that the authors of the meaſure had been guilty of an illegal act, in raiſing a body of men without the conſent of parliament; and that it was a violent and arbitrary meaſure to ſubject thoſe men to military law, who, at the time of their enliſting, were evidently not included in the mutiny act. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt contended, that, by a liberal interpretation of the king's prerogative, government was authoriſed, on the late alarm of war, to raiſe the corps in queſtion: and ſir Charles Gould, the advocate-general, maintained, that every ſoldier enliſted became, ipſo facto, ſubject to be tried by martial law. The houſe again divided on the queſtion, ayes 142, noes 70.

Upon the commitment of the bill in the upper houſe, the duke of Mancheſter roſe, and declared his intention of oppoſing the novel clauſes that it contained. He was an avowed enemy, he ſaid, to the extenſion of military law, unleſs in caſes of abſolute neceſſity; and that the preſent bill went unneceſſarily to extend that law, by making a number of artificers ſubject to its ſevere effects, who had hitherto enjoyed their liberty in common with their fellow ſubjects. Could it be proved neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, he ſhould not entertain the leaſt objection to the encreaſe

creaſe of the army; but in a time of profound peace, the adoption of a meaſure of ſo ſingular a nature as the preſent called for jealouſy and caution.

The duke of Richmond entered into a full explanation of the plan of which he had been the author. It had occurred to him, he ſaid, that the formation of a regular corps of artificers, who would, in future wars, be applicable to any ſervice, when wanted, either at home or abroad, could not but be attended with very beneficial conſequences. In all the armies abroad, ſuch a corps made part of thoſe armies, and, as their utility was unqueſtionable, he had concluded that there ought to be ſuch a corps in our army, and therefore he had conſidered it as his duty to ſubmit the propoſition to his majeſty, who had approved of it, and it had been ſince laid before the houſe of commons, and voted by that branch of the legiſlature. With regard to putting them in the mutiny bill, being a part of the army, enliſted regularly as ſoldiers, like other ſoldiers they ought undoubtedly to become ſubjected to the ſame law, as the policy of the ſtate had conſidered it as right that all ſoldiers ſhould continue in ſuch a ſtate of ſubordination. At the ſame time, it was not to be conſidered as any hardſhip, ſince no ſpecies of trial, however popular it might be, was, he believed, more fair and candid than trials by court martial. He added, that the corps of artificers propoſed to be formed, was not only highly uſeful, but, at the ſame time, ſo far from being an additional expence, they would prove a ſaving, becauſe the difference between getting ſuch a number as heretofore, and having them formed into a regular corps as intended, would render the uſual expence leſs by two thouſand pounds. Excluſive of the corps of artificers, the corps of engineers, and the gunners, and quarter gunners, were likewiſe inſerted in the mutiny bill, which, undoubtedly, they ought to be, as they were a part of the army.

Lord Portcheſter objected principally to that part of the new eſtabliſhment which ſubjected the artificers to the arbitrary puniſhment of the maſter-general of the ordnance. In one inſtance they might be reduced for want of ſkill, of which the maſter-general was made the ſole judge, to the rank of labourers, and thereby be deprived of one-third of their pay; and in another, he was alſo the ſole judge of the quantum to which their pay ſhould be reduced in caſes of idleneſs or miſbehaviour.

Lord Carliſle ridiculed the ſtrange reaſon given for adopting the new project, that it would be a ſaving of £. 2,000 a year. If their lordſhips were to be governed by ſuch arguments, they would be led into ſo abſurd a matter as the calculation of what the ſurrender of the rights of the ſubject was worth per man; and, if the rights and liberties of 600 artificers were worth juſt £. 2,000, they would ſee that the noble lord valued the rights of every individual exactly at £. 3. 10s. each.

Lord Cathcart and lord Rawdon were of opinion, that the plan formed by the noble duke would be attended with many conſiderable military advantages: and the queſtion being at length put, the clauſe was carried without a diviſion.

A bill, which was brought into the houſe of commons about this time, at the requeſt of the woollen manufacturers,

manufacturers, for amending and rendering more effectual the existing laws againſt the private exportation of wool, met with a warm oppoſition from a number of country gentlemen, who conſidered it as an unneceſſary and unjuſt attack upon the landed intereſt. The principal fact, upon which the manufacturers reſted their cauſe, was, that a quantity of long or combing wool, to the amount of 13,000 packs, was annually ſmuggled to France; and from this fact the following inferences were drawn: firſt, that the wool-growers were by this means enabled to keep up the price of wool in this country beyond its juſt ſtandard, to the great detriment of our ſtaple manufacture; ſecondly, that there enſued a loſs to this country of the ſurplus of the value of the manufactured articles over the raw material, and of the increaſed population which the employment of an additional number of manufacturers would produce; and thirdly, that the ſmuggled wool being an article neceſſary to the French manufacturers, it enabled them to rival ours.

In reply to theſe arguments, it was contended, that ſufficient evidence had not been produced of the quantity ſuppoſed to be ſmuggled. That from an accurate account of the entries made in the French ports, it did not appear that ſo much as 1,000 packs had been imported, on an average of ſix years paſt. That probably the whole quantity ſmuggled had not been entered, but that it was impoſſible to conceive that it could amount to any thing near the quantity ſtated by the manufacturers. That even admitting it amounted to 10,000, yet, as the whole produce of this country was calculated at 600,000 packs, the quantity ſmuggled was not an object of ſuch importance, as to make it neceſſary to ſubject the wool-growers to the hardſhips and vexatious reſtraints which the propoſed bill would lay them under.

With reſpect to the firſt inference, it was denied that the price of wool was kept up beyond its juſt ſtandard, and, as a proof that the manufacture was not injured by it, the increaſe of the value of woollen goods exported, from the year 1776 to the year 1787, was ſhewn to be in the proportion of nearly one-third. Upon the ſecond inference it was ſaid, that, admitting the quantity of wool ſtated to be ſmuggled into France, it did not follow that our manufacturers would work up that additional quantity above what they now do, merely by preventing its making its way thither. On the contrary, unleſs it be firſt proved, which had never been even aſſerted, that, in conſequence of the exportation, the manufacturers are in want of materials to work upon, it was fair to conclude, that the quantity exported was a mere ſurplus, and that the Britiſh manufacturer would not work up a ſingle pound more, though the whole ſhould be kept at home. As to the third inference, it was argued, from the flouriſhing ſtate of our manufactures, that we certainly had not ſuffered from the rivalſhip of the French. But waving that ground, it was ſaid, that a miſchief of another kind might ariſe from the total prevention of the exportation of our long wool to France; for, if the French manufacturer *muſt* have wool of that quality, and cannot get it from us, what ſhould prevent them from getting our beſt ſheep, and producing

producing it themſelves? It could not be doubted but that, by appropriating ten thouſand pounds a year for buying Engliſh ſheep at a very high price, ſhe might have the choice of the beſt ſheep in England ſent over the channel; and, as fine wool bore double the price in France to what it does in England, this might be well worth her while.

In addition to theſe arguments, it was urged, that it was equally illiberal and unjuſt in the manufacturers to expect to have a monopoly of the Engliſh wool, and at their own price too, which would undoubtedly happen, and leave the wool-growers entirely at their mercy, if all poſſibility of exportation was cut off. That this poſſibility was contended for, not from any material advantage that they derived from it, but as a check upon the avarice of the manufacturer; that they well knew they had a common intereſt with the Britiſh manufacturer, but that this avarice might defeat its object, ſince, in proportion as the price of wool ſhould be reduced, the holder of land would have the leſs inducement to rear that kind of ſtock which produces it.

Theſe replies were ingeniouſly combated by the ſupporters of the bill. It was ſaid, that the reſtraints propoſed to be laid upon the wool-growers would not materially affect their intereſts at all, and therefore could not be conſidered as injurious and oppreſſive; for that the value of the wool of a ſheep bore ſo ſmall a proportion to the value of the fleſh of the animal, that it clearly proved that the culture of wools was by no means the firſt object with thoſe who kept ſheep. That this fact alſo obviated another difficulty that had been ſtarted, namely, that a decreaſe in the price of wool might operate to the decreaſe of the quantity produced. On the other hand, that, from the fluctuating nature of trade and manufactures, great danger was always to be apprehended from any diſcouragement that was thrown upon them, and that any miſchief that ſhould happen to theſe, would, in the event, be doubly felt by the land-owner, ſince a decreaſe of the population of the country would neceſſarily leſſen the conſumption of the proviſions, which he ſupplies, and conſequently would lower the value of ſheep, an effect which he would feel much more ſeverely than any trifling reduction in the price of wool, which could be occaſioned by enforcing the prohibitions againſt ſmuggling it out of the kingdom. The preſent bill, it was alſo contended, was conſonant to the exiſting laws, and was only deſigned to carry into more effectual execution, thoſe principles of policy, reſpecting the exportation of wool, by which this country had for ſo many years been governed, and under which both our manufacturers and our wool-growers had flouriſhed and grown rich together.

The principal ſpeakers in favour of the bill were, Mr. Duncomb, Mr. Hobart, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Addington; and on the oppoſite ſide, ſir John Thorold, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Honeywood, Mr. Marſham, Mr. Powis, Mr. Pulteney, and ſir Peter Burrel.—At length the chancellor of the exchequer roſe, and, after a few obſervations upon the various arguments that had been uſed, declared, that as it was admitted on one hand, by the oppoſers of the bill, that the wool-growers had but little advantage to expect from its rejection, and it was contended on the other,

other, by the friends of the bill, that the manufacturers had much to fear, he thought it moſt wiſe, in ſuch a caſe, to go with the fears that were real, than with the hopes that were avowedly little, and therefore he thought it right to let the bill go to a committee. On the diviſion there appeared, ayes 112, noes 47. On the 19th of May, the bill was read a third time, and paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

May 5th. On the 5th of May, the houſe being reſolved into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt opened the budget for the preſent year. He firſt ſtated the ſeveral articles of ſupply which had been voted for the ſervice of the current year, and which amounted in the whole to 5,779,365 l.

In this account, it was to be obſerved, that, in the navy, there was an increaſe, beyond what would be the neceſſary peace eſtabliſhment, of 446,000l.; in the army there was an increaſe of 233,000 l.; and in the ordnance there was an increaſe of 61,000 l. Theſe increaſed demands were occaſioned by the circumſtance of our putting the diſtant poſſeſſions of the country into a ſtate of more complete defence, and were not then to be conſidered as the permanent neceſſary expences of the country—and to theſe there were ſeveral ſums to be added which could not occur again, or at leaſt could not make a part of our ſettled yearly expence. Such was the ſum for the relief of the loyaliſts, the expence of the late armament, and the vote for the payment of the debts of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. Theſe ſums, added together, amounted to 1,282,000 l. which was to be conſidered as extraordinary, and was conſequently to be deducted from the ſettled regular peace eſtabliſhment of the country. It had been conſidered as wiſe to put every part of the Britiſh dominions into ſuch a poſture of defence as to aſcertain to the country the bleſſings of peace, and he had the happineſs to ſay, that though they had thus incurred an extraordinary expence of more than 1,200,000l. the receipts of the country had fully anſwered it, and that without abating from the plan, which the houſe, in its wiſdom, had eſtabliſhed for the diminution of the national debt.

Mr. Pitt then ſtated the ways and means that had been voted for defraying theſe expences, from which it appeared, that there was a clear ſurplus of 27,000l. The extraordinary expence would, he feared, endure for two years more—It would take ſo long before they could be certain of coming to the permanent peace eſtabliſhment. Perhaps he might ſtate the farther extraordinary expence that the nation was likely to incur, for exceſs of navy, exceſs of army, exceſs of ordnance, and indeed for every other article, except one, of a material nature, at a million, or a million and a half; and for this, he thought, there were ample reſources in the revenue, as there had been proved to be for the large exceſs in the preſent year.

The other article of extraordinary expence which he meant was the ſatisfaction to be made to the American loyaliſts. The commiſſioners had now nearly wound up the whole of the claims, and it appeared that there was property loſt, which the commiſſioners had aſcertained, and agreed to liquidate at 1,860,000l. There might yet remain 2 or 300,000l. to be aſcertained. This

was

was to be conſidered as loſs of property. There were alſo claims of loſs of office, which the houſe would take into their conſideration, and act upon as their generoſity might incline them—But, ſtating the whole at 2,000,000l. or 2,100,000 l. the houſe would ſee that 500,000l. had been paid them, and there was ſtill 1,500,000 l. or 1,600,000l. to be paid. He was authoriſed to ſay, that they would be well pleaſed to have this ſum paid them by inſtallments, and that the payment ſhould commence next year; and he meant to propoſe that the profits of a lottery, to be eſtabliſhed annually, until their claims were fully liquidated, ſhould be applied to their relief. A lottery for ſeven or eight years would fully anſwer this exigency, provided that the bargain ſhould every year be rendered as profitable as it had for the laſt year, and for the preſent. He had made the bargain on a competition among different bidders, and the profit would be about 260,000 l. a year. Gentlemen might be aſtoniſhed at this circumſtance, but ſuch was the rage and madneſs for this ſpecies of gambling, and ſuch was the bargain that he had made.

The probable ſtate of our revenue, and the certain amount of our expence, were matters which came next in order, as, undoubtedly, it would be requiſite to prove that we ought to have confidence in our ſituation. That we ſhould invariably proceed in applying the million to the diminution of our debt, was a propoſition which he would not detain the houſe for a moment in diſcuſſing, as it had already ſo forcibly demonſtrated its utility. The million was, therefore, added to the permanent eſtabliſhment of the country; and, as the houſe had, in its wiſdom, eſtabliſhed a more extenſive ſyſtem of defence than was in contemplation two years ago, he would ſtate the permanent peace eſtabliſhment of the country, inſtead of 15,478,000l. as calculated by the committee, at 15,500,000 l. The produce of the laſt year's revenue, up to the period ending the 5th of April, was 15,792,000l. which was 168,000 l. more than was neceſſary, even by the increaſed eſtabliſhment which the houſe had thought it wiſe to adopt, and which political circumſtances had rendered requiſite.

Arguing, therefore, from the experience of laſt year, we had the faireſt ground for confidence, that we ſhould not only enjoy ample funds for the liquidation of every expence, but alſo for carrying on the great purpoſe of the late arrangement, the extinction of the capital of our debt. But perhaps it might be argued, that it was not a fair mode of ſtating our ſituation, nor a rational ground of confidence, to argue from the evidence of one year only. He begged leave to remind the committee, that the laſt year had many unfriendly circumſtances in it, particularly the interruption which our commerce naturally received in the late alarm of war: but, even in looking back to the average of the laſt three years, they found the calculation ſtrongly confirmed, though certainly the ſurplus was not ſo favourable. Yet we had other very eſſential grounds of confidence — Various branches of revenue were improving, and many more were ſuſceptible of improvement. The farming of the poſt-horſe duty brought an acceſſion of £. 30,000 to the funds. Another, and

and probably very conſiderable, acceſſion would ariſe from ſome regulations which he had it in his view to propoſe for preventing the frauds committed on the revenue in the tobacco duties.

The progreſſive improvement of a country in peace, and particularly of ſuch a country as England, was a material object, and this was not a ſubject of mere ſpeculation. From the experience of four years we were able to form ſome eſtimate. The receipt of the permanent taxes in the year 1787, excluſive of the land and malt tax, had been £. 13,000,000. The receipt of the taxes in the year 1783 had been £. 10,184,000. Thus there was an increaſed revenue of three millions, of which not more than one million and a half accrued from new taxes. In the trade, the navigation, and the fiſheries, the progreſſive improvement bore an exact proportion to the increaſed revenue.

In the year 1772 our imports were	£. 14,500,000
Our exports - -	16,000,000
In 1787,	
The imports were about - - - -	15,800,000
But the exports were -	16,600,000

Perhaps it might be ſaid, that in this comparative ſtatement the balance was againſt us in the latter year; but the increaſe of the imports aroſe from the increaſe of the home conſumption of luxuries—It proceeded from the beneficial import of raw materials uſed in our manufactures; and it might be conſidered as a very pleaſing circumſtance attending the increaſed imports, that they chiefly came from a part of our own empire—they came from Ireland.

In like manner our navigation had increaſed.

	Quintals.
The Newfoundland fiſhery, in 1773, produced - - - - -	516,000
In 1786 it produced -	732,000

In 1773 the tonnage in the Greenland fiſhery was - - - - -	27,000
In 1786 it was - -	53,000

The ſouthern whale-fiſhery, a new and very valuable branch of trade, which he only took up at the beginning of the laſt war, had alſo equally proſpered.

In this fiſhery, in 1785, there were employed 18 ſhips, producing £. 29,000.

In 1787 there were employed 38 ſhips, producing £. 107,000.

He concluded with obſerving, that he mentioned theſe circumſtances to prove that our improved condition came from no forced revenues, but was the fair and actual reſult of increaſed commerce. We had thus aſcertained a ſurplus after having appropriated a million to the payment of our debt. We had given great additional ſtrength to our foreign poſſeſſions, and, in doing this, we had not overlooked that which was the favourite ſervice at home. No leſs than ſeven millions had, in the courſe of four years, been expended in the improvement of the navy; and he took upon him to ſay, that it had been applied with as much fidelity as it had been voted with judgment. There were, he would pledge himſelf to prove, 30 ſhips of the line, and 35 frigates, built or repaired, more than there were in the firſt four years after the peace of 1763. In addition to this, we had abſolutely and for ever extinguiſhed

ſinguiſhed two millions and a half of our debt.

Mr. Sheridan followed Mr. Pitt, and remarked, that, however invidious it might ſeem to ſtart objections to ſo flattering a ſtatement of the revenue and increaſing reſources of the country, as had been juſt given by the right honourable gentleman, it was neceſſary to diſpel the deluſion under which this country had been acting for ſome time, and to detect the fallacies by which it was ſtill attempted to impoſe on the public, and continue that deluſion.

The real queſtion before the committee was to conſider, whether our receipt was equal to our expenditure. The annual expenditure for the peace eſtabliſhment, as now ſtated by the right honourable gentleman, was to be in future £.15,500,000. This might, therefore, be conſidered as ground to argue from, ſince, however much it might exceed that ſum, it could not reaſonably be expected to fall ſhort of it. In order to make up an income equal to this expenditure, by taking the receipts, not on an average of ſeveral years but one year only, and making up the accounts from April 1787 to April 1788, inſtead of from January to January, a revenue was produced on paper of £.15,792,000. Mr. Sheridan contended againſt the accuracy of this ſtatement, and ſaid, that taking, as he ought to have done, the average of 1786 and 1787, the produce of all the taxes would have appeared to be no more than £.15,250,000, which would have fallen ſhort of the expenditure, as now ſtated, £.250,000. This was as near the truth as could reaſonably be preſumed, from the circumſtances of the country and of the revenue, ſince the peace; and this was the ſituation which the committee was bound in duty to meet and to provide for, inſtead of endeavouring to impoſe on themſelves and the public, and delaying to apply the remedy till it might be too late.

Another circumſtance he felt himſelf obliged to controvert was, the means by which the right honourable gentleman made up his eſtimates of the expenditure. While he added to the eſtimates of the army, he allowed no addition to the eſtimate of the navy. Was it really his opinion, that the expence of the navy, in 1790, would not exceed £.1,800,000? For the ordnance indeed he allowed £.10,000, but took no notice of the expence of fortifications, which, in the Weſt Indies alone, he had formerly ſtated would amount to between two and three hundred thouſand pounds, and, taking fortifications, as it was moſt reaſonable to do, at the largeſt eſtimate (for they ſeldom fell ſhort in point of expence, whatever they might do in point of utility) there would be wanted £.300,000 for the Weſt Indies alone, and on the whole from £.700,000 to £.800,000. He objected alſo, to the eſtimate for miſcellaneous ſervices, which he contended muſt exceed £.74,224, the ſum to which it was made out.

Mr. Fox begged leave to remind the chancellor of the exchequer, that when the ways and means were agitated laſt year, he then declared, that it was not upon any account fair to eſtimate our permanent reſources from the produce of any one year. But in the preſent inſtance he had taken but one year, and that ending the 5th of April laſt, becauſe it was found to be more productive, and, conſequently, more adapted to his purpoſe, than to take it, as he had done

done the former year, ending the 5th of January. For his own part, he had no ſcruple to ſay, whatever odium might attend the aſſertion, and however unpopular it might be to hold out an unpleaſing picture of our ſituation, that our revenues and reſources had been placed in a point of view as much too ſanguine, as our expences had been eſtimated too low. He warned the committee of the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch fallacy, and remarked, that this was, preciſely, the deluſion that had reduced the finances of France to the low ſtate in which they now were.

After a ſhort converſation reſpecting £.500,000, ſtated by Mr. Pitt, as a part of his reſources, to be due to the public from the Eaſt India company, the uſual reſolutions were moved and carried.

On the following day, the report of the reſolutions being brought up, ſir Grey Cooper entered into a minute examination of the eſtimates of the national expenditure and income, as ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer. The former was taken from the eſtimate of the peace eſtabliſhment, made by the committee of accounts in 1786, and to this was added the expence of the augmentation lately voted in the military eſtabliſhments. The fact, however, was, that the expenditure exceeded the eſtimate of the committee near two millions; but the right honourable gentleman had aſſerted, with apparent confidence, that, notwithſtanding the extraordinary and particular exceſs of this year, there was a reaſonable ground of hope, that the ſervices of the navy, army, and ordnance, and the miſcellaneous account, would, at the cloſe of the year 1790, be reduced to the limits propoſed by the committee, in their report of 1786. Sir Grey endeavoured to prove, from ſeveral circumſtances in the accounts of each ſervice, from the gradual increaſe of their expence, and particularly from the enormous navy debt remaining behind, that theſe hopes of reduction were vain and deluſive, and that there was the ſtrongeſt probability that our actual expenditure would continue to exceed the expenditure eſtimated in the report, by a ſum of not leſs than £.900,000.

With reſpect to the public income, ſir Grey contended, that an average of ſeveral years ought to have been taken, and that the produce of a ſingle year was not to be depended upon. That, particularly in the exciſe, the articles which compoſe that immenſe revenue were variable in their produce, and ſubject to diminution or increaſe from accidental cauſes, which could not be foreſeen nor calculated. He inſtanced the duty on malt, which in the year 1782, on account of a bad crop of barley, fell ſhort of the duty in 1783 upwards of £.900,000. From theſe, and ſeveral other circumſtances of a ſimilar nature, he concluded, that a conſiderable deficiency of ways and means would be found on the 5th of April 1789, independently of the probable failure of the £.500,000, ſtated to be due from the Eaſt India company. Theſe arguments were controverted by Mr. Steele and the chancellor of the exchequer; and the reſolutions were agreed to without a diviſion.

Early in the ſeſſions Mr. Grenville gave notice to the houſe, that he ſhould beg leave to propoſe for their conſideration certain amendments and additions to the bill brought into parliament by his father, for the better regulation of the trials of controverted elections. He thought the preſent ſeaſon the moſt

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proper for diſcuſſing and deciding upon ſuch a ſubject, when there was no petition complaining of an undue election before the houſe, and when the minds of the members were therefore perfectly cool, and open to impartial deliberation. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, he moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the purpoſes abovementioned. He explained, in a ſhort ſpeech, the objects which his bill had in view, and the means he propoſed for obtaining them. He obſerved, that when the exiſting act had paſſed, the houſe well knew that the great aim of it had been, to take the trial of petitions on controverted elections out of their hands, and to place them in a committee ſo conſtituted as to be moſt likely to do ſtrict and impartial juſtice to the parties: that end, it would be agreed on all hands, had been fully anſwered; but the operation of the act had been attended with certain well-known inconveniences, to guard againſt which, ſufficient care had not been taken when the bill was in agitation, ſo much had the attention of the author of it been bent on atchieving his main purpoſe. He had revolved in his mind the moſt practicable means of removing theſe inconveniences, and two modes had ſuggeſted themſelves; but then, as theſe could not be effected without very materially altering the moſt eſſential forms preſcribed by the act, he believed the houſe would be inclined to join with him in opinion, that it would not be prudent to attempt to meddle with the frame of a law, from the execution of which ſo many and ſuch eſſentially advantageous conſequences had been derived. Upon mature reflection, therefore, he had determined to let the forms preſcribed by the act remain undiſturbed; but there were other inconveniences, to which the act had given occaſion, which might, in his opinion, be touched without alarm, and removed without danger of any ſort of injury whatever to the general operation and effect of the act. Ever ſince the bill had paſſed into a law, it was obſervable, that an infinite number of petitions, complaining of undue elections, had been preſented in the firſt ſeſſion of every parliament. Many of thoſe petitions, after having taken up much of the time of the houſe, had proved frivolous. He ſhould propoſe, therefore, to empower the committee to adjudge, that the party preſenting an election petition, that ſhould turn out to be frivolous, ſhould pay reaſonable coſts, and to empower them in like manner to oblige the party offering a frivolous defence or anſwer to a petition, to pay reaſonable coſts. This was merely an act of juſtice, and yet, he added, he believed ſuch a regulation would ſave much expence to individuals, and much time and trouble to the houſe. Another very material inconvenience, in his mind, called equally for a remedy, and that was the want of a rule being laid down to eſtabliſh the rights of election, to aſcertain them, and to render them immutable in future. At preſent, it was no uncommon thing to have two gentlemen ſitting in that houſe as repreſentatives of the ſame borough, on different rights of election. In order to remedy this, he meant to annex certain proviſions to his bill, which he flattered himſelf would anſwer the end propoſed, and aſcertain the rights of election for

May 6th.

the future.—The bill was immediately brought in, and read a first time, and ordered to be printed; and, after going through the usual forms in both houses, received the royal assent.

In our last volume we have given an account of the motion made by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the shop-tax, and of its rejection by no very considerable majority. Petitions against it were again presented early in the present session, by the cities of London and Westminster, and several other towns and corporations; and Mr. Fox was again requested to support their cause in the house of commons. Accordingly, on the 13th of March he renewed his motion for the repeal; and, after arguing upon the grounds which he had taken last year, he said, that additional circumstances had occurred, which supported him in his endeavour to obtain a repeal of it. There had been laid before that house a petition of a most extraordinary nature indeed—a petition from those commissioners who were appointed under the act to collect the tax; and who, struck with conviction, by the experience they must necessarily have acquired, of the cruelty and injustice, partiality and inefficacy, of the act, and witnessing the numberless instances of its ill effects, in the course of executing their office, had now thought it their duty to come forward, and decidedly to bear testimony against it. It was objectionable, as it included within its operation those who were never intended to be its objects; he meant the bankers, a class of men surely never before suspected of keeping retail shops. It was objectionable, because it was unequal in its operation, rating those in the same business not equally according to their trade, but according to their houses, thus rendering it a mere house-tax, and not a shop-tax; and charging the man, who had only the shop, for that house which he did not occupy. These objections, he said, were not confined merely to London and Westminster; they extended to every city and town in England, and particularly Bath; in which place he instanced one poulterer, who paid but 19*s.* shop-tax, while another paid £. 5. 4*s.*; also three silversmiths, one of whom paid £. 8, another £. 4, and the third only £. 1. 5*s.* There were many other instances, he said, of the like nature; from which, as he did not mean to trouble the house more at large on the subject, he would draw these general facts—that though mere complaints were no ground for a repeal, as it was natural for those that paid any tax to wish to be freed from it; yet, as those who did not suffer by it, but, on the contrary, were gainers by its continuance, were ready to bear witness to its inefficacy, its partiality, and its oppression, it ought to be repealed as speedily as possible. He had, he said, spoken more fully on a former day respecting the injustice of this act; it was, therefore, sufficient barely to state now, that the evils then complained of still existed without diminution. He concluded with moving for a total repeal of the tax, as it originally stood, and also of the bill passed in explanation of it.

Mr. Pitt said, disagreeable as it was to him to oppose the withdrawing of any offensive measure, yet having, as a part of that system for supplying the exigencies of the state, which he had adopted on coming into office, tried this tax, and not having

having heard any thing to induce him to alter his opinion (for he did not conſider the evidence he had heard as concluſive, becauſe, if inconveniences were a ſufficient ground for repeal, not a ſingle tax would be left unrepealed) he could not think of parting with it. He then briefly examined the objections that had been ſtarted; and inſiſted that the tax was paid by the conſumer, as the ſhopkeeper certainly charged it, in common with all his other expences, upon the retail. As to the inequalities mentioned, they were but few in number, and by no means affected the general principle of the tax.

Upon a diviſion, the motion for the repeal was negatived by a majority of 43. Ayes 98, noes 141.

The trade carried on by this country, and other European nations, upon the coaſt of Africa, for the purpoſe of purchaſing negro ſlaves, to be employed in the cultivation of the Weſt India iſlands, and certain parts of the continent of America, does not appear, till of late years, to have been conſidered with that general attention, which a practice ſo abhorrent in its nature to the mild principles of modern policy and manners might have been expected to excite. This may probably have been owing, partly to the diſtance of the object, which tended both to conceal the ſufferings and to leſſen the ſympathy of the public for the unfortunate ſufferers; partly to the connivance of politicians, unwilling to examine too ſeverely into the neceſſity of the means, by which diſtant colonies were enabled to pour luxury and wealth into the mother countries. The firſt public attempt, we believe, that was made to put a ſtop to this traffic, was by the Quakers of the ſouthern provinces of America, who, ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of their independence, not only preſented for this purpoſe a ſtrong and pathetic addreſs to their ſeveral legiſlative aſſemblies, but actually proceeded, as is ſaid, in many inſtances to emancipate the ſlaves that were in their poſſeſſion. The meaſures taken by the American legiſlatures, in conſequence of this application, are before the public. In Great Britain the ſame ſect appears alſo to have taken the lead, and, after the example of their American brethren, preſented laſt year a ſimilar petition to the parliament of this kingdom. The cauſe ſoon after became extremely popular, and was taken up with great zeal and earneſtneſs by various deſcriptions of people. A ſociety was formed, and a conſiderable ſum of money ſubſcribed, for the purpoſe of collecting information and ſupporting the expence of an application to parliament. A great number of pamphlets were publiſhed upon the ſubject; ſeveral eminent divines recommended it from the pulpit and in printed diſcourſes; and in the preſent ſeſſion petitions were preſented from the two univerſities, and from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable towns and coporations in the kingdom.

In the mean time, his majeſty's miniſters thought it proper to inſtitute an enquiry, before a committee of the privy council, into the facts and allegations contained in the repreſentations of both parties upon the ſubject; and the gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) to whom the conduct of the buſineſs in the houſe of commons had been, by a ſort of general conſent, aſſigned, having been prevented, by the bad ſtate of his health,

from bringing it before the houſe,

May 9th. Mr. Pitt roſe in his place, on the 9th of May, and, after mentioning this circumſtance, moved the following reſolution, "That this houſe will, "early in the next ſeſſion of parlia- "ment, proceed to take into con- "ſideration the circumſtances of the "ſlave trade, complained of in the "petitions preſented to the houſe, "and what may be fit to be done "thereupon." He added, that, before that time, the enquiry inſtituted before the privy council would be brought to ſuch a ſtate of maturity as to make it fit that the reſult of it ſhould be laid before the houſe, to facilitate their inveſtigation, and to enable them to proceed to a deciſion, founded equally upon principles of humanity, juſtice, and ſound policy.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke expreſſed their ſorrow on account of the delay that had already taken place, and their extreme diſſatisfaction with the reaſon laſt given for putting off the buſineſs to the next ſeſſion. They both declared that they were willing and prepared to have undertaken the buſineſs themſelves, and had given way to another honourable member, not only from a deference to his abilities and his known humanity, but on account of the weight and influence he was ſuppoſed to have with his majeſty's miniſters in that houſe. They lamented the cauſe of his abſence, but thought that earlier notice might have been given, in order to have enabled the houſe to come to ſome deciſion, as well for the ſake of the planters as the ſlaves, to both of whom the protraction of the buſineſs might be attended with infinite miſchief. But what called for their more particular reprobation was, the other argument uſed as a ground for delay, namely, the expectation of a report from the privy council. Againſt this doctrine they deſired to enter their moſt ſolemn proteſt. It was the duty, they ſaid, of that houſe to adviſe the king, and not to aſk his advice. This was one of the moſt eſſential principles of the conſtitution, and could never be departed from without eſtabliſhing a precedent that might lead to the moſt fatal abuſe. They therefore cautioned the houſe, as they wiſhed to preſerve their functions, their honour, and their dignity, to beware of committees of the privy council. They lamented that the privy council, who had received no petitions from the people, ſhould have inſtituted an enquiry, and that the houſe of commons, whoſe table was loaded with petitions from every part of the kingdom, ſhould not have inſtituted any enquiry at all. If they ſuffered the buſineſs of the houſe to be done by the privy council, they were abdicating their truſt, and making way for an entire abolition of their functions, which, they could not help remarking, the houſe had of late, under the preſent adminiſtration, been too much in the habit of ſurrendering one after another. If the houſe neglected the petitions of their conſtituents, the conſequence would be, that the houſe muſt be aboliſhed, and the privy council ſubſtituted in its ſtead; and his majeſty's miniſters, inſtead of conſulting that houſe, and giving them an opportunity of exerciſing their functions of deliberation, would determine all public meaſures elſewhere, and bring down the edicts of the privy council to the houſe to regiſter.

A general converſation afterwards took place, in the courſe of which,

which, Sir William Dolben begged leave to ſay a word or two, on a matter that, in his mind, was a moſt crying evil, and called for an immediate remedy of ſome ſort or other. He neither alluded to their ſufferings at home from the hands of their cruel countrymen, nor to their ſufferings from their unfeeling maſters, the planters in the Weſt India iſlands, but to that intermediate ſtate of tenfold miſery which they ſuffered in their tranſportation from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt Indies. He entered into a ſhort detail of the horrors of that dreadful paſſage, which, he ſaid, was ſcarcely leſs fatal in its effects upon the Britiſh ſailors, than upon the wretched ſlaves themſelves; and he declared himſelf ready to call evidence to the bar to prove the fact. This, he ſaid, called aloud for a remedy, and that remedy ought to be applied immediately. If they did not apply ſome remedy without delay, between the preſent ſeſſion and the beginning of the next, ten thouſand lives would be loſt. He wiſhed, therefore, that this grievance were taken into conſideration, independent of the general queſtion; and that ſome regulation, ſuch as reſtraining the captains from taking above a certain number of ſlaves on board, according to the ſize of their veſſels, obliging them to let in freſh air, and provide better accommodation for the ſlaves during their paſſage, and ſuch other regulations as ſhould ſuggeſt themſelves to the houſe, ſhould be adopted.

This propoſition meeting with the general approbation of the houſe, Sir William Dolben moved the houſe, May 21ſt. on the 21ſt of May, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the tranſportation of the natives of Africa to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies. The regulations of the bill, he ſaid, would regard the number of Africans put on board each ſhip, limiting that number in proportion to the tonnage of the veſſel, in order to prevent their being crowded too cloſe together; ſecuring to them good and ſufficient proviſions, and other matters equally conducive to their health and their accommodation. He declared he ſhould not have thought of bringing in the bill at that late period of the ſeſſion, were he not convinced of the exiſtence of the grievance to a conſiderable extent, and ſatisfied, that, by applying an immediate remedy, ſome thouſands of the unhappy perſons lives might be ſaved before the next ſeſſion of parliament. There was beſides, he ſaid, undoubtedly a poſſibility (and a bare poſſibility was ſufficient ground for the argument he meant to ſtate) that, in conſequence of the reſolution lately come to by the houſe, thoſe perſons who carried on the branch of the ſlave trade to which the bill ſtated in the reſolution referred, might, from the knowledge of the intention of the houſe to examine the ſubject of the ſlave trade fully next ſeſſion, put the natives of Africa into a worſe ſituation, during their tranſportation to the colonies, even than they were in before, by cramming additional numbers on board their veſſels, in order to convey as many as poſſible to the Weſt Indies, before parliament became ultimately to decide what was moſt fit to be done upon the general ſubject of the ſlave trade. Certainly, therefore, the poſſibility that ſuch a conſequence might grow out of their late reſolutions, during the intervening months, be-

tween the end of the preſent and the commencement of the next ſeſſion, was a good and ſufficient parliamentary ground for them to provide immediate means to prevent the exiſtence of ſuch an evil, and preſerve the natives of Africa from being made to ſuffer greater hardſhips in their paſſage to the Weſt Indies, for the ſucceeding months, than they had felt before.

May 26th. On the 26th of May, a petition was preſented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and port of Liverpool, ſtating, that the ſuppreſſion of the ſlave trade would be attended with conſequences little ſhort of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under parliamentary faith, had embarked in the trade, and inveſted their whole property therein; would be highly injurious to the intereſt and public revenues of this country; and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprize; and therefore praying, that they might be heard, by their counſel, againſt the abolition or reſtriction of this trade, before any reſolutions, or a bill, be paſſed by the houſe, upon a ſubject of ſo much national importance, in which they are ſo peculiarly ſituated, and ſo greatly concerned.

June 2d. Accordingly, on the 2d of June, the houſe being in a committee upon the regulating bill, the counſel for the petitioners appeared at the bar, and examined ſeveral witneſſes, for the purpoſe of ſhewing that the hardſhips, alledged by thoſe who brought in the bill, did not exiſt, and that the reduction of the number of ſlaves allowed to be put on board each veſſel, in proportion to its tonnage, would go the length of ruining the trade altogether.—The evidence appears to have had no other effect upon the committee, than that of inducing them to allow, inſtead of one ton to each man, as was firſt intended, a ſmall reduction proportionable to the different burthens and accommodations of the veſſels.

The bill having gone through the houſe of commons, was carried up to the lords, where it alſo paſſed, after having received ſeveral amendments; ſome of which being thought to trench on the privileges of the lower houſe, a new bill was brought in, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

At the ſame time that the legiſlature was thus laudably employed in endeavouring to alleviate the miſeries of this unfortunate deſcription of their fellow-creatures, they were not inattentive to the ſituation of a claſs of ſufferers nearer home. On the 8th of June 8th. June the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the houſe to the compenſation which was intended to be made to the American Loyaliſts, on account of loſſes ſuſtained by them in conſequence of their adherence to this country during the late American war. He was of opinion, that they could not call upon the houſe to make compenſation for their loſſes as a matter of ſtrict juſtice; but they, moſt undoubtedly, had ſtrong claims on their generoſity and compaſſion. In the mode, therefore, that he ſhould propoſe for finally adjuſting their claims, and the various quotas of compenſation that ſhould be made to the various claſſes of loyaliſts, he had adhered to this principle, rather than to any ſtrict claim of right.

Having

Having premiſed this, Mr. Pitt ſtated the different deſcriptions of loyaliſts who had preferred their claims before the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into American claims; and divided them into four claſſes. In the firſt claſs he conſidered and ranked all thoſe who had reſided in America at the commencement of the war, and who, in purſuance of their principles of loyalty and adherence to this country, were obliged to abandon their eſtates and their property in America, which were, in conſequence, ſeized and confiſcated by the Americans. The mode he meant to adopt with reſpect to this claſs of loyaliſts, whom he conſidered as having the ſtrongeſt claims of any deſcription of loyaliſts, would be to pay thoſe, whoſe claims were ſo ſmall that any deduction from them would materially affect their means of exiſtence with any ſort of comfort, the full amount of their claims. He ſhould propoſe, therefore, that all ſuch loyaliſts ſhall receive the full amount of their loſſes, as far as the ſame do not exceed the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, and ſhall alſo receive, where the amount of ſuch loſſes ſhall be above ten thouſand pounds in the whole, and not above thirty-five thouſand pounds in the whole, ninety pounds per centum of ſuch part of the ſaid loſſes as ſhall exceed ten thouſand pounds; and where ſuch loſſes ſhall be above thirty-five thouſand pounds, and not above fifty thouſand pounds, eighty-five pounds per centum of ſuch part of the ſaid loſſes as ſhall exceed ten thouſand pounds; and where the ſame ſhall be above fifty thouſand pounds, eighty pounds per centum of ſuch part of the ſaid loſſes as ſhall be above ten thouſand pounds. He aſſigned as a reaſon of propoſing that the fifteen per centage ſhould be deducted from the exceſs only of the loyaliſts claims over and above the firſt ten thouſand pounds, that if ſuch a rule were not laid down, and the fifteen per cent. were deducted from the firſt ten thouſand pounds, it might happen that thoſe claimants, whoſe claims amounted to a trifling ſum above ten thouſand pounds, would receive a leſs compenſation than thoſe whoſe claims, though they did not amount to quite ten thouſand pounds, amounted to very near that ſum.

The next claſs of claimants included thoſe who, having reſided in England during the war, had exhibited claims on the ſcore of the loſs of property in America. Theſe certainly had not the merit of the former claſs, becauſe they could not pretend that they had been driven from America, but had made their option; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that they choſe that, which, in point of advantage and ſatisfaction, was the beſt for themſelves. At the ſame time, however, that this remark was neceſſary, he was far from thinking, that, becauſe they choſe to remain in England, and protect their property here, they were not entitled to expect ſome compenſation from that houſe for the loſs of their property in America. They undoubtedly were; and he ſhould propoſe, in like manner as he had propoſed with reſpect to the former claſs, that all the claimants of this ſecond deſcription, whoſe claims were under ten thouſand pounds in amount, ſhould be paid in full; but that, from all whoſe claims amounted from ten thouſand pounds to thirty thouſand, a deduction ſhould be made of twenty per cent. and a farther additional

additional deduction of twenty per cent. in progreſſion, upon every additional fifty thouſand claimed. Applying this ſcale to the claim of Mr. Harford, which was, as it ſtood liquidated by the commiſſioners, two hundred and ten thouſand pounds, the ſum to be paid to him, after the ſeveral deductions, would be found to be fifty thouſand pounds, which, conſidering all the circumſtances of the caſe, was, he thought, a very handſome compenſation for that houſe to make. But Mr. Harford, he underſtood, had two other claims upon America, for debts of ten thouſand pounds each. He meant, therefore, that Mr. Harford ſhould receive the full amounts of thoſe ſums.

The next claſs of claimants, were thoſe loyaliſts who, having either enjoyed places, or exerciſed profeſſions, in America, had, by being driven away in conſequence of their loyalty to this country, loſt their incomes. With regard to theſe, it was to be conſidered, that though they had been driven from America, they were able to obtain freſh incomes in this country, by exerciſing their talents and their induſtry in different ways; he ſhould not, therefore, propoſe to give them equal incomes to thoſe they had been deprived of, by way of penſion, but was of opinion, that they ought to conſider themſelves as liberally dealt by, if all who had been deprived of incomes, not amounting to more than four hundred pounds a year, were put upon half-pay; and others, whoſe incomes in America had amounted higher, (and ſome, he ſaid, amounted as high as fifteen hundred pounds a year, and one as high as three thouſand) ſhould be paid forty pounds per centum for every one hundred pounds of ſuch income above four hundred pounds, where the value does not exceed one thouſand five hundred pounds per annum in the whole; and where the value does exceed one thouſand five hundred pounds per annum in the whole, then in the proportion of thirty pounds per centum for every one hundred pounds exceeding four hundred pounds per annum.

With reſpect to the Weſt-Florida claimants, he ſhould propoſe to pay them the full amount of their claims, becauſe they ſtood in a very different predicament from the American claimants, having, in conſequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that houſe had agreed to, been obliged to quit their habitations and property in Weſt Florida.

Having explained theſe ſeveral points, and ſtated that the total amount of claims was two millions odd hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of the four or five hundred thouſand pounds that had been already advanced at different periods, he ſaid he ſhould move a general reſolution for the amount of that ſum to be iſſued in debentures, bearing three and a half per cent. intereſt, which would, he thought, be nearly equal to a ready-money payment; and he had, on a former occaſion, hinted his idea of propoſing, with the approbation of the committee, that the whole ſum ſhould be paid off by inſtalment, by means of a lottery, till the whole ſhould be cleared. That, however, was matter for farther conſideration; it was ſufficient for the preſent to move "That 1,228,239l. ſhould be voted "to the ſeveral American claim- "ants for loſſes, &c. and 113,952l. "14s. ¾d. to the Florida claim- "ants."

Theſe

These propositions (that relating to Mr. Harford only excepted) met with the general approbation of the house. Sir Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, were of opinion, that the scale adopted for the second class, and which departed from the principle of the first, bore hard upon Mr. Harford; and that it would be more equitable to revert to the principle of the first scale, only doubling the proportions of the per centage to be deducted. Upon such a scale, the compensation to Mr. Harford would amount to 70,000 l.; and to this amendment Mr. Pitt readily assented.

About this time a bill was also brought into the house of commons, for granting to the earl of Newburgh, grandson of the late Charles Radcliffe, and the heirs male of his body, a clear rent-charge of 2,500 l. out of the estates forfeited by the earl of Derwentwater, and settled upon Greenwich hospital. The hardship of lord Newburgh's case, whose father was an infant at the time that his family were engaged in the rebellion of 1715, had often induced parliament, from time to time, during the late and the present reign, to grant certain sums of money for his relief. In the act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the king, for restoring the forfeited estates, that of the Derwentwater family was not included, but an intention was then declared of making a special provision for the case. The only difficulty that occurred was the diminution which the grant would occasion in the hospital fund, and it was proposed by some member, that the public should make it good; but this proposition was overruled, as also another, to add 200 l. to the annuity, and the bill passed as originally framed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Proceedings upon the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings. His anſwer delivered at the bar of the houſe of lords; ſent to the commons; replication of the commons. Managers appointed. Debate upon the rejection of Mr. Francis. Trial commences Feb. 13th. Counſel for the defendant. Aſſiſtant counſel to the managers. Firſt and ſecond days conſumed in reading the articles and anſwers. Third day, Mr. Burke begins his opening of the charge, and concludes on the ſixth. Propoſal from the managers to hear each article of charge and the defence, ſingly. Objected to by the defendant's counſel, and decided in the negative by the houſe of lords. Seventh day, obſervations by Mr. Fox on the deciſion of the peers. He opens the Benares charge. Eighth day, Mr. Grey ſtates and applies the evidence to be adduced. Four following days taken up in reading evidence, and examining witneſſes. Debate upon matters of evidence. Thirteenth day, Mr. Anſtruther ſums up the evidence on the Benares charge. Fourteenth day, Mr. Adam opens the ſecond charge, relative to the princeſſes of Oude. Fifteenth day, Mr. Pelham ſtates the evidence. Sixteen following days, evidence heard and examined. Thirty-ſecond, thirty-third, and thirty-fourth days, Mr. Sheridan ſums up the evidence. Trial adjourned to the next ſeſſion. Debates in the houſe of commons upon the expences incurred in conſequence of the impeachment. Account of the proceeding upon the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Six charges exhibited againſt him by Sir Gilbert Elliott. Sir Elijah heard at the bar in his defence upon the firſt charge, relative to the putting Nundcomar to death. Evidence produced. Mr. Francis's vindication of himſelf againſt inſinuations of Sir Elijah Impey. Debates on the firſt charge. Rejected. Conſideration of the other charges deferred.

Dec. 5th. AT the cloſe of the parliamentary hiſtory of our laſt volume, we brought down the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings to the order with which he was ſerved, by the houſe of lords, to put in his anſwers to the charges exhibited againſt him by the commons, on the firſt Tueſday after the next meeting of parliament. The ſame being accordingly delivered by him at the bar, a meſſage was ſent to the houſe of commons, on Wedneſday the fifth of December, to inform them, "that Warren Haſtings, eſq; at their bar, had delivered in anſwers to the articles of impeachment charged againſt him by the honourable the houſe of commons, and that the lords had ſent a true copy of the ſaid anſwers, for the uſe of that honourable houſe."

The anſwers being read ſhort, pro forma, Mr. Burke moved, "that the ſaid anſwers be referred to the conſideration of a committee;" which having been agreed to, and Mr. Burke being named by the chancellor of the exchequer as the firſt member, Mr. Burke then named Philip Francis, eſq; and, upon the queſtion being put, the houſe divided, ayes 23, noes 97.

Mr. Burke, upon this, roſe and declared, that of ſuch material aſſiſtance had they deprived him, in rejecting Mr. Francis, that he ſcarcely knew how to proceed, and felt the cauſe to be in ſome degree *damned* by the recent act of the houſe. He reminded them of the ſeriouſneſs and ſolemnity

ſolemnity of the whole proceeding, a proceeding which, after deep and frequent deliberation, had been brought ſtep by ſtep to its preſent advanced ſtage, and ought to be continued during the remaining part of its progreſs with equal ſteadineſs and uniformity. He admoniſhed the houſe, that their conduct in this very important and grave tranſaction was a matter moſt highly intereſting to the national character, and that, conſequently, they were amenable, for every one of their proceedings reſpecting it, at the high and awful tribunal of the public and the world at large. He preſſed them to conſider of the dangerous effect of their appearing in the ſmalleſt degree to prevaricate in the courſe of the proſecution, and urged the manifeſt injury and injuſtice of changing their committee, and rejecting any one of the members of the former committee without a reaſon previouſly aſſigned. The only preſumeable reaſons for rejecting any one member of the former committee could be no other than two; either a general diſqualification on general grounds, or a perſonal diſqualification from inability or unfitneſs to aſſiſt in conducting the proſecution. Both theſe queſtions had been already decided, and the houſe would have acted wickedly and weakly in ſuffering his honourable friend to take ſo great a part in the proceeding hitherto, and to have adopted his ideas, if they had judged him to be diſqualified to take a ſhare in the buſineſs. The fact was, his honourable friend was moſt eminently qualified to aſſiſt in the proſecution; for through his ſuperior knowledge of it had all the charge relative to the revenues been made out and eſtabliſhed, and ſo greatly had he himſelf been aided and aſſiſted by the information which he had received from his honourable friend, that he in his honour and conſcience declared, he felt himſelf diſqualified from conducting the remainder of the proſecution ſafely and ſecurely without him. It was, for this reaſon, eſſential to himſelf, and eſſential to the houſe, and their joint credit, that his honourable inſtructor and aſſociate (for ſo he might juſtly term him) ſhould continue a member of the committee. Why the houſe had by their recent vote thought proper to reject the future aſſiſtance of his honourable friend, he was utterly at a loſs to gueſs;—that thoſe members who had uniformly expreſſed a diſinelination to the proſecution, and in almoſt every ſtage of it endeavoured to put a ſtop to it, ſhould have made a part of the majority on the late diviſion was natural enough, becauſe nothing could be more conſiſtent than for thoſe who had declared themſelves adverſe to any proſecution, to endeavour to take away the means of purſuing it, when once a proſecution was inſtituted; but for many of the gentlemen of another deſcription, who had cordially co-operated and aſſiſted in the inveſtigation, previous to the matter's having aſſumed the regular ſhape and form of a criminal proceſs, to concur in a vote which embarraſſed and weakened the cauſe, and endangered its ultimate event, was to him a circumſtance altogether unaccountable. The committee then naming, was not the committee of managers, and therefore not of equal importance; but ſo fully was he convinced of the great utility and importance of the aſſiſtance of his honourable friend, and that he ſhould feel himſelf, who knew the ſubject as well as moſt men, ſo exceedingly crippled and enfeebled

bled without the advantage of his honourable friend's ſuperior information, that when the day for naming the next committee ſhould come, he would again appeal to the ſenſe of the houſe, and try to have his honourable friend reinſtated.

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Burke, and appealed ſeriouſly to the gentlemen on the other ſide, upon one particular reſulting from their late vote, by which they had thrown ſo great a diſcountenance on the proſecution; and that was, the neceſſity of filling the chaſm in the committee, which they had occaſioned by rejecting the only member who, from every conſideration, appeared to be the moſt proper to be upon it. Mr. Fox, therefore, ſubmitted it to the conſideration of the other ſide of the houſe, whether it would not be right and becoming in them to ſupply the vacancy, by naming from among themſelves ſome perſon of acknowledged information upon the ſubject. He ſuggeſted the right honourable gentleman at the head of the India board; but ſaid, that he would agree to the nomination of any other well-informed gentleman, whom the other ſide of the houſe might conſider as a proper perſon for their acceptance. No notice being taken of this addreſs, Mr. Burke proceeded to nominate the committee, which conſiſted of the ſame perſons as the former, with the addition of Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. Burke then moved, "that "the committee be armed with the "uſual powers," which was agreed to.

Dec. 7th. On the Friday following, Mr. Burke brought up from the committee a replication to the anſwers of Mr. Haſtings, in which the commons, in the uſual form, aver their charges againſt the ſaid Warren Haſtings to be true; and that they will be ready to prove the ſame againſt him, at ſuch convenient time and place as ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe. The replication was ordered, the next day of ſitting, to be carried by Mr. Burke up to the lords, who appointed Wedneſday, the 13th of February, for proceeding upon the trial in Weſtminſter-hall.

Dec. 11th. On the eleventh, the houſe proceeded to appoint the members of the committee above-mentioned to be managers of the impeachment; upon which occaſion, Mr. Fox moſt earneſtly implored the houſe to re-conſider the vote of a former day, by which they had excluded from the committee of managers an honourable friend of his, whom they had approved of as a member of the committee to whom the drawing up of the articles was entruſted. Mr. Fox obſerved, that there muſt indeed be ſtrong arguments adduced to prove the fitneſs of the honourable gentleman to ſit as a member of the one committee, and his unfitneſs to ſit as a member of the other. They were not now acting as the judges of Mr. Haſtings; they were not even ſitting in character of a grand jury to decide whether or not a bill of indictment was to be found againſt him; they were become his proſecutors; in that capacity they had committed themſelves, and would act with the utmoſt inconſiſtency if they failed to avail themſelves of every circumſtance, and of every aſſiſtance that might give effect to their proſecution. Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Haſtings, there could be no poſſible objection to his appearing as his accuſer. To the character of

an accuſer, innocence and integrity were indiſpenſably neceſſary. It was requiſite that he who preferred an accuſation againſt another ſhould himſelf be blameleſs, and his reputation unſuſpected. That his honourable friend poſſeſſed this reputation was well known to all who heard him. All knew that he had been ſent out to India, as one of the ſupreme council, on account of this reputation, and returned with the approbation and the confidence of his employers. But in ſuch a caſe the teſtimony of his friends would be incomplete, unleſs corroborated and confirmed by the teſtimony of his enemies. This teſtimony his honourable friend had alſo obtained. By a ſteady and conſiſtent hoſtility to the malverſations and corruptions of others, he had provoked the moſt rigid ſcrutiny into his own conduct while in India, and ſince his return he had courted, not ſhunned, inquiry. Had any diſcoveries of miſconduct on his part been to be made, they would long ſince have been before the public, ſince they muſt have come within the knowledge of thoſe who were well diſpoſed to bring them to light. It was, therefore, fair to conclude, that his character was unimpeachable, ſince it had not been impeached, and that he poſſeſſed that innocence and integrity of life and conduct which qualified him to come forward as the accuſer of another. It was fit alſo that an accuſer ſhould poſſeſs talents. What the natural abilities of the honourable gentleman were, it was needleſs to ſtate where they were ſo well known. What his acquired abilities on the ſubject of the proſecution were, muſt be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much to have been acquainted with the evaſions and tergiverſations under which Mr. Haſtings had been accuſtomed to ſcreen his conduct. When Cicero came forward as the accuſer of Verres, what were the arguments he advanced why the proſecution ſhould be committed to him? "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I am acquainted with the "evaſions and ſophiſtry of his ad-"vocate Hortenſius. I am accuſ-"tomed to combat and to overthrow "them." Nor was it leſs requiſite that an accuſer ſhould entertain no partiality in favour of the accuſed; and not only that he ſhould entertain no partiality, but that he ſhould not be indifferent as to the event of the proſecution; but that he ſhould be animated with an honeſt indignation againſt the crimes and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to juſtice. In the caſe of a proſecution for murder, where the ſon of the perſon ſaid to have been murdered was the proſecutor, he made his charge, and produced his proofs, with ſuch ſeeming coldneſs and indifference, that the judges ſtopped him by aſking, "Were the facts you alledge "true? was this man really the "murderer of your father? if you "indeed believed him ſuch, you "could not poſſibly go on in this "unaffected and impartial manner. "While, therefore, you addreſs us "in this trim language, we can give "no credit to what you ſay." Such had actually been the anſwer of Mr. Haſtings to the remonſtrance of the court of directors, "If you actually "diſapprove of my conduct, you "could not poſſibly addreſs me in "ſuch gentle terms." There was no ſuch thing known as an impartial proſecution in this country; for, although all proſecutions were commenced in the king's name, it was always the party injured that came forward

forward in ſupport of them. If they demanded impartial accuſers, who were acquainted with the ſubject of the accuſation, where were they to be found? Not in India, for it afforded not a man who could be ſaid to be impartial in this cauſe. And by whom was Mr. Haſtings to be accuſed, by thoſe who had ſupported his meaſures, or thoſe who had oppoſed them; by his friends, or his enemies? There were not many accuſers from India. He knew but few from that quarter who could dare to aſſume the character, or whoſe own conduct would ſtand the teſt of enquiry. Under theſe circumſtances, to exclude from the committee the perſon likely to be the moſt dangerous accuſer, would have a very ſuſpicious appearance. The houſe would appear to prevaricate, and muſt depart from a charge which they had already adopted. He had, with infinite application and ability, brought forward the charge of abuſes in the adminiſtration of the revenues. By means of his local and perſonal knowledge, he had developed the whole myſtery of corruption; he had enforced it on the conviction of the houſe; he had perſuaded an unwilling audience, for no man is willing to become an accuſer; and would the houſe, now that they had adopted the accuſation, and made it their own, prevent the honourable gentleman from ſupporting it at the bar of the houſe of lords, when he alone could ſupport it with effect?

The ſole argument which he had ever heard againſt the appointment of his honourable friend was, that he had once had a perſonal quarrel with Mr. Haſtings. Of what weight was this? He was not to be the judge, but the accuſer, of Mr. Haſtings; and not the only accuſer, but an accuſer joined with others. Was he ſuppoſed of ſuch authority as to influence the judges? Was the whole committee of ſuch authority? The lords would ſit to paſs ſentence on their honour, like a jury on their oath, and Heaven forbid that the united authority of the commons of England ſhould influence their deciſion.

Mr. Fox then moved, "that the "name of Mr. Francis be added to "the committee."

Mr. Windham, after a ſhort ſilence, followed Mr. Fox, and expreſſed his ſurprize that no argument had yet been offered to juſtify the rejection of his honourable friend. As gentlemen had been ſo ſparing of their reaſons, he would endeavour to ſtate every poſſible ground on which an objection could be made, in order to prove to the houſe how impoſſible it was for them, if they were ſincere in the proſecution, to refuſe to give their managers the benefit of the abilities, the zeal, and the diligence of the honourable gentleman. There could not, as his right honourable friend had obſerved, and proved from recapitulating facts of the moſt public notoriety, be offered any objection of a perſonal nature againſt Mr. Francis, for his integrity was eminently conſpicuous. Thoſe, therefore, who had objections to make, muſt ſupport them by proving, firſt, that private animoſity was a proper diſqualification; and, ſecondly, what he believed was nearly as difficult to be proved, that Mr. Francis entertained that ſentiment of perſonal animoſity towards Mr. Haſtings. The idea of ſuppoſing that an accuſer ought to be free from reſentment, was, he conceived, on the principle that he ought to be impartial. This, he contended, was perfectly abſurd, and could

could only be maintained by a perverſion and confounding of the functions of an accuſer with thoſe of a judge, and requiring from both parties what was only to be expected in the latter, and what indeed was deſirable in him only. The very eſſence of the character of an accuſer was zeal for the proof of his accuſation, and the conviction of the accuſed; and it was of no conſequence to the trial whether that zeal proceeded from perſonal animoſity, or any other motive. It was, perhaps, by confounding the functions of a witneſs and an accuſer that gentlemen were induced to entertain ſo ill-founded an idea, that private reſentment unfitted a man for the character of an accuſer. An idea, which could only be ſupported by imagining that a judge would take for granted the bare aſſertions of the accuſer; but no judge would give any credit whatſoever to the ſtatement of the parties or their advocates, unleſs ſubſtantiated by proof. Even a witneſs was not diſqualified on account of partiality; for, in fact, every witneſs was in ſome degree partial. If the judge perceived more than an ordinary degree of animoſity on one ſide, or favour on another, in a witneſs, his buſineſs was to examine him with greater caution: but he could not, for that reaſon, reject him entirely. The next thing to conſider, was, whether the honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) laboured under this impreſſion or not? This, he declared, he could ſee no reaſon for imagining; for, unleſs the neceſſary conſequence of a duel was a perpetual enmity, it was impoſſible, from any thing which had appeared to the houſe, to take it for granted that it ſubſiſted in the preſent caſe. He ſtated, that the oppoſition of Mr. Francis to Mr. Haſtings had commenced long before the duel, even from the time of his arrival in India: he had been entruſted by the public with an important charge; he ſaw the public wronged by Mr. Haſtings, and he determined to do juſtice to his maſters, by bringing the delinquent to an account for his malverſation: the delinquent quarrels with him, and they fight; and, for that reaſon, merely becauſe a private injury is ſuperadded to public offences, the public are to loſe the means of bringing to puniſhment the perſon who has violated the truſt they have repoſed in him.—All this heap of abſurdity muſt be maintained, before any reaſonable ground could be laid for the rejection of Mr. Francis. Motives of delicacy had been ſuggeſted—and no man, indeed, could impute any blame to thoſe who indulged themſelves in the niceſt feelings of delicacy, or who carried the punctilio of honour to the higheſt pitch, provided that they did not ſuffer thoſe minor virtues to get the better of higher duties; for then they became dangerous and vicious, inſtead of being meritorious. But, in this caſe, the houſe could not give way to any ſuch feelings of delicacy, without abandoning the great and important buſineſs which they had undertaken, and which they were bound to bring to perfection; not from motives of pride, and feelings of delicacy, but from every tie of duty, and every obligation of wiſdom and virtue, and true honour.

Mr. Pitt, in anſwer to Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, contended that the preſent was not a queſtion of argument but a queſtion of feeling. It was not neceſſary to ſcrutinize what were the feelings of gentlemen on the other ſide: but, in return, they were entitled to the enjoyment of their

their own feelings undiſturbed; and if gentlemen did feel that there was an impropriety in their chuſing a certain gentleman to repreſent the houſe of commons in the proſecution of their impeachment, was it therefore to be imputed to them that they were ſlack in the proſecution, or that they were deſirous to cruſh it? Might it not be fairly ſaid, that, in their earneſtneſs for the ſucceſs of their impeachment, they choſe to take from it every appearance of improper motives; and that, in order to prevent even the ſuſpicion of any ſuch exiſting, they had declined to appoint as their repreſentative the only perſon in the houſe who had, upon a former occaſion, been concerned in a perſonal conteſt with Mr. Haſtings. The argument, that the proſecution would be injured by the abſence of this honourable gentleman, could not be juſtly entertained for one moment. To look at the abilities of the gentlemen who were to manage the proſecution, was ſufficient to give the houſe confidence in its management; and beſides, the honourable gentleman was ſtill at hand; and, in addition to all the materials with which he had already furniſhed them, could be conſulted, or even examined at the bar. They had loſt only his eloquence, of which, diſtinguiſhed as it was, they were not in want.

Mr. Pitt was ſupported by Mr. Grenville, who obſerved, that the preſent queſtion was not an inveſtigation into the character of the honourable gentleman, but merely an inquiry whether, under the peculiar circumſtance in which he ſtood, as having had a perſonal quarrel with Mr. Haſtings, and as being the only individual in the houſe who was ſuppoſed to have a perſonal enmity to him, it was right in the houſe to chuſe him as one of their repreſentatives for managing the impeachment. For his own part, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that in ſuch circumſtances, the houſe ought not to ſelect him as a perſon peculiarly fit for ſuch a truſt.

Mr. Francis then roſe, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at what he had heard from the other ſide of the houſe, as it had relieved him from great anxiety. I now underſtand, he ſaid, what the objection is, and what it is not:—It is a ſcruple that regards a point of honour:—It is not an imputation:—It is not a reproach. It has been formally and explicitly ſtated to you, by great authority, that the point in debate is not a queſtion of argument, but of feeling. This is the avowed principle on which the motion is oppoſed. I do not mean to object to this ſtate of the queſtion, or to any other, on which any gentleman may chooſe to conſider it. Allow me only to expreſs my hopes, that gentlemen, who are ſo properly and honourably careful of their own feelings, will not confine their attention to themſelves, but have ſome conſideration and tenderneſs for the feelings of others.

It would be a poor and uſeleſs affectation in me to pretend, that I received the vote, which paſſed a few days ago, with indifference, or indeed without ſerious concern. I could not but be ſenſible of the turn that would be given to it, and of the impreſſion it would probably make abroad to my diſadvantage. I could not ſee myſelf excluded from ſharing in the labours of my honourable friend, without looking back to the ſituation, in which I was forced to abandon him, with the deepeſt regret.

get. His abilities are equal to the taſk he has undertaken, if any human abilities are equal to it. Of this heavy burden he muſt now ſupport my ſhare as well as his own. Setting aſide the ſingle conſideration of the aſſiſtance I owe to my honourable friend, what can I deſire better for myſelf than to be excluded, without diſgrace, from any farther concern in this toilſome, invidious, and moſt unthankful office? My object, as far as I had any perſonal object in the proſecution of Mr. Haſtings, is accompliſhed. The houſe have approved and confirmed the principles of my oppoſition to him, and adopted my opinion of his conduct. In condemning *him* they have acquitted *me*. I am now diſcharged from the conduct of a cauſe, which, of my own accord, undoubtedly, I ſhould never have abandoned. If it ſhould fail hereafter, I ſhall have nothing to anſwer for.—Mr. Francis, waived entering into the arguments which ought to induce the houſe to reject or to agree to the motion; but at the ſame time, he ſaid, though I have no manner of anxiety about the concluſion, I ſhould be regardleſs of the truth, and careleſs of my honour, if I ſuffered the premiſes to be taken for granted. I deny that I am, or ever was, the enemy of Mr. Haſtings, in that perſonal ſenſe in which it is imputed to me. He then gave the houſe a ſhort account of the public diſputes that had ſubſiſted between him and Mr. Haſtings, and of the provocation that brought on the duel. He added, it is but juſtice to him to ſay, that he behaved himſelf perfectly well in the field. It was my lot to be dangerouſly wounded. As I conceived immediate death inevitable, I thought of nothing but to die in peace with all men, particularly with Mr. Haſtings. I called him to me, gave him my hand, and deſired him to conſider in what ſituation my death would leave him. By that action, and by thoſe words, undoubtedly I meant to declare that I freely forgave him the inſult he had offered me, and the fatal conſequence which had attended it. I meant that we ſhould ſtand in the ſame relation to each other, as if the duel and the cauſe of it had never happened. But did I tell him, that if I ſurvived, I would renounce the whole plan and principle of my public life; that I would ceaſe to oppoſe his meaſures; that I would deſert the charges, which I had already brought againſt him, or not proſecute him by public impeachment if I could? On my return to England, I found that a parliamentary inquiry into the late tranſactions in India was already begun, and I was almoſt immediately ordered to attend one of the committees employed upon that enquiry. Of thoſe gentlemen, who think that I ought not to appear againſt Mr. Haſtings, I beg leave to aſk, in what manner I ought to have acted? Could I, without treachery to the public, refuſe to give evidence or information neceſſary for the public ſervice, when it was demanded of me by the authority of the houſe of commons? If not, the ſingle queſtion is, in what form and manner did it become me to appear and act as the accuſer of Mr. Haſtings? And am I thought to have acted diſhonourably, becauſe I declared myſelf a public reſponſible accuſer of Mr. Haſtings? becauſe I ſtood forward in the charge, and hazarded all thoſe conſequences of obloquy, retaliation, and revenge, which a public proſecutor muſt encounter, but which a ſecret ſkulk-

ing accuſer may very eaſily avoid? I do not mean to ſay, that the circumſtance of my having had a duel with Mr. Haſtings, never occurred to me as an objection, which poſſibly might have weight with others, though it appeared to me of no conſequence. It did certainly occur to me as a doubt, on which I ought not to truſt entirely to my own judgment, and I therefore took the advice of perſons upon whoſe judgment, in points of this nature, I could rely. But there is an authority to the ſame effect, which I am able to produce, and which, though negative in its form, I doubt not will be deemed equivalent to any poſitive opinion whatever. I have now been engaged above two years in conſtant intercourſe and connection with twenty gentlemen of the firſt character in this kingdom, and in conſtant converſation with them on the ſubject of this impeachment; I mean particularly the gentlemen who compoſe the preſent committee, as well as many others. I appeal to their teſtimony. Did any of theſe gentlemen ever, directly or indirectly, ſignify to me a doubt about the propriety of my conduct? If they did, I call upon them now to declare it. Is it a thing to be believed, that if they had felt a ſcruple, in point of honour, on this ſubject, they would never have expreſſed it to me, or that they would have acted with me, if I had known and diſregarded their opinion?

Thirteen years, he ſaid, are now elapſed, ſince I firſt was connected in office with Mr. Haſtings. Six of them were waſted in India in perpetual conteſt with him. Seven years ago I left him there, in poſſeſſion of abſolute power. In all that time no charges have been produced againſt me. Yet, I think, it cannot be ſaid that I have been particularly cautious not to provoke hoſtility, or that there is no diſpoſition to accuſe me. If now, or at any other period, I ſhould be obliged to change place with Mr. Haſtings; if hereafter it ſhould be my lot to be accuſed, I ſhall aſſuredly never object to his being my proſecutor; for though, by removing a powerful, a well-informed, and, in the ſenſe of the preſent argument, an inveterate accuſer, I might provide for my ſafety, my honour would be loſt. Let thoſe gentlemen, who are truſted with the care of Mr. Haſtings's honour, conſider what they are doing.

Mr. Francis concluded, by declaring, that if the houſe ſhould think fit to employ him, he ſhould endeavour to execute their commands with induſtry and vigour; if not, he ſhould receive with pleaſure his diſmiſſion from ſo vexatious, ſo laborious, ſo invidious, and ſo unprofitable a ſervice as this has been: and immediately left the houſe.

The queſtion being ſoon after put, there appeared, noes 122, ayes 60.

In the mean time, committees were appointed by both houſes to ſearch the records of parliament, for precedents relative to the mode of proceeding in trials by impeachment, and the neceſſary orders were made for their accommodation in Weſtminſter-hall, for the admiſſion of ſpectators, the attendance of witneſſes, and other matters reſpecting the regularity of their proceeding. On the 13th of February, the trial commenced, with the uſual formalities, an account of which, the reader will find in the Chronicle for the month. The counſel who appeared for the defendant were, Meſſ. Law, Plumer, and

Feb. 13th.

and Dallas. The aſſiſtant counſel for the commons, Dr. Scott and Dr. Lawrence, Meſſrs. Mansfield, Pigott, Burke, and Douglas.

The two firſt days were conſumed in reading the articles of impeachment, and the anſwers of Mr. Haſtings. On the third,

Feb. 15th.

the anxiety of the public to hear Mr. Burke was ſo great, that the galleries of the hall were full before nine o'clock. About twelve the peers were ſeated, to the number of 164; and, the managers being called upon by the chancellor to proceed, Mr. Burke roſe, and ſaid, that he ſtood forth by order of the commons of Great Britain, to ſupport the charge of high crimes and miſdemeanors, which they had exhibited againſt Warren Haſtings, eſq; and that he had a body of evidence to produce to ſubſtantiate the whole and every part of thoſe charges.

That the gentlemen joined with him in that duty, had inſtructed him to open the cauſe with an account of the grounds upon which the houſe had proceeded, and with a general view of the nature of the crimes with which they charged him, together with an explanation of ſuch concomitant circumſtances, relative both to the crimes themſelves and the manners of the people amongſt whom they were committed, as were neceſſary to elucidate the charge.

After ſome general obſervations upon the quality of the cauſe, as leading to a deciſion not only upon facts, but upon principles; as involving the character and honour of Britiſh government, and, in an eſpecial manner, the credit, and even the future exiſtence of that high mode of parliamentary proceeding (of the ſpirit and effects of which, in the Britiſh conſtitution, he gave a conciſe and pointed deſcription) he adverted to the grounds upon which the commons had proceeded. The dreadful diſorders of our Indian government were acknowledged. It was not, he ſaid, till after every mode of legiſlative prevention had been tried without effect, till they found, during a courſe of fourteen years, that enquiries and reſolutions, and laws were equally diſregarded, that they had had recourſe to a penal proſecution; and he truſted that it would be found they had made ſuch a choice, with reſpect both to the crimes and the criminal, and the mode of proceeding, as would recommend that courſe of juſtice to poſterity, even if it had not been ſanctioned by the practice of our forefathers.

Mr. Burke then gave an account of the previous proceedings in the houſe of commons, in which, he ſaid, every precedent that could be found, favourable to the party accuſed, and ſome meaſures even of an unuſual kind, had been adopted; and that it was chiefly upon the facts admitted by the criminal in his defence, and the principles therein maintained by him, that they proceeded, and proceeded with confidence, to that bar. He then ſtated the quality of the crimes charged, which, he ſaid, were neither the lapſes of human frailty, nor had ariſen from the exigencies of an overruling neceſſity. They were crimes originating in paſſions which it was criminal to harbour, and ſuch as argued a total extinction of moral principle: crimes committed upon deliberation, againſt advice, ſupplication, and remonſtrance, and againſt the direct commands of lawful authority. As to the criminal, he

ſaid, that they had made choice of no puny offender, but the firſt in rank, authority, and ſtation; under whom, as the head, all the peculation and tyranny of India was embodied, diſciplined, and paid, and in ſtriking at whom, therefore, they would ſtrike at the whole corps.

Mr. Burke next proceeded to ſtate the nature of the evidence which they had to produce in ſupport of the charge. Of this, he ſaid, that notwithſtanding the enormous power poſſeſſed by the criminal, notwithſtanding his induſtry in deſtroying recorded evidence, and the influence he had over living teſtimony, there remained ſufficient to ſatisfy, in almoſt every inſtance, even the preciſion which prevailed in the inferior courts of law; but he contended, at the ſame time, that they were not to be bound by the confined rules and maxims of evidence which prevailed in thoſe courts, nor by any other than thoſe of natural, immutable, and ſubſtantial juſtice. He claimed this as the right of the commons of Great Britain, and the law of parliament: as indiſpenſable from the nature of the cauſe, and due to thoſe ſuffering nations who, ſeparated from us by nature, and differing in language, manners, and opinions, had no intereſt or concern in the technical diſtinctions of our municipal law, but as they might be abuſed to the denial of ſubſtantial juſtice; and laſtly, as highly neceſſary to prevent the diſgraceful imputation which might fall either upon that high court, as if corrupted by the wealth of India, or upon the laws of England, as if impotent in the means of puniſhing ſucceſsful fraud and oppreſſion; or upon the character of the whole Britiſh nation, as if availing itſelf of peculiar ſcholaſtic diſtinctions, abhorrent to the common ſenſe, and unpropitious to the common rights of mankind, in order to cover our participation in guilt, and our common intereſt in the plunder of the Eaſt.

Having gone through theſe preliminary points, Mr. Burke proceeded to open the matter of the charge.—He ſtated, that the powers delegated to Mr. Haſtings by the India company, and which he was charged with having abuſed, were derived from two ſources; the charter granted by the crown under the authority of parliament, and the grant from the Mogul emperor of the Dewannè, or high ſtewardſhip of Bengal, in the year 1766. He here combated an opinion that had been induſtriouſly circulated, that the acts of the ſervants of the company in India, were not cognizable here. He proved, that in the firſt caſe they were reſponſible to the parliament of Great Britain directly; that under the ſecond they were reſponſible for the good government of the country immediately to the Mogul emperor, by the condition of their grant; and that, upon the annihilation of his power, the duty ſtill remained, and their reſponſibility was thrown back upon the country from which their original power flowed; Great Britain, when it aſſented to that grant of office, and afterwards took advantage of it, becoming virtually a guarantee for the performance of its duties. The people of India, therefore, came in the name of the commons of Great Britain, but in their own right, to the ſeat of the imperial juſtice of this kingdom, from whence originally all the powers, under which they have ſuffered, were derived.

Having

Having ſettled the point of reſponſibility, Mr. Burke briefly ſtated the ſeveral powers granted to the company, from its firſt eſtabliſhment in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and the means by which it roſe to the exalted ſituation of dominion and empire in which it now ſtands. In its external arrangements and conſtitution it however ſtill remained upon a mercantile plan. In this ſyſtem he firſt took notice of the regulation, by which all their ſervants are obliged to go through a regular gradation of offices, from the loweſt to the higheſt; ſtated the advantages ariſing therefrom, and the miſchievous effects of the total diſregard which Mr. Haſtings paid to the ſpirit of this order, whenever it ſuited his own views.

The other circumſtances ariſing out of the conſtitution of the company's government in India, upon which he remarked, were principally theſe—The *eſprit du corps*, which neceſſarily prevailed in a body of men, who were all poſſeſſed of office, without check or control upon the ſpot, having one common intereſt, and that intereſt ſeparated from the intereſt both of the country which ſent them out, and of the country in which they acted:—the high and important truſts, which were held by them under inſignificant names, and the inadequacy of their ſalaries to the real dignity of their employments, circumſtances, which made it next to impoſſible, for men, whoſe object was an early enjoyment of their fortunes at home, to remain incorrupt in that ſervice:—laſtly, the youth of the perſons ſent out to India, and their immediate acceſſion to employments of boundleſs power, and particularly to high judicial powers, which, under the new regulations planned by ſir Elijah Impey, were expreſsly directed to be conferred on the junior ſervants of the company. Of theſe ſeveral circumſtances, Mr. Burke ſhewed that Mr. Haſtings had criminally availed himſelf; and that he had been thereby enabled, as it were, to embody abuſe, and to put himſelf at the head of a regular ſyſtem of corruption. To theſe he added, the covenants entered into with the company by their ſervants, and ſhewed in what manner they had alſo been perverted, by Mr. Haſtings, into a means of ſupporting the ſame corrupt confederacy.

The laſt inſtrument of fraud and oppreſſion taken notice of by Mr. Burke, was the Banyan; of the nature of whoſe office, as it was calculated both for the practice and concealment of every ſpecies of tyranny and peculation, he gave a detailed deſcription. He then adverted to one inſtitution, taken from the mercantile conſtitution of the company, of conſummate wiſdom, and which might have proved a powerful corrective of all the other abuſes to which their ſervice was in its own nature diſpoſed: this was the obligation which their ſervants were under, by expreſs covenant, to keep a journal of all their tranſactions, public and private; a letter-book, in which all their letters were to be entered; and laſtly, to keep a written record, not only of all the proceedings, reſolutions, and orders, made in their councils, but alſo of the arguments uſed and the opinions delivered by each ſeparate member. Mr. Burke, after ſtating the importance of this great inſtrument of correction and control, charged Mr. Haſtings with having endeavoured to deſtroy or render it of no effect, by introducing

a diſtinction between public and private correſpondence; by diſpenſing with the orders of the company, in boards appointed by his own authority; and laſtly, by the actual ſpoliation and deſtruction of part of the company's records.

Having gone through the conſtitution of the company, and marked the abuſes of the powers which Mr. Haſtings derived under it, he proceeded to the powers with which the company were inveſted by the charter of the Mogul emperor, and which were alſo delegated to him.

The inhabitants of India, who, in conſequence of that charter, became virtually ſubjects of the Britiſh empire, are, he ſaid, of two deſcriptions; the firſt were, the Hindoos or Gentoos, the original inhabitants of Hindoſtan. Of this people, their peculiar cuſtoms, manners, and religion, and of the beneficial moral and civil effects ariſing therefrom, as they appeared in the firſt period of their hiſtory, he gave a conciſe account: adverting, as he proceeded, to the juſt policy which theſe circumſtances ſhould have dictated to our government, and pointing out the new ſources of tyranny and oppreſſion with which they had furniſhed Mr. Haſtings. Having ſtated the happy and flouriſhing condition of India under the original native government, he continued their hiſtory through the ſeveral revolutions that took place, from the irruption of the Arabians, ſoon after the time of Mahomet, to the uſurpation of Verdi Ali Khân, and the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh power in 1756: and he proved, in oppoſition to the argument urged by Mr. Haſtings, in his defence, viz. "that the native princes held their dominions as mere vaſſals under their conquerors," that neither under the government of the Arabian nor Tartarian invaders, nor of the uſurping ſoubahs and nabobs, were the native princes and zemindars diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, and the juriſdictions annexed to them; but that, up to the laſt unfortunate period, they preſerved their independent rank and dignity, their forts, their ſeignories, and always the right, ſometimes alſo the means of protecting the people under them. Here Mr. Burke cloſed his firſt day's ſpeech, which laſted upwards of three hours.

Mr. Burke began his ſecond ſpeech with an animated deſcription of the bleſſings which it was juſt to expect that India would derive from the increaſing power and influence of the Britiſh ſettlements in that part of the world. Theſe expectations, he ſaid, had proved deluſive, and it becomes us therefore ſeriouſly to think how the miſchief was to be repaired. To obtain empire, had been a common thing; to govern it well, had been more rare; but to chaſtiſe, by its juſtice, the guilt of thoſe who had abuſed the power of their country, was, he hoped, a glory reſerved to this nation, this time, and that high court. Feb. 16th.

He then reſumed the hiſtory of Bengal from the uſurpation of Verdi Ali Khân; whoſe ſucceſſor, Serajah Dowlah, by attacking the Engliſh ſettlement at Calcutta, brought upon himſelf the reſentment of this country, and was dethroned by lord Clive. Meer Jaffier, a treacherous ſervant of Serajah's, was placed upon the throne, and for this ſervice Meer Jaffier engaged to pay a million to the company, and upwards of another million to individuals in their employment. This dangerous example diſcovered the facility with which

revolutions

revolutions might be effected in India, and a certain ſource of enormous emolument to thoſe who had the direction of them. Accordingly, lord Clive had no ſooner quitted India, than his ſucceſſors projected another revolution, by which Meer Jaffier was to be depoſed, and Coſſim Ali Khan, his ſon-in-law, a man of an intriguing and ferocious character, was to be placed in his room. In this drama, Mr. Haſtings, who was then reſident at the ſoubah's court, and whoſe co-operation, in betraying that prince, was abſolutely neceſſary, made his firſt public appearance.

Whilſt this project was ripening for execution, an under-plot was brought upon the ſtage, in which Meer Jaffier propoſes a plan to the Engliſh commander in chief, and through him to the council, for getting poſſeſſion of the perſon of the Shâh Zaddah, or eldeſt ſon of the Mogul, and putting him to death. This propoſition was, oſtenſibly only as was afterwards alleged, acceded to; an inſtrument was drawn up, in which the reward to be given to the aſſaſſin was ſpecified, and the ſeals of the nabob, of his ſon, and of the company affixed; from which circumſtance, it obtained the name of the ſtory of the three ſeals. In an enquiry which was afterward made into this tranſaction, at Calcutta, by order of the court of directors, (but which Mr. Burke endeavoured, by a variety of proofs, to ſhew was clearly colluſive) the Engliſh party was honourably acquitted. This whole buſineſs, in which Mr. Haſtings appears ſometimes as an accomplice, and finally as a judge, is recorded in the appendix, N° 10, to the firſt report of the Indian committee, which ſate in 1773; and Mr. Burke called the attention of the court particularly to it, as exhibiting a ſtriking inſtance, not only of the horrible condition of the company's government in India, at that period, but of the colluſive practices and dangerous combinations by which every attempt to correct it was fruſtrated.

Mr. Burke then proceeded in his account of the main revolution, related the ſtory of the extraordinary death of the ſoubah's eldeſt ſon, by which a material obſtacle was removed, and finally, of the depoſition of Meer Jaffier, the advancement of Coſſim Ali, and the rewards paid to the company, and their ſervants, for their ſervices in this complicated act of treachery, violence, and injuſtice. He then adverted to the conſequences of this revolution upon the miſerable natives, who were harraſſed and oppreſſed in the moſt cruel and outrageous manner, by the tyrant we had ſet up, in order to make them contribute to compenſate him for the revenues of the provinces he had ceded, and the money he had given to the company. He concluded this part of his ſpeech with reminding the court, that the acts of this nefarious tyrant were amongſt the examples and precedents by which Mr. Haſtings, in his defence, had choſen to juſtify his own conduct.

The hiſtory of a third revolution followed, in which Coſſim Ali Khân, who ſoon after made war upon the Engliſh, with circumſtances of the moſt ſhocking cruelty, was worſted, and Meer Jaffier reſtored to a nominal authority, but not without the uſual ceremony of further conceſſions to the company, and rewards to individuals.

From

From the ſale of kingdoms and princes, which began to grow too rank and notorious, they proceeded to the ſale of prime miniſters and official departments. There were at this time, at the court of the ſoubah, two perſons of great conſideration, the moſt eminent of their reſpective denominations, the one a Gentoo, called the great rajah Nundcomar, the other a Mahomedan, called Mahomet Reza Khân. The ſoubah, who had ſome jealous fears of the latter, on account of his high birth and authority, which, in caſe of any civil commotion, might poſſibly lead him to aſpire to the office of ſoubahdar, attached himſelf ſtrongly to Nundcomar, whoſe religion diſqualified him from becoming his rival, and he appointed him to be his naib or deputy. Of this competition the Engliſh council, in whom all the efficient power reſided, were reſolved to profit. The office was put up to auction; both parties bid largely, bribe was oppoſed to bribe, and at length they took the money of Mahomet Reza Khân, which amounted to about 220,000l. deeming him more likely to keep the nabob in a fitter condition for future exactions. The nabob ſoon after died, a victim to this laſt and the other inſults and oppreſſions he had ſuffered. His ſucceſſor, from the ſame policy, manifeſting the ſame attachment to Nundcomar, he was brought down to Calcutta, where, afterwards having the weakneſs to become the firſt informer againſt Mr. Haſtings, he was made the firſt example, was charged with having been guilty of forgery, and was hanged.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions were carrying on in India, the directors, foreſeeing that unleſs a ſtop was ſpeedily put to the mal-practices of their ſervants, they might end in the utter deſtruction of the company, ſent out lord Clive with full authority to redreſs and to reform. To ſtrike at the root of the evil, their ſervants were obliged to enter into new covenants not to receive any preſents; and lord Clive, with admirable wiſdom, put a bound to their aſpiring ſpirit, limited the conqueſts of the company, gave peace to its enemies, provided generouſly for its allies, made an honourable ſettlement with the mogul, and finally left the company in poſſeſſion of the dewannee or high-ſtewardſhip of Bengal, by which they obtained the intire diſpoſition of the revenue: the forms of royalty, and the adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, were left to the ſoubah, with a revenue of 500,000l. and the collection of the revenue remained in the hands of the deputy ſoubah, Mahomet Reza Khân. Two commiſſions were afterwards appointed by the company for the purpoſe of carrying theſe regulations into further effect, neither of which reached India; and in 1773, a council was nominated by parliament, at the head of which Mr. Haſtings was placed, as governor-general.

When this government was ſettled, Morſhedabad ſtill continued the ſeat of the native government, and of all the collections. The company had a reſident at the durbar or court of the nabob, as a controul over the native collector, and this was the firſt ſtep to our aſſuming the government in that country, which by degrees came afterwards to be eſtabliſhed, and ſuperſeded that of the natives.—The next ſtep that was made, was the appointment of ſupervifors in every province, to overſee the native collectors.—The third was to eſtabliſh a general council of revenue at Morſhedabad, to ſuperintend

intend the great ſteward Mahomet Reza Khân; and in 1772 that council was ſuppreſſed by Mr. Haſtings, and the whole controul brought to Calcutta; Mahomet Reza Khân was turned out of all his offices, for reaſons, and upon principles, which in the courſe of the trial would appear; and at laſt the dewannee was entirely taken out of the natives hands in the firſt inſtance, and ſettled in the ſix provincial councils. There it remained until the year 1781, when Mr. Haſtings made another revolution, took it out of their hands, and put it in a ſubordinate council, the authority of which entirely veſted in himſelf.

Having ſtated theſe revolutions, and the abuſes that grew out of them, and ſhewn in what manner the native government had almoſt totally vaniſhed in Bengal, or was at leaſt reduced to ſuch a ſituation, as to be fit for nothing but to become a private perquiſite to peculators, Mr. Burke proceeded to the Engliſh government, in which Mr. Haſtings, firſt as preſident appointed by the company, and afterwards as governor-general nominated by parliament, had the principal ſhare.—It was for crimes committed in theſe two ſtations that he now ſtood accuſed. Before he entered upon the conſideration of the crimes themſelves, he thought it neceſſary to make a few obſervations upon the teſt by which his conduct ought to be tried, and upon the principles on which Mr. Haſtings had founded his defence.

The rule, he ſaid, by which their lordſhips would try him, was this, What ſhould a Britiſh governor, acting upon Britiſh principles, in ſuch a ſituation, do or forbear? If he has done, and if he has forborne, in the manner in which a Britiſh governor ought to do and to forbear, he has done his duty and is honourably acquitted.—But Mr. Haſtings had recourſe to other principles and other maxims. He aſſerts, in ſeveral of his letters to the Eaſt India company, and in a paper called his Defence, that actions in Aſia do not bear the ſame moral qualities, as the ſame actions would do in Europe. After treating with ſome humour, and laſtly ſolemnly proteſting againſt this geographical morality, Mr. Burke entered into a large and ſerious diſcuſſion of the other ground on which Mr. Haſtings reſted his defence, namely, that the Aſiatic governments were all deſpotic—that he did not make the people ſlaves, but found them ſuch—that the ſovereignty he was called to exerciſe was an arbitrary ſovereignty, and that he had exerciſed it, and that no other power could be exerciſed in the country;—"that the whole hiſ-
"tory of Aſia was nothing more
"than precedents to prove the in-
"variable exerciſe of arbitrary
"power;—that ſovereignty implied
"nothing elſe, from Cabool to Aſ-
"ſam;—and that Verdi Ali Khân,
"and Coſſim Ali Khân, fined all
"their zemindars, on every pretence
"either of court neceſſity or court
"extravagance,"

In oppoſition to this defence, Mr. Burke undertook, firſt, to ſhew that the claim of abſolute power was utterly inconſiſtent with all legal government; that the legiſlature had it not to beſtow; that the company could not receive, and had it not to give; that it could be acquired neither by conqueſt, ſucceſſion, nor compact; and that they who give, and they who receive, it are equally criminal. That this idea of arbi-

trary power had ariſen from confounding it with the prerogative neceſſarily inherent to the ſupreme power of being unaccountable, i. e. not ſubject in any ordinary way to penal proſecution for its actions. That the intermediate arbitrary power claimed by Mr. Haſtings, by which the people below were to be ſubject to him, and he irreſponſible to the power above, was an inſolent extravagance that could not be liſtened to with patience.

In the ſecond place, Mr. Burke denied that the governments of Aſia were in fact of the kind deſcribed by Mr. Haſtings, "in which the "power of the ſovereign was every "thing, and the rights of the ſubject "nothing." Every Mahomedan government muſt be a government by law, by the laws of the Koran, which, ſo far from countenancing arbitrary power, are in many parts expreſsly directed againſt all oppreſſors. The interpreters and conſervators of this law are made independent of, and ſecure from the reſentments of the executive power. In the Turkiſh government, the grand ſignor is ſo far from poſſeſſing arbitrary power, that he cannot impoſe a tax, he cannot touch the life, property, or liberty of his ſubjects, he cannot declare war or peace, without what is called a *feſta*, or ſentence of the law. With reſpect to the Indian Mahomedan governments, Mr. Haſtings had aſſerted, that the inſtitutes of Genghis Khân and of Tamerlane are formed on arbitrary principles. This aſſertion, ſo far as a judgment could be formed from the ten precepts of Genghis Khân, was totally unfounded; and as to the latter, Mr. Burke read ſeveral paſſages from the tranſlation of his Inſtitutes, which were of a ſpirit the very reverſe. In addition to theſe, Mr. Burke gave a ſhort account of the civil juriſprudence of the Mahomedans, and cited two caſes, in one of which, a governor, who had levied an arbitrary toll upon a market, was put to death with torture; and in the other, a miniſter was publicly diſgraced, and ſtripped of all his offices, for the receipt of preſents. Nor could Mr. Haſtings, he ſaid, find ſhelter in the Gentoo laws. He had himſelf been the means of furniſhing us with conſiderable extracts from their written body of law, which appeared to proſcribe every idea of arbitrary will in magiſtrates.

Mr. Haſtings's next attempt was to juſtify himſelf by the examples and practice of others. But who were they? Tyrants and uſurpers. He makes the corrupt practices of mankind the principles of his government; he collects together the vicious examples of all the robbers and plunderers of Aſia, forms the maſs of their abuſes into a code, and calls it the duty of a Britiſh governor.—Mr. Burke then made a few obſervations upon the plea of his having left England early in life, uninſtructed in juridical knowledge, and of his having acted in a ſituation where he could not have that aſſiſtance which miniſters in other ſituations uſually derived from the knowledge and information of others. This, Mr. Burke ſaid, might have been ſome excuſe for miſconduct of another kind, for a lax timid exerciſe of duty; but that a bold, preſuming, ferocious, active ignorance, like his, was in itſelf a crime. Beſides, added Mr. Burke, there is not a boy, who has learned the firſt elements of Chriſtianity in his catechiſm, who, if theſe articles of charge were to be read to him, would

would not know that ſuch conduct was not to be juſtified.

Laſtly, Mr. Haſtings had urged, that after the commiſſion of many of the facts with which he was charged, parliament had re-appointed him to the ſame truſt, and thereby virtually acquitted him. If indeed, ſaid Mr. Burke, they had re-appointed him after they had knowledge and proof of his miſconduct, the public would have reaſon to reprobate their conduct, and there would be an indecorum in their proſecution. But they were guiltleſs of that charge; they were at the time almoſt univerſally ignorant of his crimes. Not that the plea would avail him, if it were as he alledged; ſince the greateſt part of the enormities charged were committed ſince his laſt appointment. The thanks which he had alſo pleaded, of the Eaſt India company, were, Mr. Burke ſaid, ſtill of leſs avail, ſince, though they had given him their thanks for his ſervices in the groſs, there was ſcarce one act, in that whole body of charges, for which they had not diſtinctly cenſured him. Mr. Burke here concluded his ſecond day's ſpeech, which laſted upwards of four hours.

Feb. 17th. On the third day, Mr. Burke began his ſpeech by remarking, that though the nature of the cauſe which he had to open, might require that he ſhould proceed to claſs the ſeveral crimes with which the defendant was charged, to ſhew their ſeveral bearings, and how they mutually aided and grew out of each other; yet that a practical regard to time, to which it was neceſſary they ſhould ſubmit, would induce him to abridge that plan, and bring it within a narrower compaſs. The firſt thing, therefore, that he propoſed to ſhew, was, that all the crimes charged upon Mr. Haſtings, had their origin in what was the root of all evil, avarice and rapacity. This baſe and corrupt motive pervaded ſo intirely the whole of his conduct, that there was not one article of the impeachment, in which tyranny, malice, cruelty, and oppreſſion were charged, which did not at the ſame time carry evident marks of pecuniary corruption. He had not only governed arbitrarily, but corruptly; was a giver and receiver of bribes, not accidentally, but upon a regular ſyſtem formed for the purpoſe of giving and receiving them. The principles upon which he acted, and upon which he had preſumed to vindicate his conduct, (principles of arbitrary power) he knew and foreſaw led to corrupt and abuſive conſequences; and theſe he appears to have thought himſelf bound to realize. The merits he had pleaded were not that he had corrected the abuſes, or prevented the evils of an arbitrary government, but that he had ſqueezed more money out of the inhabitants of the country, than any other perſon could by any other means have done.

After ſome general obſervations upon the diſgrace and infamy which ſuch a ſyſtem tended to bring upon the nation, he proceeded to ſtate the ſenſe that had been expreſſed, and the precautions that had been taken againſt it, both by the company and the legiſlature. He proved at large, that Mr. Haſtings was bound by every obligation that can bind mankind; by the duties of his official ſituation, by the moſt ſtrong and expreſs particular covenants, and by the poſitive injunctions of the legiſlature, not to take preſents, either

ther for himſelf or for the company, directly or indirectly: and that, as he was perſonally bound, ſo it was alſo his duty to keep a watchful eye over all the other ſervants of the company, and in general over all perſons that acted under their authority or ſanction: that he became doubly reſponſible, when he took upon himſelf to remove perſons from their ſituations, and place others of his own recommendation in their ſtead; and ſtill more highly, when thoſe perſons ſo ſubſtituted were of notorious evil character.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to exemplify theſe general heads of accuſation. He firſt took notice of the general confiſcation of the eſtates of all the ancient nobility and freeholders of Bengal, which took place in the year 1772, by which they were obliged to recognize themſelves as mere farmers under government, and bid for their eſtates at a pretended public, but what in reality, he ſaid, was a private corrupt auction, againſt all adventurers that came. The pretence for this dreadful act of tyranny was, the augmentation of the revenues of the company, which aroſe from a ſort of quit-rent out of theſe eſtates, the real value of which it was therefore thought proper, by this mode of auction, to aſcertain. The firſt conſequence was, that theſe farms fell, for the moſt part, into the hands of the banyans of the company's ſervants, and their delegates; the banyan of Mr. Haſtings himſelf, Cantoo Baboo, obtaining, contrary to an expreſs regulation, farms which paid a revenue of £. 130,000 a year to government. The ſecond conſequence was, that at the end of five years, there was a defalcation of this exacted revenue, amounting to £. 2,050,000. This opened a new ſource of corruption, in the remiſſion and compoſitions that were neceſſary to be made of that immenſe debt. The next ſcene of peculation, which followed cloſe upon the former, was the ſale of the whole Mahometan government of Bengal; the offices of juſtice, the ſucceſſions of families, guardianſhips, and other ſacred truſts, to a woman, called the Munny Begum.

Having gone through theſe ſeveral inſtances, which were in themſelves ſtrong preſumptive proofs of corruption, he ſtated that Mr. Haſtings had been poſitively charged, on the oaths of ſeveral natives, with having taken money corruptly, and contended that his conduct under thoſe charges amounted to the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence of his guilt. He entered into a minute account of the means uſed by Mr. Haſtings to defeat the enquiry which the directors had ordered to be inſtituted into the miſconduct of their ſervants; and this led him to the ſtory of Nundcomar, and the effects which his fate produced, in putting a ſtop to all further diſcoveries of Mr. Haſtings's peculations. The other charges Mr. Haſtings ſuffered to remain on the records of the company, without ever denying them, or taking a ſingle ſtep to detect them. Soon afterwards very ſerious enquiries having begun, in the houſe of commons, into the peculations of the company's ſervants, he changed his mode of proceeding, and attempted to conceal his bribes, firſt by depoſiting large ſums of money in the public treaſury under his own name, and then, upon the diſcovery of any particular bribe, alledging that he had received it for the company's

pany's uſe. Upon this conduct Mr. Burke obſerved, firſt, that ſuppoſing the allegation true, the thing was abſolutely illegal; that it tended to the utter diſgrace of government, by eſtabliſhing the corruption of the firſt magiſtrate as a principle of reſource for the neceſſities of the company, and to the ruin of the country, by licenſing governors to extort from the people, by bribery and peculation, whatever ſums they pleaſed above the taxes and public impoſts levied upon them. But ſecondly, he obſerved, that through the folly and imprudence which uſually attends guilt, he had given ſuch falſe and contradictory accounts of thoſe money tranſactions, as amounted to the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proof that they were in themſelves fraudulent and corrupt. Having expoſed ſeveral of theſe falſehoods and contradictions, he proceeded to the third great act of Mr. Haſtings's corrupt government, the abolition of the provincial councils, and the meaſures taken in conſequence thereof.

Theſe councils, ſix in number, were inveſted with the ordinary adminiſtration of civil juſtice in the country, and with the whole of the collection of the revenues, accountable to the ſupreme council; and, during a period of nine years, had approved their utility. But no ſooner did Mr. Haſtings obtain, by the death of General Clavering and Colonel Monſon, and the abſence of Mr. Francis, the entire authority of the ſupreme council, which then conſiſted but of himſelf and Mr. Wheler, than, without charge or complaint, he aboliſhed, at one ſtroke, the whole of that eſtabliſhment, and veſted all their powers in a new council of four perſons, choſen by himſelf, and rendered, as to any effectual purpoſe at leaſt, independent of the ſupreme council.

The new council had given them by Mr. Haſtings, for their dewan or ſecretary, a man, at the ſound of whoſe name, ſaid Mr. Burke, all India turns pale, Gunga Govind Sing; a man, of whom there was not a friend, there was not a foe of Mr. Haſtings, that did not agree in pronouncing to be the moſt wicked, the boldeſt, and moſt dextrous villain that ever lived. The nature and importance of this office of ſecretary, Mr. Burke ſtated from the report of the council themſelves, by which it appeared that the whole power (a power, as they ſtate it, of the moſt alarming and terrible nature) would in effect center in him, and that they would be little more than mere tools in the hands of their dewan. In ſhort, he ſhewed that the whole public adminiſtration of the country had been overturned, the company burdened with penſions for the perſons diſmiſſed, and with £. 62,000 per annum for the new appointed council, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing Mr. Haſtings's friend, Gunga Govind Sing, ſuch as he was, and ſuch as Mr. Haſtings knew him to be, in the abſolute and uncontrolled poſſeſſion of the government of the country.

Mr. Burke then ſhewed, that in this ſituation Gunga Govind Sing maintained a cloſe and ſecret correſpondence with Mr. Haſtings, and was in fact his bribe agent. This he proved from an official account of Mr. Larkin's, the company's treaſurer at Calcutta; by which it appeared that a cabooleat, or agreement to pay four lacks of rupees, £. 40,000, had been received from Dinagepore, through the hands of

Gunga

Gunga Govind Sing, £. 30,000 of which had been paid; and it appeared that Mr. Haſtings had expreſſed his reſentment againſt Govind Sing for keeping back the remaining £. 10,000. As this was not an ordinary article of revenue, but acknowledged to be a preſent, without any account of the perſon from whom, or the cauſe for which, it was given, the only way of coming to any concluſion on the ſubject, was to ſee what was the ſtate of tranſactions at Dinagepore at that period; an enquiry which would detelope the dreadful conſequences of that ſyſtem of bribery and corruption which had been eſtabliſhed by Mr. Haſtings.

The country of Dinagepore, with its dependent territories, Mr. Burke ſtated to be nearly equal to all the northern counties of England, Yorkſhire included. A ſhort time before the period at which the preſent appears to have been made, the ſucceſſion to the government had been in litigation between the adopted ſon of the late rajah, an infant, and the rajah's half brother. The cauſe had been decided, by the governor general in council, in favour of the adopted ſon. If the preſent was ſuppoſed to have been given in conſideration of that judgment, whether it was right or wrong, it was corruptly taken by Mr. Haſtings, as a judge in a litigation of inheritance between two parties. And what, on ſuch a ſuppoſition, rendered the caſe more flagrant, was that the preſent came through the hands of Gunga Govind Sing, whoſe ſon was regiſtrar general of the province, and had in his cuſtody the documents upon which the legal merits of the cauſe might depend. The perſons in employment under the rajah at the ſame time were turned out of their offices, and the guardianſhip of the infant given to the brother of the wife of the late rajah. Soon after, without any proof, that appears, of miſmanagement or neglect, the guardian was diſplaced by Gunga Govind Sing, and the rajah put into the hands of a perfect ſtranger, called Debi Sing. From the ſequel of the hiſtory, Mr. Burke appeared to think it moſt probable, that the preſent was made by Debi Sing in conſideration of this appointment. Not long after this, through the recommendation of the ſame Gunga Govind Sing, the revenues of all the rajah's provinces were given in farm to him.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to ſtate, that this perſon, in the univerſal opinion of all Bengal, was ſecond only to Govind Sing, and that Mr. Haſtings was perfectly well acquainted with his character, and has ſince recorded, that he knew Debi Sing to be a man completely capable of the moſt atrocious iniquities that were ever charged upon one man. He then gave his hiſtory at large, of which the following were the principal traits:—He was a banyan, and early in life had been in the ſervice of Mahomet Reza Khân, through whoſe intereſt he obtained the collection of the province of Purneah. The revenues of this province, under his management, fell in one year from 160,000l. to 90,000l.; and it was finally left ſo completely ruined and deſolated, that a company of Indian merchants, who had taken it at a reduced rent, when they came to view it, fled in a fright out of the country, and gave 10,000l. to be releaſed from their bargain. This was the firſt opportunity he had of ſhewing how deſerving he was of greater

greater truſts. He was however diſcharged from his management by Mr. Haſtings, with a ſtigma upon him for his miſconduct. Thus ſtigmatized, he had ſtill the influence to procure the office of Dewan to the council of Moorſhedabad, the principal of the ſix provincial councils. Here he became the keeper of a legal brothel, and, by miniſtering to the pleaſures and debaucheries of the young gentlemen who compoſed that council, and abuſing their confidence in hours of diſſipation, he obtained the ſuperintendance of a great number of diſtricts, all of which, as he had done before, he grievouſly oppreſſed and deſolated, incurred large arrears of payments, and in one of thoſe places, for his peculations he was publicly whipped by proxy. Having thus proved himſelf a kind protector of the people, a prudent farmer of revenue, and a ſober guardian of the morals of youth, he was thought qualified to be appointed tutor to the young rajah, and to have the whole adminiſtration of his territories, and the collection of his revenues, committed into his hands.

The conſequences were ſuch as might inevitably be expected. Mr. Burke here opened ſuch a ſcene of horror, of outrageous violence upon the property, and of unheard cruelties and nefarious barbarity upon the perſons of the wretched inhabitants of thoſe provinces, without regard to ſex or condition, as overcame the ſenſibility of ſeveral of his audience. The facts were taken from the report of Mr. Patterſon, who, when the provinces, in conſequence of theſe cruelties and oppreſſions, burſt out into a ſort of wild uproar and rebellion, which cauſed ſome alarm at Calcutta, was ſent up to make an enquiry into the ſtate of tranſactions there.—Mr. Burke was proceeding to ſtate the conduct of the governor general, in conſequence of this report, when he was taken ill, and obliged to put off the concluſion of his ſpech to the next day.

He then began, by recapitulating the objects Feb. 19th. he had in view in the ſeveral matters that he ſubmitted to the court the day before; viz. that Mr. Haſtings, by deſtroying the provincial councils, which formed the whole ſubordinate adminiſtration of the Britiſh government in Bengal; by delegating their powers nominally to a committee of four perſons choſen by himſelf, but in fact to a ſecret agent of his own, their dewan or ſecretary; by making this board, which had the whole management of the revenues, independent of, and unaccountable to, the ſupreme council, and by concurring in the appointment of perſons of infamous characters to offices of the higheſt truſt, had made himſelf reſponſible for all the miſchiefs that flowed from thoſe acts: that the acts themſelves had, from the circumſtances attending them, the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proofs that they were in the firſt intention corrupt, and that this preſumption was ſtrongly confirmed by the ſubſequent conduct of Mr. Haſtings, particularly in the caſe of Mr. Patterſon, which he proceeded to relate:

The report, with an immenſe body of evidence, being tranſmitted to the committee, inſtead of giving that credit to Mr. Patterſon, which perſons acting in a public truſt, and under the expreſs orders of government, are entitled to, they received it with great coldneſs and viſible diſguſt; inſtead of proceeding to act upon the report, by calling the delinquent to an account, Mr. Patterſon was

was converted into a voluntary accuſer of Debi Sing, and directed to make good the charges, which he had brought, by evidence upon oath; and finally he was himſelf accuſed by Debi Sing (whoſe boldneſs increaſed with the protection he obtained) of falſhood and forgery, and was put as a criminal upon his defence. Under ſuch circumſtances, Mr. Patterſon was ſent back to that country, in which he had before been received as carrying the whole power of a beneficent government, to ſee whether, among a ruined, dejected, undone people, he could find conſtancy enough to ſtand to their former accuſations againſt the known power of their former oppreſſor. In the mean time Debi Sing was ſent in cuſtody to Calcutta, not upon the charges contained in the report, but for other offences. Here he remained ſome time a priſoner at large, and at laſt, a new commiſſion being appointed to proceed to Rumpore, and enquire into the charges againſt Mr. Patterſon, he was ſent for by the commiſſioners, and actually ſat with them, whilſt Mr. Patterſon was excluded from all their deliberations. Four years had thus paſſed, during which Mr. Patterſon remained in a ſtate of affliction and continual conflict. Debi Sing remained a priſoner at large, with every mark of protection and authority, and the people of Rumpore, which, ſaid Mr. Burke, is a conſideration of much greater importance than Debi Sing, or even than Mr. Patterſon himſelf, remained totally unredreſſed, remain ſo to this day, and will remain ſo for ever, if your lordſhips do not redreſs them.

After ſome further obſervations upon the reſponſibility of Mr. Haſtings, as ariſing from the abolition of the provincial councils, and the conſtitution of the new committee of revenue, by which he deſtroyed every check and controul, and delivered the whole into the hands of his bribe agent, Gunga Govind Sing, he adverted to the defence ſet up by Mr. Haſtings, that theſe preſents were never received for his private emolument, but for the uſe of the company, and that it was the beſt method of ſupplying the neceſſities of the company in the preſſing exigencies of their affairs. With reſpect to this ſyſtem of preſents, by which bribery was to be made a ſupplement to exaction, Mr. Burke firſt obſerved, that however promiſing it might appear in theory, it had not anſwered in practice; and that he ſhould prove, that wherever a bribe had been received, the revenue had always in ſome proportion, and often in a double proportion, fallen into arrears; and ſecondly, he called the attention of the court to all thoſe dreadful conſequences which attended this clandeſtine mode of ſupplying the company's neceſſities, as it was practiſed by Mr. Haſtings.

Mr. Burke concluded this part of his ſpeech with deſcribing the laſt parting ſcene between Mr. Haſtings and Gunga Govind Sing; a ſcene in which he appeared as an accomplice in the moſt cruel, perfidious, and iniquitous tranſaction, that, he ſaid, was ever held forth to the indignation of mankind. When Mr. Haſtings had quitted his office, and was now embarked upon the Ganges to ſail for Europe, he writes a letter to the council, in which he ſays, "the concern I cannot but feel, in "relinquiſhing the ſervice of my "honourable employers would be "much embittered, were it accom-"panied by the reflection, that I "have neglected the merits of a man "who

" who deſerves no leſs of them than " of myſelf, Gunga Govind Sing."

Upon this ſingular recommendation, Mr. Burke firſt obſerved, that with reſpect to the circumſtances of the perſon whoſe merits Mr. Haſtings was ſo fearful of leaving unrewarded, he was notoriouſly known to have amaſſed upwards of three millions ſterling. With regard to his public ſervices, Mr. Haſtings ſtates, that he had ſerved the committee of revenue as dewan from its firſt inſtitution to that time, with a very ſhort intermiſſion. Of this office, and of his ſervices therein, Mr. Burke ſaid he had already given ſome account: with reſpect to the intermiſſion, Mr. Haſtings had omitted a material circumſtance, namely, that it was occaſioned by his having been turned out of his office for a ſhort time, upon proof of peculation and embezzlement of the public money. Other public ſervices, Mr. Haſtings had not mentioned any, and the records of the company were equally ſilent. What his ſecret ſervices were, was a ſubject which, however it might leave room for conjectures, was involved in the ſame ſilence and obſcurity.

From ſervices, Mr. Burke proceeded to conſider the reward propoſed; and this was, that a grant of certain domains, the property of the young rajah of Dinagepore, from which country Mr. Haſtings had received the preſent of 40,000 l. ſhould be confirmed to the ſon of Gunga Govind Sing, through whom that preſent had been conveyed. The circumſtances of this caſe were briefly as follow. The ſon of Govind Sing had been appointed regiſtrar of the provinces of Dinagepore, &c. by virtue of which office he had the guardianſhip of all the temporalties of the rajah, and the execution of the laws belonging thereto. In this ſituation, he had obtained a fraudulent grant of a part of the rajah's zemindary to an immenſe amount, contrary to law, which makes the acts of all minors void, the rajah being at this time but nine years old, and contrary to the cuſtom of the country, by which no zemindar can alienate any part of his territory without the conſent of the government under which he holds. To cover this proceeding, the conſent of one of the neareſt relations of the rajah was procured. Such was the grant which Mr. Haſtings, at his parting, recommended to the ſupreme council for confirmation. He was no ſooner gone, than the other relations of the rajah took courage, and applied to the council to ſtop the grant. They proceed to enquire. The perſon who had conſented for the rajah was brought down to Calcutta, and declared, that he had been induced ſo to do by the threats of Gunga Govind Sing. Being thus preſſed, Gunga Govind gave up the points of cuſtom and law, and appealed to the arbitrary authority of the council. In an addreſs preſented to them, he ſtates, that their power in all ſuch caſes was unlimited; that they might act in it as they pleaſed; that they had frequently ſeparated zemindaries from their lawful proprietors, and given them to others, *without right, title, or purchaſe*; he cites the example of a zemindary given in this way, by Mr. Haſtings, to the ſon of Cantoo Baboo, his banyan, and prays that he may have the ſame favour ſhewn to him that had been ſhewn to others.

After ſome obſervations upon this addreſs, in which he ſhewed, by other inſtances, that this practice had gone to a very great length indeed, Mr.

Burke gave a ſhort account of another tranſaction of Mr. Haſtings, exactly ſimilar in its principles, operation, and conſequences, to that of Dinagepore—the ſettlement of the kingdom of Bahar. Here was the ſame ſelection of the moſt notorious wicked men, the ſame preſent taken, the like ruin of the country, and defalcation of the revenue. The pretence was alſo the ſame, viz. the increaſe of the public revenue; but, ſaid Mr. Burke, I hope your lordſhips will conſider this monſtrous increaſe of rent, given by men of deſperate fortunes and characters, to be one of the grievances, inſtead of one of the advantages of this ſyſtem. For when the limits, which nature, juſtice, and reaſon preſcribe to all revenue, are tranſgreſſed, the conſequence, will be, that the worſt man of the country will be choſen, as Mr. Haſtings has actually choſen the worſt, to effectuate this work, becauſe it is impoſſible for any good men, by any honeſt means, to provide at once for the exigencies of a ſevere public exaction, and a private rapacious bribe given to the chief magiſtrate. He muſt have profit both upon the revenue to be paid, and the bribe to be given. Oppreſſion, cruel exactions, rack and ruin on the tenant, muſt be the conſequence of that ſyſtem.—Therefore, ſays he, I charge Mr. Haſtings with having deſtroyed the whole ſyſtem of government, which he had no right to deſtroy, in the ſix provincial councils, for private purpoſes.—I charge him with having delegated away that power, which the act of parliament had directed him to preſerve unalienably in himſelf.—I charge him with having formed a committee to be inſtruments and tools, at the enormous expence of 62,000l. per annum.—I charge him with having appointed a perſon dewan, to whom theſe Engliſhmen were to be ſubſervient tools, whoſe name, by his own knowledge, by the general voice of India, by recorded official tranſactions, by every thing that can make a man known, abhorred, and deteſted, was ſtamped with infamy; with giving him this whole power, which he had thus ſeparated from the council general, and from the provincial councils.—I charge him with taking bribes of Gunga Govind Sing.—I charge him that he has not done that bribe duty which even fidelity in iniquity requires at the hands of the worſt of men.—I charge him with having robbed thoſe people of whom he took the bribes.—I charge him with having alienated the fortunes of widows.—I charge him with having, without right, title, or purchaſe, taken the lands of orphans, and given them to wicked perſons under him.—I charge him with having committed to Debi Sing, whoſe wickedneſs was known to himſelf and all the world, three great provinces, and thereby with having waſted the country, deſtroyed the landed intereſt, cruelly harraſſed the peaſants, burnt their houſes, deſtroyed their crops, tortured and diſhonoured their perſons, and deſtroyed the honour of the whole female race of that country.

Mr. Burke then concluded with a ſhort peroration, in which he deſcribed the nature of the cauſe, the crimes, the criminal, the proſecutor, and the court, in all its conſtituent parts, in a ſtrain of the grandeſt eloquence. He ended with words to this effect:—therefore it is with confidence ordered by the commons, that I impeach Warren Haſtings, eſq; of high crimes and miſdemeanors;

I impeach

I impeach him in the name of the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, whoſe parliamentary truſt he has betrayed.

I impeach him in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, whoſe national character he has diſhonoured.

I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whoſe laws, rights, and liberties he has ſubverted, whoſe properties he has deſtroyed, whoſe country he has laid waſte and deſolate.

I impeach him in the name of human nature itſelf, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppreſſed in both ſexes, in every age, rank, ſituation, and condition of life.

As ſoon as the agitation which Mr. Burke's ſpeech produced in the minds of his hearers had a little ſubſided, Mr. Fox roſe, and ſtated, that he was directed by the committee to ſubmit to their lordſhips, that it was their intention to proceed to a concluſion, on both ſides, upon each article ſeparately, before they opened another; that is, to open and adduce evidence to ſubſtantiate one charge at a time, to hear the priſoner's defence and evidence upon that charge, and afterwards to reply; and to proceed in the ſame manner in all the other articles.

The lord chancellor called upon Mr. Haſtings's counſel to know whether this mode would be agreeable to them; and upon their anſwering in the negative, his lordſhip addreſſed himſelf to the committee, and ſaid, that their lordſhips would be glad to know the reaſons which induced the managers to call upon the court to adopt that mode. Mr. Fox immediately ſtated, that in a cauſe of ſuch magnitude, variety, and complexity, the mode propoſed appeared abſolutely neceſſary, and was calculated to prevent confuſion and obſcurity, to aid their lordſhips memory, and to enable them to form a more clear and diſtinct view of the merits of the charge and defence, upon each article, than could poſſibly be done by any other mode of proceeding. He mentioned the caſes of the earls of Strafford and Middleſex, as precedents of the mode contended for by the managers.

The counſel for Mr. Haſtings being called upon for their objections, ſtated, that the mode propoſed was contrary to the practice of all courts of juſtice, and was inconſiſtent with all principles of equity, as it ſubjected the defendant to many obvious and moſt material diſadvantages. With reſpect to the precedents adduced, they contended, that in both caſes the proceedings were regulated by mutual conſent of the parties.

Mr. Fox replied, and endeavoured to prove that the mode propoſed did not ſubject the defendant to any unfair diſadvantages; and, in ſhort, that neither the proſecutors could obtain juſtice, nor the priſoner have a fair hearing, nor the court diſcharge its duty, unleſs the charges were ſeparated, and both parties heard upon each ſingly. The lords then withdrew to their houſe, and an order was made that they ſhould be ſummoned, to take the matter into their conſideration, on the Thurſday following. Upon that day the lord chancellor left the woolſack, and, after pronouncing a fine eulogium upon the ſpeech made by Mr. Burke in opening the impeachment, declared, that if the crimes charged upon the defendant could be brought home to him by proof, no puniſhment their lordſhips could inflict would be adequate to his guilt. Their lordſhip

all knew the effect which the deſcription of them had had upon his auditors, many of whom had not, to this moment, and perhaps never would, recover from the ſhock which they felt at the relation. But, in proportion as he was ready exemplarily to puniſh Mr. Haſtings, if he really was guilty, he thought it right to purſue the moſt equitable methods of aſcertaining his guilt, or of clearing his innocence. What the counſel of Mr. Haſtings claimed, was no indulgence, but a right. His imagination could not go to any other poſſible mode of defending Mr. Haſtings, than that which his counſel had propoſed, namely, that the managers ſhould complete the whole of their caſe, before Mr. Haſtings ſaid a word in his defence. If the articles were totally unconnected with one another, Mr. Haſtings could not, with any regard to his own caſe, ſay a word till the proſecution was cloſed; but the fact undoubtedly was, that the articles were ſo intimately blended, that he defied any man living to ſeparate them. They comprize the whole of Mr. Haſtings's government for a long ſeries of years, and the merits or demerits of particular parts might depend upon the various relations they bore to each other. The right honourable manager had very properly opened the charges upon this idea, and he could not ſee for what reaſon they now wiſhed to abandon it. The defendant muſt neceſſarily wait until the criminal matter, ſo opened, was put into ſuch ſhape, that he could fairly meet it, and reply to it. He concluded with declaring, that, as he was bound in conſcience to protect Mr. Haſtings if innocent, and to puniſh him ſeverely if guilty, he never could conſent to a mode of procedure, unfair to the defendant in the higheſt degree, and contrary to the fundamental principles of juſtice.

The chancellor was ſupported by the duke of Richmond, who argued chiefly upon the practice of the courts below, which he contended were founded upon principles of equity, and upon the preſumption adopted by our laws, of the innocence of the perſon accuſed before his conviction.

Lord Loughborough replied at great length to the chancellor. He denied that all the charges were ſo inſeparably connected as to render it unſafe for the defendant to anſwer them in the mode propoſed. He inſtanced that of Benares, which contained ſundry criminal allegations, totally unconnected with the other articles, and contended that there could not be the ſmalleſt objection to their conſidering that article ſeparately and diſtinctly from the others. Whether the ſame rule would apply to the other articles, might be a matter of future conſideration. He declared that it was impoſſible for their lordſhips to adopt the mode wiſhed for by Mr. Haſtings, without abſolutely diſabling themſelves from doing ſubſtantial juſtice. He contended, that the analogy between the preſent caſe, and that of indictments and informations, was not concluſive. He explained the grounds upon which the equity of the forms for regulating trials by jury reſted, and proved that they were not applicable to the proceedings of the courts of parliament, which he contended were not to be ſhackled down by the rules of the courts below, but had a right to

conſult

conſult their own convenience, ſo far as that was conſulted with the view to the clearer comprehenſion of the caſe, and did not violate the ſubſtantial rules of juſtice.

He then moved, to agree with the propoſition, as ſtated by the managers for the commons.

Lord Stormont, in reply to lord Loughborough, declared, that, after the fulleſt conſideration he had been able to give the caſe, he had not a doubt left on his mind as to the impropriety of the mode propoſed by the managers to that houſe. It was, in his opinion, overturning every precedent that houſe had before adopted, and depriving Mr. Haſtings of a privilege he had a right to demand; depriving him of a right, which the immutable and eternal laws of juſtice gave him, to make choice of that mode of defence beſt calculated to the nature of the charges alledged againſt him, and the peculiar ſituation in which he ſtands. No rank, no character in that houſe, however eminent, or however innocent, but might be an object, at ſome future period, of an impeachment; might be placed in the critical ſituation in which Mr. Haſtings then ſtood. He therefore warned them to be cautious in adopting a mode of proceeding, by which they not only bound themſelves, but poſterity. The deciſion of that night would be handed down as an invariable rule in future; and he therefore again warned their lordſhips to be cautious in that deciſion.

Lord Grantley followed lord Stormont, and ſupported the practice of the courts below, as applicable to the preſent caſe, againſt the objections of lord Loughborough. After which the chancellor again left the woolſack, and declared that he had not heard any ſolid argument, to induce him to aſſent to the extraordinary propoſition which had been made. It was the duty, he ſaid, of a judge to do juſtice, without any conſideration of conveniency, and to do juſtice according to the laws of England. With reſpect to the law and uſage of parliament, of which he had heard ſo much, the chancellor utterly diſclaimed all knowledge of ſuch law. It had no exiſtence. In times of barbariſm, indeed, when to impeach a man was ruin to him by the ſtrong hand of power, by tumult, or by faction, the law and uſage of parliament were quoted in order to juſtify the moſt iniquitous and atrocious acts. But in theſe enlightened days he hoped that no man would be tried but by the law of the land, which was admirably calculated to protect innocence and to puniſh guilt. But, if we talk of the law and uſage of parliament, and are bound by it, what injuſtice ſhall we not commit? If we go back into our hiſtory, we find that counſel was not allowed in an impeachment for miſdemeanors. There was not a ſingle impeachment, during the laſt century, in which there were not the ſtrongeſt marks of tyranny, injuſtice, and oppreſſion; and even the impeachment of Sacheverel, in the preſent century, contained an inſtance of injuſtice, which he truſted never would happen again; when the houſe of lords determined upon a point of law contrary to the unanimous opinion of the judges. In the preſent impeachment, he truſted their lordſhips would not depart from the known, eſtabliſhed laws of the land. The commons might impeach, their lordſhips were to try

the cauſe; and the ſame rules of evidence, the ſame attention to the laws, which obtained in the courts below, would, he was confident, be preſerved by their lordſhips.

The duke of Norfolk defended with great ability the propoſition of the managers; and particularly inſiſted upon the argument, that, as the commons poſſeſſed the right of bringing up each article as a ſeparate impeachment, or freſh articles ariſing out of the defence, if they thought proper, they had virtually the power of compelling the houſe to adopt the propoſition they had made, and that it was therefore more decent and manly to accede to it in the firſt inſtance.

The houſe then divided, and there appeared, contents 33; not contents 88.

A proteſt was entered againſt this determination, which the reader will find amongſt the State Papers.

Dec. 17th. On Friday the 17th, being the ſeventh day of the trial, as ſoon as the peers had taken their ſeats in the hall, the lord chancellor informed the managers, that they were to produce the whole of their charges, with the evidence in ſupport of each, before the priſoner ſhould be called upon for his defence. The managers hereupon retired for a ſhort time, and being returned, Mr. Fox addreſſed the court, and ſaid, that the managers, though they greatly regretted the deciſion which had juſt been communicated to them, were ſtill determined to proceed, having too much confidence in the juſtice of their cauſe to ſhrink from any difficulty. He was however directed by the committee to aſſert, what the inaccuracy of their lordſhips order might leave room for doubting, the undoubted right of the commons to bring up new articles of impeachment at any time; whilſt the priſoner was making his defence, or even when that defence was concluded; and that ſuch articles ſhould be allowed to form a part of the proſecution. He hoped that it was not intended in any manner to object to this privilege; and, after pauſing here a ſhort time for a reply, he proceeded to make ſome general obſervations, firſt, upon trials by impeachment, which he conſidered as a diſtinguiſhing feature of the Britiſh conſtitution, and upon the *law and uſage of parliament*, which he warmly contended, in oppoſition to opinions held elſewhere, was one of the moſt important and valuable branches of the law of the land; and ſecondly, upon the peculiar circumſtances of the impeachment they were then proceeding upon—an impeachment, which, he ſaid, did not originate, as had uſually happened, from the violence of power, from ſudden reſentment, nor from party intereſts, but had been the reſult of ſeveral years deliberation; was brought forward by perſons weak in point of influence and authority in the houſe, and had finally united the moſt adverſe parties, who forgot all former animoſities in adverting to juſtice; who had nobly laid aſide the conteſts for power, to attend to the cauſe of humanity, and had turned thoſe arms, which they had wielded ſo ably to mutual annoyance, againſt the common enemy of truth, juſtice, and honour.

After an exordium to this purpoſe, Mr. Fox, in a ſpeech which laſted five hours, opened the Benares charge, down to the expulſion of the rajah Cheit Sing; and the next day of ſitting, Mr. Grey reſumed the

the ſubject, and enforced the remaining part of the charge. Evidence on the part of the commons was then produced at the bar, under the directions of Mr. Anſtruther; and the four following days were taken up in reading papers and examining witneſſes. Several objections, made by the counſel for the defendant, to certain parts of the evidence, were over-ruled by the court; but on the eleventh day, a Mr. Benn having anſwered a particular queſtion in the negative, Mr. Anſtruther aſked him, Whether, when examined before the houſe of commons, he had not anſwered the ſame queſtion in the affirmative? This queſtion was objected to, and the lords immediately adjourned to their houſe, where a difference of opinion ariſing, their deciſion was not announced till the next day of ſitting. The lord chancellor then informed the managers, that their lordſhips had determined, that it was not competent to the committee to put the queſtion objected to. The managers immediately retired, and, upon their return, Mr. Fox addreſſed the court, and ſaid, that he was directed to acquaint them, that the managers in acquieſcing in the deciſion of the court (which they were induced to do, from a deſire of preventing delay, and becauſe the queſtion was of no material conſequence to the cauſe) had inſtructed him to expreſs their direct and poſitive diſſent from the principle upon which it was made. At the ſame time, they could not help expreſſing alſo their ſurprize, that their lordſhips, who in the outſet had manifeſted a diſpoſition to be governed and directed in their proceedings by the practice of the courts below, ſhould in this particular inſtance think it neceſſary to depart from the known, conſtant, and uniform practice of every court of law in the kingdom.—The evidence being at length concluded, Mr. Anſtruther concluded on the part of the commons, by ſumming up and obſerving upon the whole.

On the 15th of April, the fourteenth day of the trial, Mr. Adam opened the ſecond charge, relative to the princeſſes of Oude; and on the fifteenth, Mr. Pelham reſumed the ſame ſubject, in refutation of the defence delivered in by Mr. Haſtings. The ſixteen following days were taken up in reading and examining evidence; and on the thirty-ſecond day of the trial (Tueſday, June the third) Mr. Sheridan began to ſum up the evidence, and to apply it in proof of the charge. His ſpeech, which was delivered to an uncommonly crowded audience, was continued the two following days; and on Friday, the fifteenth of June, being the thirty-fifth day of ſitting, the court adjourned to the firſt Tueſday after the next meeting of parliament.

During the progreſs of the trial, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, "That an account of the "monies iſſued from the Exche-"quer, for the diſcharge of the ex-"pences incurred in the impeach-"ment of Mr. Haſtings, ſhould be "laid before the houſe." This motion was made by Mr. Burgeſs, member for Helſtone, and was but ſlightly objected to by the managers, who ſaid, that they conſidered it merely as an attempt made by the friends of Mr. Haſtings, to vex and impede the committee in the proſecution of the laborious and important duty impoſed upon them.

On the 9th of May, the account having previouſly been laid upon the

the table (which, excluſive of the building erected in Weſtminſter Hall, amounted to 4,300 l.) Mr. Burgeſs again roſe, and obſerved, that the account delivered in from the treaſury not affording the houſe the information he deſired, reſpecting the manner in which the ſums iſſued were expended, he ſhould now move that the ſolicitors to the impeachment ſhould lay before the houſe, a particular account of the expenditure of the ſums advanced. This motion was ſupported by the chancellor of the exchequer, whoſe conduct on this occaſion was reſented with ſome warmth by the managers, as tending to diſcountenance, by invidious inſinuations, a meaſure in which he had himſelf concurred. The motion paſſed without oppoſition, and the accounts were preſented the next day to the houſe by Mr. Burke. No further notice was taken of this buſineſs till the 20th of May; but, various reports having been induſtriouſly ſpread out of doors, that exorbitant fees were given to the counſel of the proſecution; that expenſive entertainments were provided for the managers at the public expence; and others of the like nature; Mr. Burgeſs was called upon by the managers to proceed in the enquiry he had inſtituted. He accordingly roſe and obſerved, that the account produced was ſtill too general for the purpoſe of affording the information he expected; and he ſhould therefore move, "That the ſolicitors ſhould "give in an account, ſtating ſpecifically to whom, and on what account, the ſeveral ſums expended "had been paid." He was ſeconded by ſir William Dolben. The managers declared, that, as far as regarded themſelves, they had not the ſmalleſt objection to every minute item of the charges incurred by the proſecution being made as public as poſſible, but there were grounds of argument extremely forcible, and extremely obvious, that would prove the preſent motion to be in the higheſt degree improper and unwiſe. The houſe had ſolemnly determined, that Mr. Haſtings ſhould be impeached, they had appointed a committee of managers, and armed them with a variety of powers, above all, directing them to act as a ſecret committee; and now, in the progreſs of that very proceeding, was the houſe about to demand a public diſcloſure of all the private grounds of their conduct. Such a meaſure was unprecedented, and in no great public proſecution had ever been attempted or dreamt of. With regard to the charges already incurred, they aſſerted, that they were remarkably moderate; that the fees paid to their counſel were ſhamefully inadequate to the ſervices performed; and that, ſo far from any unneceſſary expence having been gone into, they were perſuaded much uſe might have reſulted from ſtill greater expences, had the committee thought the circumſtances, that characteriſed the proſecution, ſuch as would have rendered it prudent in them to have incurred greater expences. They adverted to the particular temper and ſentiments of the houſe in regard to the proſecution, and remarked, that it behoved them to act with extreme caution, and to take care ſo to conduct themſelves, as not to give juſt cauſe of offence, or of ſolid objection, to any of the parties which it was well known ſubſiſted in the houſe. This had been their rule, and had it not rigidly been adhered to, much larger

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expences might have been incurred, and incurred uſefully to the proſecution. Secret ſervices, for inſtance, might have made a large head of expence; and, if gentlemen gave themſelves time for reflection, they would ſee, that in a proſecution of the nature of that in queſtion, there might be much occaſion for ſecret ſervices. After all, it was obſerved, the managers had in reality little to do with the object of the motion. For the ſervices ordered, they were, undoubtedly, reſponſible; but not for the application of the money iſſued in conſequence. To ſuperintend that, belonged to the lords of the treaſury, who alone were reſponſible for it. And they believed it would be impoſſible to find a precedent, where a committee of managers of a public proſecution, carried on by the orders of that houſe, were expected to execute the office of clerks, and examine and check their ſolicitors bills.

Mr. Sheridan humorouſly remarked, that if the houſe choſe, they might reſolve that no counſel ſhould, in future, be allowed the managers; if ſo, it would be neceſſary for them to move, that the attorney and ſolicitor general, together with the maſter of the rolls, be added to the committee of managers. Or, if the houſe thought proper, they might reſolve, that the managers ſhould pay the expences of counſel themſelves. In that caſe, he hoped the houſe would have the goodneſs to add Sir Sampſon Gideon to the committee.

Mr. Pitt again ſupported the motion, and declared, he thought it right that the houſe ſhould have the account moved for, becauſe, if they ſhould be of opinion that any of the ſervices ordered already were unneceſſary, they would have it in their power to direct that no more ſuch ſervices ſhould take place in future, and that power, the houſe would ſee, reſted with themſelves only, and could not be exerciſed by the board of treaſury. With reſpect to the charges already incurred, he was far from meaning to ſuggeſt that any unneceſſary ſervices had been ordered, or that any expence could be too great, that was really likely to conduce to the object in queſtion. The houſe then divided, ayes 60, noes 19; the managers having withdrawn without dividing.

The papers being accordingly laid upon the table, Mr. Burgeſs was again called upon, on the 30th of May, to ſtate his objections to the houſe, if any ſtill remained upon his mind. He anſwered, that, in his opinion, he had ſufficiently done his duty in calling for the papers. They were now before the houſe, and an opportunity was open to every gentleman to form his ſentiments upon the ſubject. What his doubts were, he imagined, muſt ſuggeſt themſelves to every gentleman who read the accounts, and therefore he left to perſons, who had more weight and authority in that houſe than he had, to take the matter up; but if no other perſon ſhould, and the houſe ſhould call upon him to bring the ſubject forward, he was ready to obey their commands.

Upon this it was obſerved, that the way, in which the matter had been treated, was a little extraordinary. The honourable gentleman had expreſſed doubts upon one of the heads of the general account, but had alledged he could not ſay whether thoſe doubts were well founded

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or not, before he ſaw a more particular ſtatement of the items of the accounts; that particular ſtatement had now been preſented ſome days, and the honourable gentleman had now declared, he ſtill entertained his doubts, but that he left it to other gentlemen to move the diſcuſſion. The honourable gentleman ſhould either act upon his doubts, or get ſome other gentleman to take his doubts up for him, and act upon them. From what had already paſſed in that houſe upon the ſubject, the matter ought not to drop without a farther inveſtigation.

Mr. Burgeſs then gave notice, that he ſhould make a motion on the ſubject the Friday following.

Upon that day he ſtated to the houſe the following doubts, which he entertained upon the ſubject; a doubt whether the houſe had authorized the managers to employ counſel; a doubt whether there was any precedent for their employing counſel; and, in caſe the houſe had not authorized them to employ counſel, and that there was no precedent for it, a doubt whether there was any peculiar circumſtance of difficulty, in the nature of the preſent proſecution, that made the aſſiſtance of counſel neceſſary? After which he adverted to ſome inaccuracies in the account itſelf, and concluded with moving, that the ſolicitors ſhould from time to time preſent an account of the expences incurred at the bar of the houſe.

The managers obſerved, in reply, that though no precedent ſhould be found for employing counſel in an impeachment, on the part of the commons, yet that the preſent was a ſingular caſe, in which the managers were left without the advice and aſſiſtance of the great crown officers of the law; and that, though they had the utmoſt confidence in the legal knowledge of ſeveral of their own committee, yet they did not chuſe, in a cauſe of ſuch magnitude and importance, for the proper management of which they were reſponſible, to proceed without the ſanction of perſons learned in the profeſſion. And, Mr. Pitt having expreſſed a doubt reſpecting the neceſſity of employing two civilians, it was anſwered, that the nature of the cauſe rendered their aſſiſtance peculiarly neceſſary; and that one of the gentlemen employed was moſt eminently uſeful, not becauſe he excelled the other in ability, aſſiduity, or profeſſional ſkill, but for his deep and perfect knowledge of the ſubject. With reſpect to any ſuppoſed errors in the accounts, it was propoſed that the ſolicitors ſhould be called to the bar and examined reſpecting them; but, after a ſhort converſation, the previous queſtion was moved, and carried without a diviſion.

The proceedings of the houſe of commons upon the impeachment of ſir Elijah Impey, commenced early in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. On the 12th of December, ſir Gilbert Elliot preſented to the houſe ſix articles, containing charges of various high crimes and miſdemeanors, upon which he had before ſignified his intention of moving for the impeachment of ſir Elijah Impey. Upon this occaſion, ſir Gilbert Elliot addreſſed the houſe in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, which in the ſtyle of perſuaſive eloquence was perhaps never exceeded in either houſe of parliament. He began by exculpating himſelf from the imputations which uſually attach to the office of an accuſer, that he

he was actuated by a natural malevolence of temper, by perſonal reſentments or intereſts, by the ſpirit and paſſions of party. With reſpect to the laſt, he ſtated, that ſir Elijah Impey had been declared a public culprit by the voice of parliament itſelf, before the parties, into which that houſe was at preſent divided, had an exiſtence; and that the proceedings in which this accuſation originated, had been carried on by perſons of all deſcriptions, and were countenanced by every one of the adminiſtrations which had ſucceeded each other in the courſe of the laſt ſix years: that accordingly he had the ſatisfaction to receive from all quarters, from perſons of all perſuaſions and connections, the moſt direct approbation of the meaſure he was going to propoſe.

Having gone through theſe prefatory matters, and congratulated the houſe upon the proofs they had given, that the grievances of India were not only fit objects of their inquiries, but that their redreſs was the beſt object of their power, he adverted to certain principles, which, for obvious ends, had been induſtriouſly diſſeminated abroad, and had even been maintained in that houſe:—that India *was indeed oppreſſed, but that it was accuſtomed to oppreſſion; and that it muſt be oppreſſed or abandoned.*" Theſe ſcandalous poſitions ſir Gilbert warmly controverted; and laid down, in oppoſition to them, what he thought nature and experience warranted him to affirm—*that India muſt be redreſſed or loſt.* This topic led him to ſpeak of the exertions that had been lately made in the houſe of commons, and particularly of the merits of Mr. Burke, in a ſtyle of the moſt elegant panegyric.

It is impoſſible, he ſaid, to look back without exultation and joy on the variety, as well as the degree of ability, which this houſe has furniſhed to this great work, and which in ſome inſtances has ſo far outſtripped all former examples of genius and of eloquence, ſo far ſurpaſſed the bounds, till that occaſion, known or even imagined, of the human faculties and mind, that one could almoſt believe, ſome favouring and approving power were furniſhing means proportioned, adequate to, worthy of, the noble purpoſe. The houſe will, I know, forgive me, for this tribute to the talents and the virtues of my country; but I can hardly think I ſhould be forgiven, if, in the general admiration of ſo much excellence, I did not yet ſelect from the reſt, one ſingular individual, whom the few, qualified by nature for a general competition with his genius and his virtues, will yet, I know, be foremoſt to applaud me for placing, firſt, and alone, in this generous labour, the author, the founder, the animating ſpirit, the vital principle of this reform. I need not, Sir, name him, whom we have ſeen for years devote the nobleſt talents, genius more than human, the profoundeſt wiſdom, the moſt exhauſtleſs labour—Him, whom we have ſeen for years, ſacrifice the charms of private life, the lures of fortune, the aims of ambition—whom we have ſeen provoking, nay, courting the dangerous and implacable enmities of wealth and greatneſs; enduring patiently the ſcoff of a corrupt and vulgar public; nay ſtruggling with that which muſt have broken all other ſpirits, ſuſtained by a weaker principle, or a meaner view, ſtruggling with the dulneſs and the apathy even of the

virtue of this age. Need I name him who has acted this great part under our eyes, in one uniform, one only, one ſimple, but grand purſuit, the happineſs of mankind. Thanks then to him, thanks to this houſe which has not diſdained to liſten to his voice; which has received from him, and has at length put into the hands of Britain, the clue both of its duty and of its intereſts.

Sir Gilbert Elliot then laid down a ſecond principle, viz. *that the only means left of reforming Indian abuſe, was the puniſhment, in ſome great and ſignal inſtances, of Indian delinquency.* This propoſition he endeavoured to eſtabliſh with great ingenuity, by comparing the different force and efficacy of laws, as ariſing from their penal ſanctions, when applied in our own internal adminiſtration, and in the government of diſtant poſſeſſions. At home, where government had in ſight, and was in contact with the governed, their execution was eaſy and certain; but in our remote dominions, we had to labour with all the difficulties that abſence, diſtance, ignorance could oppoſe. Againſt this evil no perfect remedy could be found, as experience had fully proved. Every reſource of legiſlative regulation had been exhauſted in vain: no device had been left untried, except the ſimple expedient of diſtributing reward to merit, and pains to guilt: the exemplary puniſhment of detected crimes was the only means left of convincing our diſtant ſubjects, that though diſtance might delay, it could not finally avert the cognizance and penalties of juſtice.

Having eſtabliſhed this general principle, that the puniſhment of Indian delinquency was a neceſſary part of any ſyſtem for the redreſs of that country, ſir Gilbert proceeded to the immediate objects of his charge. He began by ſtating the nature, the occaſion, and the purpoſes of the commiſſion under which ſir Elijah Impey was ſent out to India, as involving circumſtances which were ſtrong aggravations of his guilt, and added infinitely to the neceſſity of its puniſhment. He ſhewed, that in the two grand objects which were committed to his charge, the protection of the company from the frauds of its ſervants, and of the natives from the oppreſſion of Europeans, he had, by corruptly changing ſides, added his new powers to the very force they were intended to controul, and taken an active part in the oppreſſions which it was his duty to have avenged. Sir Gilbert here took occaſion, in an animated addreſs to the gentlemen of the law, to which body he had once belonged, to call upon them to reclaim the forfeited reputation of their profeſſion, and to throw off from the nation and themſelves the guilt of an individual, by bringing him to puniſhment for crimes which he had committed in their name.

After he had diſcuſſed theſe ſeveral topics, ſir Gilbert acquainted the houſe, that he had prepared and reduced into writing the ſeveral diſtinct articles of accuſation, which he ſhould immediately preſent to the houſe, and move to have them read.

The firſt related to the trial and execution of the *Maha Rajah Nundcomar.*

The ſecond, to the conduct of ſir Elijah Impey in a cauſe commonly known by the name of the *Patna cauſe.*

The third is entitled, *Extenſion of juriſdiction,* and comprehends various inſtances, in which the juriſdic-

tion of the court was extended illegally and oppreſſively, both as to perſons and ſubject matter, beyond the intention of the act and charter.

The fourth charge is entitled, *The Coſſijurah cauſe*, and belongs alſo to the claſs of offence contained in the third charge, being another inſtance of illegal extenſions of juriſdiction; but it was diſtinguiſhed by ſuch circumſtances of peculiar violence, and led to conſequences ſo important, as to become properly the ſubject of a ſeparate article.

The fifth charge is for his acceptance of the office of *judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut*, which was contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the ſpirit of the act and charter, but fundamentally ſubverſive of all its material purpoſes.

The ſixth and laſt charge relates to his conduct in the provinces of *Oude and Benares*, where the chief juſtice became the agent and tool of Mr. Haſtings in the oppreſſion and plunder of the Begums.

Such are the charges, ſaid Sir Gilbert Elliot, which I have thought it my duty to preſent at this time to the houſe. I will venture to ſay, that there never was an accuſation which became better recommended to your enquiry and inveſtigation; and it is matter of the moſt ſubſtantial comfort to my mind, that in accuſing a fellow-citizen of crimes ſo atrocious, I do not truſt to my own vain imagination and opinion, but am prompted in every line by the previous judgment of this houſe of parliament, and of every authoritative body by whom the tranſactions were cognizable.

The conduct of the ſupreme court, and eſpecially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the ſubject of complaint and accuſation in India from the firſt months of its inſtitution. He was accuſed, by a majority of the ſupreme council, of one of the moſt atrocious offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the ſubject of the *firſt charge*. Parliament judged it proper, on the report, made by the ſelect committee, of the *Patna cauſe*, to expreſs its ſenſe of the injuſtice and oppreſſion of that judgment, by delivering the defendants from its conſequences, and ordering an indemnification for the loſſes and injuries they had ſuſtained under it. Parliament has not only granted the indemnity deſired by the members of council, for reſiſting the acts of the ſupreme court, but has expreſsly abridged that court of the extravagant and oppreſſive, as well as miſchievous juriſdiction claimed in the inſtances compriſed in my *third charge*; and theſe were ſimilar, though ſomewhat inferior to the pretenſions which produced the ſingular occurrences in the *Coſſijurah cauſe*, detailed in the *fourth charge*. The houſe recalled ſir Elijah Impey from his office of chief juſtice, expreſsly for having accepted that of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which is the ſubject of the *fifth charge*. And Mr. Haſtings was at that moment under the proſecution of this houſe, by impeachment before the lords, for the very crime, in which the *ſixth charge* accuſes ſir Elijah Impey as acceſſary.

Sir Gilbert Elliot concluded his ſpeech with an animated recapitulation of the nature of the crimes which he brought in charge, of the duties of the body before whom he brought them, and of the peculiar circumſtances of the perſons ſuffering, and of the perſon by whom they were oppreſſed.

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The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk, in ſhort, *pro forma*, after which, ſir Gilbert moved that they ſhould be referred to a committee. This was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who ſuggeſted that the charges ought in the firſt place to be printed, and then referred to a committee of the whole houſe. This mode of proceeding was afterwards adopted, and the 4th of February was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was preſented from ſir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in anſwer to the charges which had been exhibited againſt him. He was accordingly called to the bar; and after he had been heard for a conſiderable time, in anſwer to the firſt article, the committee was adjourned to the Thurſday following. —As the limits of this work do not admit of our entering into a detail of the facts and arguments that were urged either in the accuſation or in the defence, we muſt be content with barely ſtating the proceedings of the houſe, together with ſuch matters as were accidentally connected with them.

Feb. 4th.

As ſoon as ſir Elijah had withdrawn, a queſtion aroſe relative to his delivering in a copy of his defence to be laid upon the table. Being again called in, he was aſked if he had written minutes of what he had ſaid, and whether he was deſirous of delivering them to the houſe? His anſwer, which was in the negative, drew ſome obſervations from Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox; who remarked upon the want of fairneſs and candour in ſuch a refuſal, and upon the obvious inconvenience to which it would ſubject the houſe. The next day upon which the committee ſat, before ſir Elijah Impey was called in, Mr. Francis roſe to take notice of a ſerious charge, which ſir Elijah had brought againſt him on the former day. He had declared, that he was in poſſeſſion of a paper, purporting to be the petition of Nundcomar againſt the judges of the ſupreme court, which was preſented to the council before his execution, and which Mr. Francis had concurred with the reſt of the council, in declaring a falſe libel, and in ordering it to be burnt, the entries of it to be expunged, and the tranſlations deſtroyed. Mr. Francis, in order to defend himſelf againſt this charge, moved, that ſir Elijah Impey ſhould be required to deliver the paper to the houſe. This motion was ſtrongly objected to by the chancellor of the exchequer, the ſolicitor-general, the maſter of the rolls, and other gentlemen of the robe; and ſupported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. At length it was thus amended; "that the ſpeaker ſhould "aſk ſir Elijah Impey, if he had any "objections to produce the paper "in queſtion." Sir Elijah being called in, anſwered, that he had no objection. Being then ordered to proceed in his defence, he begged leave to claim the protection of the houſe againſt a variety of libellous public prints, which were daily circulated to injure him. He was directed to produce thoſe libels the day following; when, upon the motion of Mr. Grenville, they were declared to be "ſcandalous "and ſeditious libels upon the houſe, "and tending to prejudice the "minds of the public againſt an "accuſed individual;" and an addreſs was preſented to the king, to direct the attorney-general to proſecute the publiſhers thereof. After a ſhort

a ſhort debate, in which ſeveral members oppoſed the mode of proſecution, as tending to bring the privileges of the houſe before the courts below, and recommended it to the houſe to take the puniſhment into their own hands, the motion paſſed by a large majority.

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The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk, in ſhort, *pro forma*, after which, ſir Gilbert moved that they ſhould be referred to a committee. This was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who ſuggeſted that the charges ought in the firſt place to be printed, and then referred to a committee of the whole houſe. This mode of proceeding was afterwards adopted, and the 4th of February was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was preſented from ſir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in anſwer to the charges which had been exhibited againſt him. He was accordingly called to the bar; and after he had been heard for a conſiderable time, in anſwer to the firſt article, the committee was adjourned to the Thurſday following. —As the limits of this work do not admit of our entering into a detail of the facts and arguments that were urged either in the accuſation or in the defence, we muſt be content with barely ſtating the proceedings of the houſe, together with ſuch matters as were accidentally connected with them.

Feb. 4th.

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undertaken by ſir Richard Sutton, who was ſupported by Mr. D. Pulteney, the ſolicitor and attorney general, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, colonel Fullerton, and Mr. Burke; and, upon a diviſion, there appeared, ayes 55, noes 73.

On

" ſpoke with great eaſe, and ſuch ſeeming unconcern, that I really doubted whether he was ſenſible of his approaching fate. I therefore bid the interpreter inform him, that I was come to ſhew him this laſt mark of reſpect, and to aſſure him that every attention ſhould be given, the next morning, which could afford him comfort on ſo melancholy an occaſion; that I was deeply concerned that the duties of my office made me of neceſſity a party in it; but that I would attend to the laſt, to ſee that every deſire that he had ſhould be gratified; that his own palanquin, and his own ſervants ſhould attend him, and that ſuch of his friends, who I underſtood were to be preſent, ſhould be protected. He replied that he was obliged to me for this viſit, that he thanked me for all my favours, and intreated me to continue it to his family; that fate was not to be reſiſted, and put his finger to his forehead—'God's will muſt be done.' He deſired I would preſent his reſpects and compliments to the general, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, and pray for their protection of rajah Gourdaſs; that they would pleaſe to look upon him now as the head of the bramins. His compoſure was wonderful; not a ſigh eſcaped him; nor the ſmalleſt alteration of voice or countenance, though I underſtood he had, not many hours before, taken a ſolemn leave of his ſon-in-law, Roy Radicum. I found myſelf ſo much ſecond to him in firmneſs, that I could ſtay no longer. Going down ſtairs, the jailor informed me, that ſince the departure of his friends, he had been writing notes, and looking at accounts in his uſual way. I began now to apprehend that he had taken his reſolution, and fully expected that he would be found dead in the morning; but on Saturday the 5th, at ſeven, I was informed that every thing was in readineſs at the jail for the execution. I came here about half an hour paſt ſeven. The howlings and lamentations of the poor wretched people who were taking their laſt leave of him are not to be deſcribed. I have hardly recovered the firſt ſhock, while I write this, above three hours afterwards. As ſoon as he heard I was arrived, he came down into the yard, and joined me in the jailor's apartment. There was no lingering about him, no affected delay. He came chearfully into the room, made the uſual ſalaam, but would not ſit till I took a chair near him. Seeing ſomebody look at a watch, he got up, and ſaid he was ready, and immediately turning to three bramins, who were to attend, and take care of his body, he embraced them all cloſely; but without the leaſt mark of melancholy or depreſſion on his part, while they were in agonies of grief and deſpair. I then looked at my own watch, told him the hour I had mentioned was not arrived, that it wanted above a quarter of eight, but that I ſhould wait his own time, and that I would not riſe from my ſeat without a motion from him. Upon its being recommended to him, that at the place of execution he would give ſome ſignal when he had done with this world, he ſaid he would ſpeak. We ſat about a quarter of an hour longer, during which he addreſſed himſelf more than once to me; mentioned rajah Gourdaſs, the general, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, but without any ſeeming anxiety: the reſt of the time, I believe, he paſſed in prayer; his lips and tongue moving, and his beads hanging upon his hand. He then looked to me and aroſe, ſpoke to ſome of the ſervants of the jail, telling them that any thing he might have omitted, rajah Gourdaſs would take care of; then walked chearfully to the gate, and ſeated himſelf in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern.

" As

On the 27th of May, the day appointed for the committee to ſit again, upon the uſual motion that the ſpeaker do now leave the chair, the ſame was oppoſed by the attorney general, on the ground that the next article,

" As the deputy ſheriff and I followed, we could make no obſervation upon his " deportment, till we all arrived at the place of execution. The crowd there was " very great, but not the leaſt appearance of a riot. The rajah ſat in his palan- " quin upon the bearers ſhoulders, and looked around at firſt with ſome atten- " tion. I did not obſerve the ſmalleſt diſcompoſure in his countenance or man- " ner at the ſight of the gallows, or any of the ceremonies paſſing about it. He " aſked for the bramins, who were not come, and ſhewed ſome earneſtneſs, as if " he apprehended the execution might take place before their arrival. I took " that opportunity of aſſuring him, I would wait his own time, ' it was early in " the day, and there was no hurry ;' the bramins ſoon after appearing, I offered to " remove the officers, thinking that he might have ſomething to ſay in private, " but he made a motion not to do it, and ſaid, he had only a few words to re- " mind them of what he had ſaid concerning rajah Gourdaſs, and the care of " his zenana. He ſpoke to me, and deſired that the men might be taken care " of, as they were to take charge of his body, which he deſired repeatedly might " not be touched by any of the by-ſtanders; but he ſeemed not in the leaſt " alarmed or diſcompoſed at the crowd around him. There was ſome delay in the " neceſſary preparations, and from the awkwardneſs of the people: he was no " way deſirous of protracting the buſineſs, but repeatedly told me he was ready. " Upon my aſking him if he had any more friends he wiſhed to ſee, he anſwered " he had many, but this was not a place nor an occaſion to look for them. Did " he apprehend there might be any preſent, who could not get up for the crowd? " He mentioned one, whoſe name was called; but he immediately ſaid, ' it was of " no conſequence, probably he had not come.' He then deſired me to remember " him to general Clavering, colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, and looked with " the greateſt compoſure. When he was not engaged in converſation, he lay " back in the palanquin, moving his lips and tongue as before. I then cauſed " him to be aſked about the ſignal he was to make, which could not be done by " ſpeaking, on account of the noiſe of the crowd. He ſaid he would make a " motion with his hand; and when it was repreſented to him, that it would be " neceſſary for his hands to be tied, in order to prevent any involuntary motion, " and I recommended his making a motion with his foot, he ſaid he would. " Nothing now remained except the laſt painful ceremony. I ordered his palan- " quin to be brought cloſe under the gallows, but he choſe to walk, which he did " more erect than I have generally ſeen him. At the foot of the ſteps which led " to the ſtage, he put his hands behind him to be tied with a handkerchief, look- " ing around at the ſame time, with the utmoſt unconcern; ſome difficulties " ariſing about the cloth which ſhould be tied over his face, he told the people " that it muſt not be done by one of us. I preſented to him a ſubaltern ſepoy " officer, who is a bramin, and came forward with his handkerchief in his hand, " but the rajah pointed to a ſervant of his own, who was laying proſtrate at his " feet, and beckoned him to do it. He had ſome weakneſs in his feet, which, " added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the ſteps with diffi- " culty. But he ſhewed not the leaſt reluctance, ſcrambling rather forward to " get up. He then ſtood erect on the ſtage, while I examined his countenance as " ſtedfaſtly as I could, till the cloth covered it, to ſee if I could obſerve the " ſmalleſt ſymptom of fear or alarm, but there was not a trace of it. My own " ſpirits ſunk, and I ſtept into my palanquin; but before I was well ſeated, he

article, of the Patna cauſe, was at that time depending, and likely to come ſpeedily to a hearing before the privy council. After a ſhort converſation, the motion was negatived, and the further conſideration of the charges put off for three months.

" had given the ſignal, and the ſtage was removed. I could obſerve, when I " was a little recovered, that his arms lay back in the ſame poſition, in which I " ſaw them firſt tied, nor could I perceive any contortion of that ſide of his mouth " and face which was viſible. In a word, his ſteadineſs, compoſure, and reſolution " throughout the whole of this melancholy tranſaction, were equal to any exam- " ples of fortitude I have ever read or heard of. The body was taken down " after hanging the uſual time, and delivered to the bramins, for burning."

While this tragedy, ſaid ſir Gilbert, was acting, the ſurrounding multitudes were agitated with grief, fear, and ſuſpence. With a kind of ſuperſtitious incredulity, they could not believe that it was really intended to put the rajah to death; but when they ſaw him tied up, and the ſcaffold drop from under him, they ſet up an univerſal yell, and, with the moſt piercing cries of horror and diſmay, betook themſelves to flight, running many of them as far as the Ganges, and plunging into the water, as if to hide themſelves from ſuch tyranny as they had witneſſed, or to waſh away the pollution contracted from viewing ſuch a ſpectacle.

CHAP. VIII.

Some obſervations on the probable, as well as oſtenſible cauſes and motives, which induced Denmark to take part with Ruſſia in the war againſt Sweden. Great attention paid by the King of Sweden, to remove all traces of the jealouſy, which ſome acts at the commencement of his reign had excited on the ſide of Denmark; and to renew and cement the greateſt friendſhip between both kingdoms. His unexpected viſit at Copenhagen, near the cloſe of the year 1787. Fails in his endeavours to render that court a convert to his political opinions, and a party in his deſigns. Farther applications of the King to Prince Charles of Heſſe, and to the Prince Royal of Denmark, upon their arrival in Norway, prove equally inefficacious. Notice given by the court of Copenhagen to the foreign miniſters (while the King of Sweden was conducting the campaign in Finland) of her determination to ſupply Ruſſia with a conſiderable auxiliary force. Haſty return of the King from Finland. Critical and dangerous ſtate of his affairs. Mutinous army in Finland ſend a deputation to Peterſburgh, after the King's departure, and without his conſent, to conclude an armiſtice with the Empreſs. Sudden arrival of the King at Stockholm, prevents the meaſures purſued by the ſenate, for convening a diet, from taking effect. Enthuſiaſm of the citizens, upon the King's entruſting the defence of the capital, and the protection of the court, to their courage and loyalty. Memorial to the court of Copenhagen. Anſwer by Count Bernſtorff. Fortunate event for the King, that the newly-allied Powers of England, Pruſſia, and Holland, were not diſpoſed to ſuffer Sweden to be cruſhed by a combination of hoſtile power. King indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for reſiſting his new enemy. Proceeds to Dalecarlia, and obtains an aid of 3,000 volunteers from that brave people. Prince Charles of Heſſe invades Sweden on the ſide of Norway, at the head of a body of 12,000 auxiliaries. Takes Stromſtadt, Uddevalla, and other places. Surrounds a ſmall body of Swediſh forces under Col. Tranefield, who, after a ſlight engagement, are forced to ſurrender priſoners of war. Advances towards Gottenburgh. Governor of that place ſummons a meeting of the inhabitants, at which it is agreed upon to ſurrender. King arrives unexpectedly, diſplaces the Governor, and brings the inhabitants to a determination to defend the city, at all riſques, to the laſt extremity. That place ſtill in great danger, and the King's ſituation very critical, when the timely and happy intervention of the mediating Powers prevents the dreaded effects. Mr. Elliot, the Britiſh miniſter at Copenhagen, paſſes over to Sweden, as delegate from the allied Powers, and by his zeal and ability procures an armiſtice for eight days. Mr. Elliot is joined by the Baron de Borcke, miniſter from the King of Pruſſia. Second armiſtice paſſed for a month; and a third, after many difficulties, for ſix months. Daniſh army withdraws into Norway.

THERE ſeems no ſmall reaſon for ſuppoſing, although it could not be oſtenſibly avowed, that, notwithſtanding the near ties of blood and affinity between the royal houſes of the two northern kingdoms,

yet, that the court of Copenhagen was little leſs diſpoſed to wiſh for and to accelerate a revolution in the government of Sweden, than even that of Peterſburgh: although it was eaſily ſeen, (the king's temper and character conſidered) that ſuch a meaſure could not be accompliſhed, without the moſt imminent danger to his perſon, and a great hazard of very ruinous conſequences to his family.

This diſpoſition, however, is not entirely, nor perhaps in any great degree, to be attributed to that inveterate animoſity, which for ſeveral ages has been ſo deeply rooted between the Danes and the Swedes. The king of Sweden himſelf, moſt unadviſedly, as being totally inconſiſtent with that ſyſtem of policy, which ſeems in other reſpects to have been the great object of his life, indicated, ſoon after the commencement of his reign, diſpoſitions ſo inimical to Denmark, as ſeem fully to juſtify her in adopting ſuch meaſures of ſecurity, and of forming ſuch alliances and connections, as were beſt calculated to counteract the apparently dangerous ambition of ſo near a neighbour; who ſeemed watchful to take an unneighbourly and unfair advantage of any circumſtance that might embarraſs her affairs, or misfortune that might weaken the ſtate.

It appears, if we credit the ſtate of the matter given by the Danes, that the very year in which the king of Sweden accompliſhed the revolution in the government of his own country, he directed his views to the production of one of a different nature in Denmark, which, without meddling with its government, would, by a fatal ſeparation of its parts, have reduced the power and conſequence of that country in the ſyſtem of Europe to nothing, and rendered its future exiſtence, in any degree, as an independent ſtate, extremely precarious. This was by an attempt to ſeparate the antient and extenſive kingdom of Norway from that crown, to which it had for ſeveral centuries been ſo cloſely united, and which would have rendered the name of a kingdom ſcarcely appropriate to its remaining weak and disjointed dominion.

It has unfortunately, and by a ſtrange perverſion of reaſon and policy, been nearly the conſtant ſyſtem purſued by the court of Copenhagen, through a courſe of ages, to rule Norway with a harſh and unfeeling hand, and to afford too much room for complaint to that people, on whom its ſtrength and power ſo much depended; inſomuch that they ſeem to have been generally treated and conſidered rather as aliens, than as ſubjects, and equal members of the ſame general dominion and government. How far theſe cauſes of diſaffection continued to operate in the preſent inſtance, we cannot pretend to determine, but it is clear from the event that great diſcontents ſtill prevailed in that kingdom; for the new Swediſh ſovereign is not only charged with fomenting them, with a view to exciting a general inſurrection, but with marching an army, in the year 1772, to the frontiers of Norway, under the intention of abſolute invaſion, in ſupport of the inſurgents. The diſcovery of the plot, the taking of the cyphers under which the correſpondence was conducted, along with the immediate meaſures which were purſued for placing that country in a proper ſtate of defence and reſiſtance, are alledged to be the cauſes which diſconcerted this project, and prevented, at leaſt, a hoſtile

tile attempt, for carrying the design into execution.

If this charge be well founded, as it seems to be, it could not be expected that the court of Copenhagen would afterwards place much confidence in the faith or friendship of a prince, who had afforded so early and so glaring a testimony of his being little bound by either; nor is it to be wondered at, that, so circumstanced, she should be less apprehensive of the distant power of Russia, formidable as it is, than of the restless spirit and watchful enterprize of a less potent power, whose vicinity enabled him to be at all times troublesome, and might, in certain situations, have afforded him opportunities of being highly dangerous. Russia was likewise the natural check upon his ambition, and, almost, the only one that could be effective in cases of sudden emergency. To these causes and motives for Denmark's throwing herself into the arms of Russia in preference to Sweden, is to be added, and particularly remembered, the signal obligation by which she had been recently bound to the empress, for the singular cession which she made of her son (the great duke's) patrimonial rights and inheritance in the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein; which may well be considered as a free-gift, the miserable county of Oldenburgh, though the original natal seat of the Danish sovereigns, not warranting the name of an exchange. Few acquisitions, if any, could be of equal importance to Denmark with this cession *; for, besides the very considerable accession of power and revenue which it afforded, with the benefit of thereby rounding and completing her German dominions, it was of still much greater advantage, in precluding those frequent litigations and wars, in which the strangely mixed sovereignty in these dutchies had so long involved the possessors; and which would in future have become every day more arduous and dangerous, as the sovereigns of Russia would have been the opposite parties in the contention.

A strict alliance between Russia and Denmark took place upon this occasion; and it is stated, that by some articles of the treaty then concluded, which do not appear to have been published, the latter was bound, in certain cases therein specified, to supply Russia with 12,000 auxiliary troops, together with a naval aid of six ships of the line. Undoubtedly the court of Petersburgh was equally bound, in opposite circumstances, to afford an aid to Denmark commensurate to her power. These transactions took place in 1773, the year immediately succeeding the alarm, occasioned by the alledged attempt or design upon Norway. These specific conditions, whether suppressed parts of the treaty then communicated to the public, or included in a separate one, were evidently kept secret, as the king of Sweden declares, in a public document, that he never heard of them, until the public notice given by Denmark of their intended fulfilment; while he seems, upon the whole, rather to doubt their existence.

Whatever political errors the Swedish sovereign might have committed in his early conduct with respect to Denmark, it seems probable that he

* For the particulars of this transaction, see Annual Register for 1773, vol. xvi. Hist. Art. pp. 4, 5, and 31.

afterwards ſincerely repented the haſty and unguarded looſe which he then gave to his imagination or paſſions; and he has ſince endeavoured, by a courſe of the moſt friendly attentions, to conciliate matters, and to wear off all remembrance of them. It ſeems more than probable that his political ſyſtem was not then formed, and that it was not abſolutely decided until his return from the viſit to Peterſburgh.

Upon the Ottoman war, the approach of the preſent ſtate of affairs in the north, and his own determination to renew or confirm the antient alliance with the Turks, he particularly laid himſelf out, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, not only to gain the friendſhip of Denmark, but to ſecure her effectually, by making her a convert to his own opinions and principles. The ſudden and unexpected viſit, which, towards the cloſe of the year 1787, he paid at the court of Copenhagen, and which was ſo devoid of all etiquette and ceremonial, as to reſemble the free intercourſe between common neighbours, was a matter which excited, at leaſt, the obſervation and curioſity of all the courts of Europe, and occaſioned much general political ſurmiſe and ſpeculation. The king of Sweden's object in this viſit was to impreſs deeply on the court of Copenhagen the ſame apprehenſions which he entertained himſelf, of the danger ariſing from the overgrown power, the inſatiate ambition, the inſidious intrigues, and the over-reaching conduct of Ruſſia; that the danger was common to both the northern kingdoms; that nothing leſs than the cloſeſt union and friendſhip, which their intereſts required to be indiſſoluble, along with the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous mutual exertions, could poſſibly avert, or even ward it off for any conſiderable time. He ſtated, that if Ruſſia ſucceeded in her preſent ambitious deſign, of overthrowing and partitioning the Ottoman empire, her power would then become ſo vaſt, that all efforts on their ſide to controul or reſtrain it, would not only be futile, but acts of abſolute lunacy; for they could afterwards only hope to ſubſiſt as miſerable dependents on her clemency.

He endeavoured to ſhew, that this was the proper and fortunate ſeaſon, while Ruſſia was involved in the heavy war which her ambition had ſo long been ſeeking, and before her adverſary was weakened by any heavy blow, to clip her wings in ſome moderate degree, to eſtabliſh ſome ſecure boundary againſt her future rapacity, and to check that inordinately haughty and domineering ſpirit, with which, without regard to propriety, decency, or juſtice, ſhe had ſo long inſulted and annoyed her neighbours. The king concluded, that as the royal families of both kingdoms were now happily united in blood, that as the ancient cauſes of jealouſy and animoſity between their countries were ſo totally paſt away that they could ſcarcely ever again recur, that as even the aſperities which former unhappy conteſts had left behind were worn away during ſixty years of unremitted peace and friendſhip, and more eſpecially, as the total change, which had taken place in the affairs of the north, now rendered the intereſts of both nations common, and their dangers as well their intereſts the ſame, ſo he could

could conceive no ſolid objection that could be made to that laſting union which he now propoſed.

The king of Sweden ſupported theſe various topics with all thoſe powers of elocution by which he is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, and which have wrought ſuch wonders in the popular aſſemblies of his own country. But here they failed entirely of their wonted effect; ſo much does that, in all things, depend upon time, place, and circumſtance.

The court of Denmark could not perceive any of thoſe dangers which ſo deeply affected the king's mind; and they accordingly treated, and ſeemed to conſider them as entirely viſionary, and mere creatures of the imagination. They lamented that he ſhould ſuffer his tranquillity to be diſturbed by ſuch unfounded apprehenſions; and ſtill more, that he ſhould entertain even an idea of involving himſelf in ſo unequal, and ſo inevitably ruinous a conteſt as a war with Ruſſia. That, though all the world acknowledged the valour, which had in all ages diſtinguiſhed his ſubjects; that though the excellent condition of his fleet and army at the preſent day were no leſs known; and that none would queſtion the heroiſm of his own character; yet, that the diſparity of power was too vaſt to admit of its being ſupplied by any exertion of virtue or heroiſm. That although it was poſſible that his arms might be ſucceſsful in the beginning of the conteſt, before his great adverſary had time to recollect herſelf, yet he muſt ſoon afterwards be ſo totally overwhelmed by the ſuperiority of her power, and the extenſiveneſs of its application, that his country would be expoſed to abſolute ruin, and his perſon, from his ſpirit, valour, and the vexation ariſing from ſo grievous a proſpect, to the moſt imminent danger. They requeſted the king to reflect on the preſent proſperous ſtate of his country, flouriſhing in all the arts, and under all the bleſſings of peace; and to oppoſe to that the dreadful picture of cities ſmoking from their ruins, of provinces deſolated by an unfeeling and cruel enemy, and of fertile and cultivated plains, deluged with blood, and ſpread with carnage; and they adjured him, by all the ties of blood and friendſhip, to ſpare them, as well as himſelf, from the mortification and grief of beholding ſuch deplorable ſcenes of calamity.

To calm the king's mind, and entirely to remove his apprehenſions, Denmark propoſed to undertake the office of mediator, and offered to engage that ſhe would reconcile all differences, and remove all jealouſies, between him and Ruſſia; and that the tranquillity of the north ſhould be placed upon ſuch ſolid foundations, as not to be ſhaken by any common occaſion, or diſturbed by any occurrence that could be foreſeen and guarded againſt. The court of Copenhagen opened, and explained at the ſame time, the pacific rules ſhe had adopted for her own conduct; and, while ſhe declared her own wiſh and intention to preſerve uninterruptedly the peace of the north, ſhe offered to guaranty the ſame pacific intentions on the part of Ruſſia.

Theſe arguments, repreſentations, and propoſals, produced no effect; the king had already determined on the meaſures which he would purſue, and no converſion was made on either ſide.

We have had heretofore much ſatisfaction

tisfaction in announcing to the public, the early talents, endowments, and opening virtues of the prince royal of Denmark. This prince has ſince ſo fully juſtified our opinion, and anſwered the fondeſt hopes and warmeſt wiſhes of his country ſo effectually, that he ranks highly already among the moſt hopeful and illuſtrious characters of the age.—The king, his uncle, diſplayed his uſual addreſs, upon this and other occaſions, in endeavouring to attach the prince to him in the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip and affection; and it would have been no wonder, in ſuch circumſtances, and at ſuch a time of life, if political opinions, attachments, or even prejudices, had given way to thoſe impulſes of the heart, which are then ſo powerful. But though the prince is ſaid to have regarded the eminent qualities of his uncle with the greateſt admiration, and to have entertained the tendereſt affection for his perſon, theſe impreſſions do not ſeem to have produced the ſmalleſt effect upon his public conduct.

It appears that France had originally furniſhed money for the equipment of the Swediſh fleet, and, when this reſource failed, that the military preparations by ſea and land were ſtill enlivened by larger remittances from Conſtantinople. During this proceſs for war, the court of Copenhagen made frequent amicable remonſtrances to the king, endeavouring, upon the grounds we have ſeen, to diſſuade him from his deſign; but, if every thing elſe failed, to prevent, if poſſible, his ſtriking the firſt blow. Theſe official applications were ſupported by a letter from the prince royal, in which, as well as arguments, the moſt earneſt and affectionate entreaties were uſed to engage the king to relinquiſh his deſign.

Prince Charles of Heſſe, the vice-roy of Norway, and brother-in-law to both kings, having arrived at his government in the beginning of May, was ſome time after joined by the prince royal, who had gone thither to review the troops. The king of Sweden, who was then upon the point of his departure to Finland, immediately diſpatched General Duwal, with the uſual compliments to the prince royal upon his arrival, together with an urgent letter upon the ſubject which had already been ſo much diſcuſſed: Duwal was accompanied by the king's aid-de-camp, M. Borgenſtierna, who was charged with a ſimilar commiſſion and letter to the prince of Heſſe. The following extract from the letter to prince Charles of Heſſe, will afford ſome general idea of the tendency and object of both:—"I adjure you, "Sir, not to loſe a moment in uni-"ting Sweden and Denmark for "ever. No man is more equal to "the taſk than you, nor ſees better "the neceſſity of it; and the more "ſo, as this inſtant will decide ei-"ther our entire union, or a laſting "enmity. In this critical moment "it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to "chooſe one of us for an ally. I "ſhould deſpair, if forced to wage "war with the prince royal, whom "I love, and with a nation, which, "during my ſtay among them, has "given me ſo many marks of its "attachment. But I am not afraid "of being taken unawares. My "army is ſo conſtituted, that I can, "within a month's time, replace in "Sweden all the troops I have led to "Finland, and then it will be ſtronger "than any you can oppoſe." &c. &c.

The

The prince ſtated, in his anſwer, that, not being in the king of Denmark's cabinet council, nor at all entruſted with the ſecrets of ſtate, he was not only totally incompetent to the giving, but to the forming of any opinion upon public affairs. He likewiſe anſwered for the prince royal, that, with all the ſentiments of the higheſt reſpect and attachment, which he entertained for his majeſty, he could not permit himſelf to decide on an affair of ſuch importance, eſpecially during his abſence; and that he muſt refer the whole to the council of ſtate of the king his father. The prince of Heſſe, however, aſſumed the privilege of a friend and relation, in endeavouring to perſuade the king to relinquiſh his preſent deſign, ſtating in ſtrong colours, and in the moſt pathetic language, the dreadful and fatal conſequences which he apprehended from his perſeverance.

It ſeems remarkable, that in this correſpondence, the greateſt diſlike, and even horror, was expreſſed on both ſides, at the idea of fighting againſt each other, while, from any thing we can yet ſee, there was no ground for any ſuch apprehenſion; for it does not appear that Denmark, in any part of theſe tranſactions, gave the ſmalleſt notice of the conditions by which ſhe was bound to aſſiſt Ruſſia; and her obſerving a neutrality could afford no rational occaſion for war to Sweden, ſo ill as ſhe could afford to increaſe the number of her enemies. The prince of Denmark ſoon afforded a memorable inſtance of the little effect which the perſonal applications of the king of Sweden had been able to produce upon his political conduct; for, upon his return to Copenhagen, he gave his decided, and probably deciſive, ſuffrage in council, for maintaining the treaties with Ruſſia, and fulfilling their conditions. This fact is communicated by prince Charles of Heſſe, who, without any abſolute avowal of his own ſentiments, evidently held the ſame opinion and principle. This meaſure is ſaid to have afforded an opportunity to the king of Sweden, of inſinuating ſome ambiguity or obliquity to the conduct of the prince royal, in this buſineſs; an imputation which we ſhould be ſorry was founded, with reſpect to ſo young and ſo hopeful a prince, however the cauſe might ſeem warranted by example, or diſguiſed under the inſidious garb of policy. It is not, however, to be queſtioned, but that the Swediſh ſovereign was exceedingly diſappointed, if not abſolutely deceived, with reſpect to the conduct of Denmark; that though he failed in engaging her to ſupport him in the war, he had not, at leaſt until very latterly, totally foregone even that hope; but that he had placed, in the worſt ſtate of thiags that could happen, a firm reliance on her taking no part againſt him. If this opinion was at all, in any degree weakened, it was not until his meaſures were ſo far advanced, that it was too late to heſitate, whatever hazard or danger he might incur by proceeding farther.

While the king was deeply involved in all the trouble and danger, occaſioned by the refractorineſs, or rather the revolt of his army in Finland, the court of Copenhagen iſſued a public notice Aug. 19th, to the foreign miniſters, and among the reſt to the Swediſh,

who was moſt immediately concerned, of the conditions by which ſhe was bound to Ruſſia, to ſupply her with a conſiderable auxiliary force, by ſea and land, and of her own determination to fulfil thoſe conditions. The plan of operation laid by the allies was, that prince Charles of Heſſe ſhould, on the 24th of September, invade Sweden on the ſide of Norway, with the ſtipulated number of auxiliary forces; and, as Denmark was very anxious, through her apprehenſion of other powers, to avoid being conſidered as the aggreſſor in a direct war againſt Sweden, and as the hoſtile invaſion of a country carried more the appearance of a principal than of an auxiliary, and was in reality rather a novel mode of proceeding, ſo, to prevent the effect, the prince of Heſſe was appointed a field-marſhal in the Ruſſian ſervice, whereby he ſeemed to act under the immediate orders of the empreſs, and to be diſcharged from the controul of his own court.

This unexpected denunciation affected the king like a thunder-ſtroke, and indeed rendered his ſituation truly critical, and his affairs apparently deſperate. Nothing could exceed the reſentment which, upon this occaſion, he conceived againſt his new adverſaries, and he is ſaid to have declared, that he conſidered the Danes as more inſidious enemies, and as more implacable in their animoſity to Sweden, than even the Ruſſians. But, previous to his receiving the Daniſh notification, the unexpected and unfortunate turn which affairs had taken in Finland, induced the king to diſpatch an expreſs to Copenhagen, earneſtly ſoliciting that court to become a mediator between him and Ruſſia, and leaving, in a great meaſure, to itſelf the terms upon which peace might be concluded. It is ſaid, and ſeems probable, that this expreſs had not arrived at Copenhagen, until the Daniſh public notification of its intentions had been already iſſued; but, as this fact did not immediately appear, it is no wonder that the ſuppoſed conduct of that court in the affair ſhould ſerve highly to incenſe the king.

It could little be hoped, that the duke of Oſtrogothia ſhould be able to remedy thoſe evils in the army, or to recover that authority, which the king himſelf could not prevent or retain. The mutinous officers ſent, without his conſent, a deputation of their body to Peterſburgh, to propoſe, directly to the empreſs, an armiſtice. It may be eaſily imagined how well, and with what ſatisfaction they were received; and how readily their propoſal was complied with. It was playing her own game directly into her hands, and ſeemed nearly a conſummation of all her intrigues and projects. The duke, with a view of concealing in ſome degree from foreigners, and perhaps from the people of his own country, the wretched ſtate of diſaffection and anarchy which prevailed in the army, ſigned the armiſtice as if it had been an act of his own liking or concluſion. General Platen, who commanded a body of troops on the ſide of Carelia, afforded an honourable inſtance, upon this occaſion, of his integrity, and of his unalterable fidelity to his ſovereign. Diſdaining to ſubmit to the epidemical diſeaſe of the time, he not only refuſed to ſign or agree to the armiſtice, as an inſtrument executed without the king's approbation or leave, and to which he knew

knew the ſignature of his general, the duke, had been extorted; but he reſolutely refuſed to deliver up or evacuate ſome Ruſſian poſts which he had taken, and which he accordingly preſerved through the winter; the Ruſſians, probably, not chooſing to diſturb the harmony eſtabliſhed with the officers, or to provoke the national ſpirit of the troops, by any attempt to recover them.

Nothing could be more calamitous, or apparently hopeleſs, than the aſpect of the king's affairs upon his return from Finland. Fortune had not only deſerted, but ſeemed totally adverſe to him in every thing, and ruin appeared opening on every ſide. The contagion from the army had ſpread through various parts of the kingdom, and infected even the capital; while the nobility ſeemed faſt approaching to the recovery of that power and conſequence in the kingdom which they formerly poſſeſſed. The ſenate, once the ſource of all power and government, and long ſo formidable to ſovereigns, whom it ruled with a harſh and ungracious hand, inſtead of being ruled by them, although it had been found neceſſary to preſerve its name and form under the new conſtitution of 1772, yet was ſo totally changed in its nature, as to be rendered a mere cypher in the ſtate, and placed almoſt entirely under the king's direction. But by a ſtrange overſight, which can only be attributed to the hurry of the occaſion, the royal preſence was neceſſary to render its controul operative, and no proviſion was made for a ſubſtitute to act as a check upon the proceedings of that body, in caſes of the king's abſence.

It would be little conſiſtent with the nature of man, if the ſenate, feeling itſelf free from conſtraint, was not eagerly diſpoſed to reſume and to diſplay its antient authority. All the circumſtances of the time, the precarious and deplorable ſtate of the king's affairs, who ſeemed more than tottering upon his throne, along with the prevalent diſpoſition, which was mote particularly ſpread amongſt the nobility, concurred in inſpiring that body with confidence. They accordingly took meaſures, without conſulting the king, to aſſemble, in diet, the ſtates of the kingdom, under colour of the deranged and dangerous ſtate of publie affairs, and of the diſcontents and diſorders which prevailed in the nation.

The ſudden arrival of the king at Stockholm, Sept. 1ſt. totally overthrew this deſign, and diſturbed the ſenate reluctantly from that ſhort dream of power which they had ſo pleaſingly enjoyed. The meaſure of calling a diet was, for the preſent, totally quaſhed; and the king, well knowing that the nobility (who were numerous and powerful in the capital, which was the great ſeat of their cabals) were generally inimical to his intereſts, he threw himſelf entirely into the hands of the burghers and people at large, over whom he had ever poſſeſſed a great aſcendency. As an indication of his entire reliance on their fidelity and affection, as well as a flattering teſtimonial to the confidence which he placed in their courage as well as loyalty, he immediately, without waiting for any freſh confirmation of his ſentiments, or ſhewing any apprehenſion of the change which the untoward ſtate of his affairs, and the intrigues of his

enemies, might have wrought on theirs during his abſence, diſpatched the few regular troops that were in Stockholm and its environs to the ſouthern frontiers, to make head againſt the invaſion of the Danes.

Having then ſummoned an aſſembly of the citizens, that eloquence which failed at the court of Copenhagen, here produced the happieſt effects. He declared, that, repoſing the moſt unlimited confidence in their affection, loyalty, and courage, he, in this ſeaſon of danger, whilſt he was himſelf called away to oppoſe his new enemy in a diſtant part of the kingdom, ſhould entruſt to their care all thoſe things the moſt immediately dear to him, the defence and preſervation of the capital, and the protection of the queen and royal family; he conſidering theſe ſacred depoſits as far better ſecured in the cuſtody of their fidelity and affection, than under the protection of any military force whatever.

Nothing could exceed the enthuſiaſm with which this ſpeech inſpired the aſſembly, nor the eagerneſs with which the citizens armed and embodied themſelves; manning the various batteries and works, and chearfully executing all the ſervice and duty hitherto performed by the garriſon. This enthuſiaſm ſpread with the greateſt rapidity through the loweſt orders of the people, who, little reſtrained by diſcretion or prudence in the manifeſtation of their zeal, and conceiving the greateſt enmity againſt the officers lately returned from the army in Finland, whom they indiſcriminately conſidered as recreants and traitors, it became unſafe for military men to appear in public with any of the emblems of their profeſſion.

The king returned at this time an anſwer to the notification which he had received from the court of Copenhagen. In this piece, after expreſſing his concern and aſtoniſhment at the unexpected part taken by the king his brother-in-law, and touching, as it were incidentally, but feelingly, the ſacred nature of the ties by which they were perſonally united, he recurs to the long period of peace and friendſhip, which, without the ſmalleſt interruption, had for more than ſixty years happily ſubſiſted between their reſpective nations; a duration of tranquillity without example in their annals; declaring his own conſtant endeavours, not only to preſerve the harmony between them undiſturbed, but to cement it more cloſely, and render it perpetual. Sept. 11th.

After declaring his ignorance of the engagements ſubſiſting between the Daniſh ſovereign and Ruſſia, and inſinuating a breach of confidence in the former, after he had repoſed in him the truſt of preſcribing the terms of a peace with the empreſs, he preſſed him cloſely for a direct explanation of the meaſures which he now intended to purſue; whether he intended to become the aggreſſor, in a direct war againſt Sweden, or only to act as an auxiliary, in furniſhing a ſtipulated number of ſhips and troops to ſerve in the fleets and armies of Ruſſia? In this latter caſe he ſhould only have to regret, that his brother-in-law ſhould take ſo diſagreeable and unfriendly a part. But if, on the other hand, he ſhould depart from the rules adopted by all nations with reſpect to the furniſhing of auxiliary troops, and render himſelf a direct aggreſſor, by ſending his ſhips

and

and troops, totally unconnected with, and at a great diſtance from the Ruſſians, to attack and invade the Swediſh territories, he muſt in every ſenſe conſider the peace between both nations violated, war actually commenced, and act in all things accordingly. The king did not fail to throw out a hint, with an appearance of confidence likely to give it effect, that there were other powers, who would not remain indifferent ſpectators to thoſe flames of war which threatened to ſpread calamity and deſolation through all the nations of the north.

Count Bernſtorff, the Daniſh miniſter of ſtate, and at leaſt the oſtenſible agent in all public affairs, ſufficiently ſhews, in his anſwer to this memorial, the anxiety of his court to avoid entering into a direct war with Sweden, and perhaps ſtill more of incurring the imputation of being the aggreſſor. He vindicates his maſter from the charge or inſinuation of betraying the confidence repoſed in him by the Swediſh ſovereign; ſhewing (which was probably the fact) that the overtures made by the latter towards peace, did not reach his hands until the notification of the 19th of Auguſt was iſſued. That his majeſty was ſtill ready to concur, with all poſſible zeal, in the views and meaſures of thoſe friendly powers who wiſhed for the reſtoration of peace.

The Daniſh miniſter ſtated, that it was not in the power of the king his maſter to alter the deſtination of thoſe auxiliary ſuccours, which, according to the ſtipulations of treaty, he had furniſhed to Ruſſia. That they were already at the free diſpoſal of that power; and that, as the theatre of war was not confined to Finland, the king was not at liberty to adopt new explanations entirely oppoſite to the ſenſe and words of his avowed engagements. M. Bernſtorff labours much to ſhew, that the auxiliaries furniſhed to Ruſſia afford no juſt or ſolid foundations for quarrel or war between Sweden and Denmark; they ſhall be ſtrictly limited to the ſtipulated number; the king himſelf has no ſhare in the conteſt; his only object is the reſtoration of peace; the other forces of his kingdom ſhould take no ſhare in it, unleſs he and they were compelled to that neceſſity by Sweden; but at all events he muſt fulfil the engagements with his ally.—It might be thought, upon the whole, that Denmark had a great inclination for a little bye fighting, as matter of peaceable amuſement; but that ſhe did not at all wiſh to be liable to the conſequences which were likely to be incurred by the indulgence.

Happy it was for Sweden, or at leaſt for the king, that at this moment of ſuch imminent danger, there were other powers who were not indifferent to the conſequences of that country being overwhelmed by Ruſſia and Denmark, whereby every idea of any future balance of power in the north would be totally deſtroyed. It was the more fortunate at this ſeaſon, as the affairs of France were getting into ſuch a train, as rendered the expectation of her being able, in any degree, to ſupport her ancient ally, every day more precarious. The new treaty of alliance concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, and the ſtrict union already cemented between them and Holland, formed ſo powerful a counterpoiſe to the dangerous alliance between the two empires of Germany and Ruſſia, as ſeemed capable

pable of being an inſuperable bar to the progreſs of their ambitious deſigns. To render this balance the more completely effective, it was neceſſary, in the firſt inſtance, to prevent Sweden from being too much weakened, and, above all things, any revolution from taking place in its government; and, ſecondarily, to preſerve the Ottoman empire from ſubverſion or abſolute ruin. We here ſee how, through a ſudden turn of public affairs, theſe powers found it neceſſary to put themſelves in the place of France, to ſupply her imbecillity by ſupporting her alliances, and to take up that ſyſtem of policy which ſhe had ſo long purſued. Such were the motives which induced England and Pruſſia, to become arbiters of the peace and protectors of the liberties of the north, ſo far as the preſervation of ſome equipoize in the ſtate of power there, might tend to produce that effect. Such likewiſe are the motives that muſt ever operate upon all ſtates in taking ſuch a part; for the Utopian ideas that nations will encounter the evils and dangers of war, upon the diſintereſted principle of preſerving or reſtoring the liberties of others, muſt be conſidered by all ſober politicians, as well as philoſophers, as "the dreams of men awake."

The king of Sweden was indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for the defence of his kingdom; but the defection of his army, and the diviſions among the people, rendered his means ſcanty indeed. In this paucity of reſource, having firſt diſpatched orders to Pomerania, to draw over, to Calmar, all the troops that could poſſibly be ſpared from that province, (which were not many in number, and muſt be late in action) he determined to apply to the zeal and loyalty of the Dalecarlians for ſuccour in his extremity. Theſe people were highly celebrated for the brave, generous, and effective ſhare which they took in that memorable revolution, by which Guſtavus Vaſa freed his country from the unequalled cruelty of the Daniſh deſpotiſm, which had already not only maſſacred the citizens of Stockholm, but nearly exterminated the whole race of the ancient nobility. The Dalecarlians are a fierce, rough, ignorant, and honeſt people. Buried in the bowels of their rocks and mountains, and ſecluded in a great meaſure by nature from any commerce with the reſt of mankind; they ſcarcely know any thing of what paſſes in the world; but, holding the greateſt veneration for royalty, they have ever been diſtinguiſhed for the moſt inviolable loyalty and attachment to their ſovereigns; while their native courage, operating upon this diſpoſition, ſeems to convert it into a principle of heroic chivalry, from the readineſs with which they abandon their mines and foreſts, upon any occaſion which requires their aſſiſtance.

Guſtavus having ſettled affairs in his capital, more to his ſatisfaction than the ſhortneſs of the time could well ſeem to admit, ſet out, with his uſual celerity, for the province of Dalecarlia. Here he followed the example, and perhaps traced the footſteps of his great predeceſſor and nameſake; deſcending to the bottom of their deepeſt mines and caverns to viſit the people. The ſecond appearance of a king in theſe ſubterraneous regions, and he coming likewiſe to ſolicit their aid, recalling all the

Sept. 12th.

ideas

ideas of their traditionary glory, was in the higheſt degree flattering to their minds; and the enthuſiaſm was ſo great, that the royal eloquence, which, however, was not ſpared, ſeemed totally unneceſſary. Every man was eager to become one of the king's guards, hoping he ſhould afford an eminent inſtance of his loyalty and affection, by dying in the defence of his ſovereign. An explanation was therefore neceſſary, in which the king aſſured them, that he relied too firmly on the affections of his ſubjects, ever to uſe any guards for the protection of his perſon. That they would all be his guards in the day of battle; but that the ſervice required, in which he and they ſhould be equally competitors for glory, was to repel the daring invaſion of the Danes; a nation to whom they bore the moſt incurable animoſity. The king limited the aid which he received to 3,000 men; and theſe formed a groteſque appearance. Some, whoſe families had preſerved the ruſty, uncouth weapons of antiquity, gloried in the poſſeſſion, and fancied themſelves thoroughly equipped for war; but the greater number had no other reſource than thoſe ruſtic inſtruments of labour uſed in the mines or in huſbandry, which ſeemed the beſt calculated for their purpoſe. They, however, felt in their own minds that undaunted courage, which diſdained to caſt away a thought upon any ſuperiority of weapons.

The ſtipulated number of Norwegian troops being aſſembled on the borders, and the other neceſ-

Sept. 24th. ſary preparations made, prince Charles of Heſſe invaded Sweden on the day fixed and publicly notified. He was accompanied by the prince royal of Denmark, who, determined upon ſerving this campaign as a volunteer, and of acquiring the firſt rudiments of war under his uncle, had for ſome time been abſent from Copenhagen, in order to evade the anxious ſolicitude of the court to diſſuade him from his intention, if it had been known or ſuſpected. It is but juſtice to the commander in chief to obſerve, and the prince his nephew in every inſtance merits likewiſe a full ſhare of the praiſe, that no invading army perhaps ever entered any country under ſuch ſtrict regulations, and wiſe precautions, to prevent almoſt the poſſibility of any outrage, inſult, or injury being offered to the inhabitants, as upon this occaſion. The excellent diſcipline of the Norwegian troops, and ſtill more the native honeſty, few wants, and temperate habits of the hardy, laborious common ſoldiers, ſeemed in a great meaſure to preclude the neceſſity of this care; a more ſtriking inſtance of which needs not to be given, than that when, hungry and tired after a long march, they entered houſes that were abandoned by the inhabitants, their continence would not admit of their touching the victuals that lay before them, nor would they take ſo much as an egg until it was purchaſed and paid for. In the ſame laudable ſpirit, the prince of Heſſe ſtrictly forbade the Norwegian peaſantry from marauding upon (according to the cuſtom of former wars) the Swediſh borders; nor were any vagrants, upon any pretence, allowed to attend or follow the army; nor did he levy any contributions from the inhabitants, but

all the ſupplies for the army were either paid for in ready money, or in bills equivalent to money.

The invaſion of the Danes was along the ſea-coaſt, from Frederickſtadt, and the country was ſo covered with rocks and mountains, and ſo interſected by lakes, channels, and inlents from the ſea, as well as defiles, ſcarcely practicable to any but the inhabitants of the country, or their neighbours the Norwegians, that the invaders ſeemed to have ſufficient difficulties to ſurmount in their march, without any intervention of an enemy. In two days after the entrance of the prince of Heſſe into Sweden, the port town of Stromſtadt fell without oppoſition into his hands, where he found a royal magazine of proviſions, to him of great importance, and which afforded the army a plentiful ſupply of thoſe ever-welcome articles, bread, beer, and brandy.

The ſtate of defence on the ſide of Sweden, conſiſted of a body of between five and ſix thouſand men, under the command of General Hierta, which lay a conſiderable diſtance inland, at a place called Wennerſburg, the town taking its name from the lake on which it ſtands. From this exceedingly faulty poſition, that body was not only rendered uſeleſs, while the difficult paſſes and defiles on the coaſt were left open and unguarded, but a detachment of a few hundred men, and ſome field pieces, which were poſted on that ſide under the conduct of Col. Tranefield, was neceſſarily deſtined to be ſacrificed without uſe or purpoſe. To complete the abſurdity, Tranefield was chained down like a machine to his poſt, which he was not to quit without freſh orders, under any change of circumſtance whatever, while the diſtance from Hierta was ſuch, that it would coſt four or five days to ſend for and receive them.

However inexplicable this conduct may be, the conſequence is eaſily foreſeen. The prince of Heſſe having ſeized all the defiles in the rear of the Swedes, encloſed them on all ſides in their ſtrong poſt at Quiſtrum, the difficulty of the country, which would in other circumſtances have conſtituted their ſecurity, now only ſerving to render their eſcape impoſſible. The vaſt ſuperiority of the Danes ſoon obviated all the difficulties preſented in the approach by rocks, mountains, and torrents, although the Swedes covered them as well as they could with their field pieces. The action Sept. 27th. was briſk, though ſhort; the Norwegians climbing up the precipices with the agility of rock foxes, as their enemy in deriſion called them, the Swedes were ſoon in a ſituation which rendered all reſiſtance fruitleſs. A parley was accordingly beat, and the whole Swediſh corps obliged to ſurrender as priſoners of war.

The Swedes behaved with all the gallantry which their ſituation and force could admit. It happened, however, fortunately, that the loſs of men on both ſides was very moderate. The priſoners, who ſomewhat exceeded eight hundred, were treated with the greateſt attention and kindneſs, and were releaſed upon their parole not to ſerve againſt the empreſs of Ruſſia during the war. This little affair afforded an opportunity to the prince of Denmark of being, what in ſportſman's language would be called *blooded*, and of acquiring a practical

practical knowledge of the diſtinction between the muſic of great balls and ſmall ones, as they flew over and by him.

The prince of Heſſe then marched to Uddewalla, a rich and trading city, with its harbour full of ſhipping. The inhabitants had armed themſelves, thrown up an entrenchment, and prepared for defence; but perceiving they had no ſupport, and the prince having taken care to acquaint them that he made no war upon private property, they ſubmitted quietly; while the complete ſecurity which he afforded to the town and ſhipping fully juſtified their confidence. In the mean time, Bahus, with its caſtle (once deemed a fortreſs of great importance) with a number of other places, all fell without reſiſtance into the hands of the Danes, while the prince puſhed on detachments to ſecure the bridges and roads on the way to Gottenburgh.

Having arrived at Strom, and gained a paſſage, with ſome difficulty, over the river Giotha, at the mouth of which Gottenburgh ſtands, he made no doubt that when his army had advanced, on both ſides of the river, within ſight of the ramparts, the city, ſeeing itſelf completely inveſted, and being ſenſible of the greatneſs of the immediate danger, would have readily ſubmitted to a capitulation. For, the place being ſurrounded by eminences, and the houſes moſtly built of timber, that rich and fine city was liable to inſtant deſtruction by a bombardment. The prince of Heſſe had likewiſe intelligence that the garriſon was only weak, and the fortifications naked of artillery, ſo that reſiſtance would be attended with the double riſque, of the city being carried by aſſault, while it was ſmoking under the effect of the bombardment. The wealth of the inhabitants, however, afforded no ſmall ſecurity, that they would not by reſiſtance urge ſo deplorable a cataſtrophe, as this dreadful accumulation of danger could not fail to produce.

Prince Charles of Heſſe thought it neceſſary, before the paſſions of the people were too much agitated by his approach, to diſpatch a general officer to Gottenburgh, to propoſe terms of capitulation to them. But the governor had not waited for the arrival of the Daniſh officer, or the approach of the enemy; he had already ſummoned a meeting of the inhabitants, at which he repreſented the danger they were in, and recommended a ſubmiſſion to them as the only means of preſerving the city; a propoſal with which they generally, if not univerſally, agreed. Thus was the rich mart, and great emporium of the foreign commerce of Sweden, the only port of any value which ſhe poſſeſſed on the ocean, at the very point of being loſt; nothing more being wanted to ſeal her deſtiny, than the arrival of the Daniſh officer to conclude the capitulation.

A vigilance ſeldom equalled, along with unuſual perſonal exertion, on the ſide of the king, prevented an event ſo ruinous and diſgraceful to the nation and to himſelf from taking place. Aware of the danger to which Gottenburgh might be expoſed in his abſence, he performed a long journey on horſeback, alone, travelling night and day with more than the expedition of a courier, for its preſervation. It was to the utmoſt aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, that, within a few hours after

their determination to ſurrender, the king, whom they thought to be far diſtant, and likewiſe to be cut off by the enemies parties (which were ſpread through the country) from almoſt the poſſibility of approach, arrived in that city.

Oct. 3d.

His firſt act was to diſplace the governor; and, having ſummoned a meeting of the inhabitants for the following morning, his uſual powers of perſuaſion produced the happieſt effect, on a people who were already greatly aſhamed of the daſtardlineſs which their conduct on the preceding day indicated. All thought of the danger of houſes and property was now at an end, or at leaſt nobody would hazard the mention of ſuch an idea; and it was unanimouſly determined, that, in conjunction with the garriſon, the place ſhould be defended to the laſt extremity. The aſtoniſhment of the Daniſh general, on his arrival, was undoubtedly no leſs than that which the inhabitants had already experienced, when he found himſelf led blindfolded into the city, and introduced directly into the king's preſence. The precaution was indeed rather farcical, as the enemy were as well acquainted with the defences of Gottenburgh as the inhabitants.

Though the place was thus ſaved for a moment, yet the ſituation of that city, as well as of the king himſelf, was ſtill very critical, and indeed perilous. For he had no force in his hands, or within reach, at all competent to oppoſe with effect the Daniſh army, and the deſperate obſtinacy of his courage was ſuch, that nobody doubted his determination to periſh in the ruins, ſooner than relinquiſh the place; while the native ſpirit of his ſubjects would ſcarcely admit thoſe who were preſent to be unwilling partakers of the ruin.

The intervention of the mediating powers of England, Pruſſia, and Holland, diſtant though they were, ſaved Sweden, and ſaved the king from ſo dreadful a criſis, and afforded a new and eminent inſtance of the utility of that watchful attention in ſtates to the affairs and ſituation of their neighbours, which operates to prevent the great from ſwallowing up the ſmall, and any combination of power from entirely cruſhing an individual. To this vigilant ſpirit and diſpoſition, this forward look into futurity, as well as wiſe precaution againſt near danger, Europe has preſerved for ſeveral ages, though at different periods in a leſs or greater degree, ſome reaſonable balance of power between its reſpective ſtates, and thereby eſcaped that general deſpotiſm, which has ſo often oppreſſed and enſlaved the greater part of mankind. To this alſo, arts, ſcience, literature, civilization, and humanity, owe the greateſt obligations.

It happened ſingularly enough, in this ſeaſon of buſineſs, trouble, and commotion in the north, that neither Great Britain, Pruſſia, nor even France, had any public miniſter reſident at the court of Stockholm. To remedy this want, Mr. Elliot, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Copenhagen, immediately paſſed over to Sweden, and, having announced, by letter to the prince of Heſſe, his new character of delegate from the allied mediating powers, he proceeded to act in their joint name, and joined the king at Gottenburgh. The zeal, addreſs, dexterity, and ability, diſplayed by this

this miniſter in all the parts of a ſucceſsful but very difficult negociation, have ſeldom been equalled, and can never be exceeded; a ſtronger demonſtration of which needs not to be given, than that his merits were fully and generouſly acknowledged by thoſe, who conſidered him as entirely inimical to their intereſts, and felt themſelves ſuffering under their effect.

In his firſt letter to the prince, Mr. Elliot informed him, that the Swediſh ſovereign having accepted the mediation of the allied powers, and a courier being already diſpatched from Berlin to demand a general armiſtice of the empreſs, he wiſhed at the ſame time to ſettle with him the means of concluding a particular armiſtice for the preſent, until the intended arrangements could take place. Prince Charles, in his anſwer, declined entering into any negociation upon the ſubject, as he could not, without expreſs orders from his Daniſh majeſty, depart from that line of conduct which was preſcribed to him.

In Mr. Elliot's ſecond letter he acquainted the prince, that by a courier juſt arrived from Berlin he had received certain intelligence, that the offenſive operations of the army which he commanded in Sweden, were regarded in ſuch a light by the allied ſovereigns, that, to prevent their further progreſs, an immediate attack on Denmark, by the combined forces of Pruſſia and Great Britain, was determined upon; that this fact being of too much importance to be concealed from the prince royal, he ſhould therefore demand an audience of his royal highneſs; and that he ſtill flattered himſelf with being able to find means, by which the prince of Heſſe ſhould fulfil his engagements with Ruſſia, without any farther effuſion of blood.

Prince Charles returned an anſwer to this in the name of the prince royal: "That he had too firm a reliance on the king his uncle, and the whole Britiſh nation, always ſo faithful to their engagements, ever to fear any thing on their ſide, after their being long ago apprized of the ſeveral reaſons from which the king his father could not refuſe a corps of auxiliaries to the empreſs of Ruſſia: That this corps, in which he was himſelf a mere volunteer, having been relinquiſhed to her majeſty's diſpoſal, in conformity to the tenor and terms of a treaty, he did not think himſelf at all authorized to ſtop its further progreſs." After ſome reaſoning in juſtification of the invaſion, as to manner and place, the prince of Denmark concluded, that he would, however, diſpatch a courier to Copenhagen, the anſwer from whence ſhould decide the further ſteps of the auxiliaries.

Two days after a Pruſſian officer arrived in the Norwegian camp with another letter from Mr. Elliot, in which that miniſter informed the princes, that the kings of Pruſſia and England could by no means conſider their troops as a Ruſſian, but abſolutely as a Daniſh army, and conſequently addreſſed themſelves, through him, to require an immediate ceſſation of all further progreſs in the Swediſh territories. That he, the miniſter, being furniſhed with full powers by the king of Sweden for treating with the prince of Heſſe on a ceſſation of hoſtilities, upon juſt and honourable conditions, either as field-

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marſhal of the king of Denmark, or as commander of a corps of auxiliary troops ceded to Ruſſia, he would (notwithſtanding a ſevere indiſpoſition) find means to be conveyed to the head-quarters, in order to ſettle the conditions of an armiſtice without delay.

To give the greater force to his arguments, and effect to his propoſal, Mr. Elliot obſerved, that at the moment he was writing, war was perhaps already declared againſt Denmark by Pruſſia and England; but that, in caſe prince Charles was ſeriouſly inclined to ſeize the preſent opportunity of doing that ſervice to humanity which he propoſed to him, he would immediately diſpatch couriers to Berlin and London, to ſtop, if poſſible, both the invaſion of a Pruſſian army in Holſtein, and the ſailing of an Engliſh fleet for the Sound. He further obſerved, that he had choſen baron d'Albrdyhl to be the bearer of that letter, becauſe, being a Pruſſian officer, he could confirm every thing he had aſſerted, with reſpect to the preparation and determination of his maſter. Mr. Elliot concluded his letter by an indirect application to the prince royal, requeſting that it might be read to him, and taking notice that it was written by the ambaſſador of the king his uncle; by a man wholly devoted to his royal highneſs, and who was riſking his own life (alluding to his illneſs) to prevent the effuſion of the blood of others.

The firſt apparent effect of Mr. Elliot's intervention, was a change in the poſition of the Daniſh army, that part which had paſſed the Giotha, in order to encloſe Gottenburgh on both ſides, being now recalled, and the head-quarters tranſferred from Strom to Trotſka.

The ſituation of prince Charles of Heſſe was at this moment by no means enviable, and indeed he had a very difficult game to play. He had poſitive orders, both from his own court and that of Peterſburgh, for the taking of Gottenburgh, and the force placed in his hands was fully competent for that ſervice. His own character as a commander, ſeemed likewiſe not a little ſtaked upon that event; and it ſeemed a ſevere check upon the laudable ambition of the prince royal, to be diſappointed in the grand object of his firſt enterprize in arms. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed but that, well acquainted as Prince Charles was with the peremptory haughtineſs of the court of Peterſburgh, long uſed to ſucceed in her deſigns, and to the prompt execution of all her orders, he muſt have been apprehenſive that ſhe would ill reliſh a failure, with reſpect to an object on which ſhe had ſo ſtrongly fixed her mind; and which the princes themſelves had deemed as already in their hands.

But, on the other hand, the unexpected arrival of the king at that place, along with the extraordinary effect produced by his elocution and addreſs upon the inhabitants, had totally changed, within a very few days, the aſpect of affairs. All hope of gaining Gottenburgh by compoſition was now at an end; it could only be carried by force; by an exertion of the moſt cruel nature; a bombardment in the firſt inſtance, which would have laid the city in aſhes, and a ſucceſſion afterwards of the moſt deſperate and bloody aſſaults. Nor was the ſucceſs of

this extremity by any means ſo clear, as the Daniſh generals ſeemed diſpoſed to imagine; and in the beſt caſe that could happen, the ſmoking ruins of the place would be the only prize to the victors. The hearts of the princes recoiled at the idea of ſuch a ſcene of carnage and deſolation; at being themſelves conſidered as incendiaries, for the deſtruction of ſuch a city, of ſuch immenſe private property, and the ruin that muſt enſue to ſo great a number of individuals; and of being the means of rendering the name of Dane for ever odious and abhorred in Sweden.

The greateſt rub of all ſtill remained, however, to be conſidered; that was the dangers that would ariſe to Denmark from the combined hoſtile operations of a Pruſſian army, and of an Engliſh fleet. This was a ſubject that commanded the moſt ſerious attention. It was not among the leaſt of the embarraſſments in which the prince of Heſſe was now involved, that he was under a neceſſity of coming, in a certain degree, to an immediate determination upon this ſubject. In this dilemma he happily conſidered, that the intervention of theſe great powers, as the ſupporters and protectors of Sweden, had totally changed the face of affairs; that Denmark was in no degree capable of reſiſting ſuch a combination; that therefore the original deſign muſt of neceſſity be foregone, for that an obſtinate perſeverance on her ſide, inſtead of affording aid to Ruſſia, would probably prove the means of adding a moſt formidable increaſe to her enemies. Upon theſe conſiderations, and perhaps others, the prince of Heſſe reſolved to accommodate his conduct to the preſent neceſſity of things. He beſides reflected, that Denmark had done all that ſhe could to manifeſt her zeal for the empreſs; and that the prince royal had afforded an unequivocal proof of his attachment to her intereſts, by gallantly hazarding his life in their ſupport; ſo that no charge, whether on the ſide of friendſhip, or with reſpect to fulfilling the duties of an ally, could poſſibly lie againſt either.

Theſe moderate ſentiments, which owed their birth, in no ſmall degree, to the ability and dexterity of the Britiſh miniſter, were ſupported and confirmed by his inceſſant application. Another change was made in the poſition of the army, by which it was moved farther from the ſcene of jealouſy and conteſt; and the head-quarters were removed to the neighbourhood of Bahus, where Mr. Elliot attended the princes in perſon. To his former ſtrong repreſentations on the neceſſity of an immediate armiſtice, in order to prevent the greateſt evils, and to ward off the moſt imminent dangers, he now held out the flattering hope, that it would afford the means of producing a ſpeedy pacification in the north; an event which would not be more happy to Sweden, than glorious to the princes and to the two allied powers themſelves.

This pleaſing idea, ſo happily contraſted with the evils before held out, could not fail of effect. Oct. 9th. An armiſtice was immediately concluded for eight days, as preparatory to one for a longer term, the avowed object of both being, to afford time for negociating a general peace under the auſpices of the mediating powers. In the mean time, a ſtrong remonſtrance

ſtrance from the king of Pruſſia was preſented at the court of Copenhagen, including a threat of an immediate invaſion of Holſtein, if the Daniſh forces were not withdrawn from Sweden; and the Baron de Borcke arrived as miniſter from Berlin at Gottenburgh, in order to coincide with and confirm the proceedings of Mr. Elliot.

We are ſorry that juſtice and truth compel us to obſerve, that the king of Sweden did not act, in the enſuing negociations, with all that openneſs, fairneſs, and clearneſs, which were to be wiſhed, and would have been ſo ſuitable and becoming to his high rank. That, on the contrary, he ſeemed to have afforded too much room for a renewal of thoſe cenſures, with reſpect to a certain ambiguity of character and verſatility of conduct, which have heretofore been paſſed, both at home and abroad, upon other occaſions. It is certain, that a captious ſpirit of litigation, not exempt from ſtrong appearances of duplicity, became now ſo predominant as to draw forth the marked diſapprobation, and even ſomething like an implication of withdrawing from the office they had undertaken, of his own particular friends, the two miniſters of the mediating powers, whoſe zeal and ability had been ſo happily inſtrumental in the preſervation of his kingdom.

It would ſeem, that the animoſity which he conceived againſt the Danes was ſo great, and his reſentment for the ſuppoſed diſgrace of the invaſion ſo keen, that he was almoſt willing to riſque all things in order to gratify theſe feelings, and to give the invaders ſuch ſore and laſting remembrancers of the effect of their conduct, as might ſerve to deter them in future from ſimilar attempts. For the Pomeranian troops, amounting to ſixteen or eighteen hundred, being now arrived, other troops collected from different quarters, the Dalecarlian volunteers approaching, and the peaſants arming and regimenting themſelves in conſiderable numbers in the adjacent provinces, the late apprehenſion and terror about the fate of Gottenburgh was already forgotten, and the king fondly imagining that he was, or would in a few days be, in ſufficient force to beat up the Norwegian poſts and cantonments, and to drive them diſgracefully and ruinouſly out of the country, it is more than probable, that he fully regretted the ſucceſsful progreſs of the mediating miniſters, in procuring an accommodation; nor can it be doubted, that, under theſe impreſſions, the ſight of a Pruſſian army in Holſtein, and of an Engliſh fleet in the Sound, would have afforded much higher gratification than any peace whatever.

But theſe ſanguine hopes were partly, perhaps, founded upon miſcalculation, or otherwiſe were merely the fruits of too warm an imagination. For the force in his hands, or that ſoon could be, was totally incompetent to their fulfilment. The regular troops were too few in number; and, notwithſtanding the native courage of the Dalecarlians, and of the raw newly-raiſed peaſants, it would have been madneſs, in the preſent ſyſtem of war, to rely upon them in a field of battle, when oppoſed to a well-conſtituted, well-diſciplined regular army, compoſed of men as hardy and brave as themſelves. Neither were any magazines provided, nor the king's forces furniſhed

niſhed with baggage, ammunition, and other articles, which were the moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable them to take the field.

It was, however, undoubtedly, in conſequence of the diſpoſition and opinion we have mentioned, that twenty Norwegian barks, laden with proviſions, ſtores, and the baggage of the army, were taken on their ſhort coaſting voyage, under the ſanction and in the midſt of the armiſtice, and carried into Gottenburgh with all the triumph of a victory; while the king ſupported and juſtified this violence, on the ground, that the terms ſeas and waters were not ſpecifically mentioned in that inſtrument. Under the dominion of the ſame ſpirit, while the negociators were labouring with the utmoſt aſſiduity to heal all grievances between the nations, and, if they could not yet ſucceed in the reſtoration of peace, at leaſt to accompliſh a renewal of the armiſtice, a ſtrange ſort of proclamation, or manifeſto to his ſubjects, was iſſued by the king, tending to fruſtrate all their labours and ſubvert their deſigns. For the evident object of this piece was to excite in the people the greateſt poſſible animoſity againſt the Danes, by moſt injuriouſly und unjuſtly charging upon the Norwegian army, and of courſe upon their general, the ruin of the Swediſh provinces in their poſſeſſion, by the exorbitances and depredation of which they were guilty. It is eaſily ſeen, that the natural conſequence of ſuch a publication, coming from ſuch an authority, would have been ſome outrage on the part of the neighbouring peaſants, that would neceſſarily lead to an immediate renewal of hoſtility.

It was much to the honour of the Engliſh miniſter, that he ſhewed as much zeal in refuting theſe calumnies, in juſtifying the conduct and vindicating the honour of the prince of Heſſe, as he had conſtantly done in promoting and ſecuring the intereſts of Sweden.

Indeed the mediating miniſters had now a moſt vexatious as well as difficult part to act, in endeavouring to prevent the effect of that ſtrange uncertainty and tergiverſation on the ſide of their ally, which tended to counteract all their efforts in his favour. In the courſe of altercation which this ſtate of things produced, the following extract from a letter, written by Mr. Elliot to the king, on the ſubject of the Norwegian barks, is, perhaps, on account of the ſentimeuts it contains, not unworthy of preſerving. —— The king having before complimented the miniſter on the "glo-
"rious ſituation he was placed in;
"an individual is the depoſitory
"of the ſolemn word of a great
"king, and of a prince command-
"ing an army!" Mr. Elliot now repeated theſe terms in his letter, to recall them to the king's memory, and as introductory to his ſubject; he then proceeds: "It was on the
"acknowledged character of Bri-
"tiſh veracity, ſtable as the foun-
"dation of their iſland, the under-
"written ſaw a ſovereign and a
"prince rely, to ſtop the effuſion of
"blood, on the point of inundating
"the north of Europe. It was
"the verbal aſſurance of a ſtranger,
"credited for the faith of his name
"and country, that two armies, rea-
"dy to combat, have reſigned their
"hatred, and renewed their ancient
"ties of amity and confraternity.
"It is, therefore, in the ſacred
"name

"name of honour and truth, the "underwritten is obliged to declare, "that, according to his weak in- "ſight, the objects conteſted muſt "be reſtored to prince Charles of "Heſſe. He diſpenſes with enter- "ing into a reaſonable diſcuſſion "upon time and place; he fulfils "his taſk, in virtue of his right as "umpire."

Notwithſtanding the various difficulties which the negociating miniſters had to ſurmount, another armiſtice for a month was happily concluded: and this was ſucceeded by a third, for ſix months, the term of which did not expire until the 15th of May 1789.—The prince of Heſſe withdrew his army from Sweden into Norway, rather before the middle of November.

CHRONICLE.

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JANUARY.

Bay of Honduras, Sept. 23.

BETWEEN the hours of four and five in the morning, a gale commenced from N. N. W. At eight it came to blow at W. N. W. with great violence, attended with rain. At eight the ſky became obſcured, and it blew a hurricane. At this period the houſes began to give way on both ſides the river Balize, the limbs of the trees to be torn off, the inhabitants with fear and conſternation to be running about for refuge, and the rain pouring inceſſantly upon their heads in full torrents. About ten the wind ſhifted to S. W. and blew, if poſſible, with redoubled violence. At that inſtant the ſea began to riſe, and, contending with the land floods, every where overflowed the low lands. The cries of the women and children, and the floating of the dead bodies promiſcuouſly among the logs of mahogany, exhibited ſuch a ſcene of human miſery and diſtreſs as no pen can deſcribe, nor was the horror in the leaſt diminiſhed when the hurricane abated, and the waters ſubſided—a melancholy ſcene preſented itſelf to the unfortunate ſurvivors—not a ſingle houſe, hut, or habitation of any kind, on either ſide the Balize, ſtanding; not leſs than 500 of different conſtructions have been blown down, and with their furniture reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. The dead bodies of many who had periſhed in endeavouring to gain the heights, the carcaſes of hogs, goats, and cattle, all ſerved to heighten the calamity. Out of fifteen ſquare-rigged veſſels, beſides ſchooners, ſmall craft, and other veſſels, eleven of them were totally loſt, and more than 100 perſons periſhed. Such a deplorable cataſtrophe never befel any ſettlement in the Weſt Indies before.

Peterſburgh Gazette, Nov. 20, 1787.

"Laſt week the court received from prince Potemkin the following account of another defeat of the enemy's troops, commanded by the famous Sheik Manſour, dated Elizabeth-Grod the 5th inſtant.

"Towards the middle of September lieut. general Potemkin receiving advice that a great number of troops were aſſembled between the rivers Urap and Lab, and that a great many Turks of Sudſhukkle had come to inform the Tartars of Cuban that war was declared, and to engage them to make an incurſion in the neighbouring ſtates of Ruſſia; he formed the deſign of preventing them, and diſperſing the troops which were aſſembled.

"The

"The 1ſt of October he paſſed the Cuban with three columns, and the fourth, commanded by major-general Jelagin (to cover his deſign) was to paſs the river below Owetſchu-Brod, and to repulſe the enemy in caſe they ſhould attack him.

"Colonel Rebinder's column, which had the leaſt way to go, arrived firſt at the ſheik's quarters, where he found about 600 of the enemy's troops entrenched behind the waggons. When the vanguard attacked them, the Tartars, entrenched behind the waggons, repeated a loud prayer, dictated by the ſheik; after which they made a deſperate defence, but were obliged to yield to the valour of our troops, who made themſelves maſters of the entrenchment, and left 400 of the enemy dead on the field.

"On the 2d, the ſheik returned with a body of troops he had raiſed to attack colonel Rebinder, but was repulſed. The regiment of carabineers, of Roſten, had the greateſt ſhare in this attack; for whilſt they engaged a troop that was detached from the reſt, another party ruſhed from an ambuſcade on their left wing; which being immediately ſuccoured by the regiment of Aſtracan dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers, the enemy was obliged to fly.

"On the 3d of December, the enemy having been reinforced by ſome Tartar troops from Temengai, Bellei, Keptſchak, and Abaſtu, made a ſecond attack on our troops. Major-general prince Ratifew marched ſtrait againſt them, and forced them, by a ſmart and well-ſupported fire, to fly haſtily towards their habitations. The next day they ſet fire to the ſheik's habitation, and the neighbouring villages, where they found 10,000 pieds of butter, and a great ſtore of barley.

"Colonel Deprerabowitſch ſet out immediately to the villages of the Tartars of Cuban, and after a laborious march, during the 7th, 8th, and 9th inſtant, they reached them. The Tartars made a deſperate attack, and the fight laſted for ſeven hours. Major-general Jelagin, having marched to ſuccour the colonel, found, on his arrival, the enemy already put to flight. Colonel Deprerabowitſch calculates the number of men killed in this encounter, in the action, villages, and in flying, to be two thouſand. The whole body under major-general Jelagin had only one lieutenant and thirty-four ſoldiers killed, and two ſecond lieutenants and one hundred and five ſoldiers wounded. The booty taken conſiſts of a great number of cattle, which they diſtributed amongſt the troops, who, after having humbled the Tartars of Cuban, returned ſafe to their quarters."

Plymouth, Dec. 27. The Pegaſus frigate, from Cork, commanded by his royal highneſs prince William, arrived here. His royal highneſs, after viſiting the admiral and commiſſioner of the dock, took up his reſidence at Mr. Winne's, an eminent merchant of this town. On his paſſage his highneſs experienced the effects of a very extraordinary phenomenon: a thunder ſtorm broke over the ſhip ſo violently, as to tear ſome of the ſails, and ſhiver the main-maſt, ſo as to render it neceſſary for a new maſt to be ſupplied. The ſeaſon of the year makes the circumſtance memorable, and the more ſo, as the ſtorm was more tremendous on the north coaſt of France than at ſea.

January

January 1st. A ſingular forgery has lately been committed on the Bank, by a perſon of the name of Lamb. The note by which the forgery was diſcovered, was for 20l. and ſo nicely executed, that Abraham Newland, the caſhier, could hardly tell the true from the falſe note. The early diſcovery, which was fortunate for the public, was by chance. Lamb, being a clerk in Doctors Commons, requeſted the head clerk in the office to lend him a 20l. bank note, which he promiſed to return in a ſhort time. But Lamb not keeping his word, his brother clerk was obliged to preſs him for it. The note Lamb received was indorſed; the note Lamb brought the head clerk, Lamb happened to neglect putting the indorſement on it. This, with other ſuſpicious circumſtances, led the clerk to ſuppoſe there was ſome underhand manœuvre in the matter. He went to Meſſrs. Boldero and Co. with the note: they declared it to be genuine, and offered him caſh for it; which he refuſed, conſcious the note he gave Lamb was indorſed. His ſuſpicions proved too true; for no ſooner Lamb fled, than the matter took air.

It does not appear that he had paſſed any number in circulation. They were drawn with a pencil and Indian ink, and the water-mark complete.

10th. This evening it was given out that Mr. Macklin was to appear in the character of Shylock, at Covent Garden theatre. The houſe was crowded in every part, and his performance exhibited a wonderful ſhare of ſpirit and vigour, conſidering his advanced age, till the ſecond act, when, conſcious of ſome few defects, he, with much ſolemnity, addreſſed the audience nearly in the following words:

"Ladies and gentlemen,

"Within theſe very few hours I have been ſeized with a terror of mind I never in my life felt before; —it has totally deſtroyed my corporeal, as well as mental faculties. I muſt, therefore, requeſt your patience this night—a requeſt, which an old man of 89 years of age may hope is not unreaſonable. Should it be granted, you may depend this will be the laſt night, unleſs my health ſhall be entirely re-eſtabliſhed, of my ever appearing before you in ſo ridiculous a ſituation."

This affecting addreſs from an old favourite of the town, of at leaſt eighty-nine years of age, met with enthuſiaſtic reception; which ſeemed to give new life to his drooping ſpirits. He ſoon recovered, and the play went on with applauſe to the end. It is recalled to mind on the preſent occaſion, that Leveredge, the ſinger, ſung on the ſtage at the age of ninety-five.

Plymouth, Jan. 14. Laſt Tueſday evening at eleven arrived here, in a coach and ſix, their royal highneſſes the prince of Wales and duke of York, accompanied by prince William Henry, who went to meet them. The concourſe of people was aſtoniſhing; the illuminations ſplendid, and the demonſtrations of joy on every countenance pleaſing beyond expreſſion. The carriage proceeded ſlowly through the town to lodgings prepared for the royal gueſts in Fore-ſtreet.

16th: The marquis de la Luzerne, ambaſſador from the moſt Chriſtian king, had his firſt private audience of his majeſty to deliver his credentials.

As had likewiſe the count St.

Martin de Font, envoy extraordinary from the king of Sardinia.—To which they were reſpectively introduced by the marquis of Carmarthen.

29th. Among the ſeveral returns made to the houſe of commons, in compliance with Mr. Gilbert's bill, was one from a poor Welch curate, who, after delineating the diſtreſſes of his poor neighbours, adds, "But their diſtreſſes cannot be greater than mine are; I have a wife who is far advanced in her pregnancy: I have around me nine poor children, for whom I never yet could procure ſhoe or ſtocking; it is with difficulty I can ſupply them with food; my income is 35l. per annum; and for this I do the duty of four pariſhes." The letter here alluded to, had a wonderful effect upon the whole committee. Mr. Gilbert, with that benevolence which has long characterized him, immediately tranſmitted to the poor curate a bank note for a temporary ſupply. The letter has been ſhewn to their majeſties; enquiry has been made as to the moral character of the man, and proviſion will be made for him as ſoon as poſſible.

Soon after, the duke of Chandos humanely conferred on this clergyman a living of 120l. per annum.

Dublin, Jan. 31. This day Robert Keon, eſquire, was brought up to the court of king's bench, to receive ſentence for the murder of George Nugent Reynolds, eſquire. The circumſtances of this murder were the following: thoſe two gentlemen went out to fight a duel, and when Mr. Reynolds, previous to coming to action, was in the act of ſaluting Mr. Keon with his hat in his hand, wiſhing him a good morning, the latter fired his piſtol, and ſhot him through the head. Upon this, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Reynolds's ſecond, called out, "A horrid murder!" On which Mr. Keon's brother replied, "If you don't like it, take that," and ſnapped a piſtol at Mr. Plunkett, which luckily did not go off. The jury found Mr. Keon *guilty* in November laſt; but his counſel moved an arreſt of judgment, and pleaded ſeveral errors in the different proceedings, to ſtop the ſentence. The court, after the moſt ſolemn arguments, over-ruled all the objections, and paſſed ſentence of death upon him, according to the verdict; and he was executed the 16th of the following month.

Died.—At Paris, the count de Graſſe, who was taken priſoner by admiral Rodney, in the Ville de Paris, laſt war.

At Kilmarnock, aged 105, Janet Allan, being born on that day John Niſbet ſuffered marryrdom at the croſs of Kilmarnock, in the reign of Charles II. About four years ago, her ſight returned in a great meaſure, after it was long dim by reaſon of age. She went to kirk and market till within a few days of her death, and retained her ſenſes to the laſt.

At Galloway, aged 114, Patrick Connolly, eſquire.

FEBRUARY.

On Tueſday, January 28, the court of ſeſſion determined the very important queſtion, "Whether the members of the college of juſtice have the privilege of being exempted from all taxations and aſſeſſments for the ſupport of the poor within the city of Edinburgh." Their

1ſt.

Their lordſhips delivered their ſeveral opinions at great length, and unanimouſly determined that the privilege of exemption from this aſſeſſment clearly and indiſputably belonged to the members of the college of juſtice, both from ſtatute and uſage. Their lordſhips ſpoke with much candour and liberality on the ſubject. They felt the delicacy of deciding a cauſe in which they themſelves were parties; but, whatever might be the wiſh of ſome to wave a privilege apparently ungracious, the immunities of an ancient and moſt reſpectable corporation were not to be infringed. They ſat as judges, not as legiſlators; the interpreters, not the makers of the law. It was only for the high court of parliament to interfere in a matter of ſuch magnitude and importance.

The French king's edict, concerning Proteſtants was regiſtered on the 29th of January. It conſiſts of thirty-ſeven articles; of which twenty-four reſpect the neceſſary detail of marriages, births, baptiſms, and burials; the others ſpecify, that Proteſtants are to contribute to the clergy of the French church—that the police and municipal regulations are to be obeyed—that the eſtabliſhed officers of the French ſhall never be interrupted—and that the Proteſtants ſhall be incapable of any act as an incorporated commuity.

6th. In the court of king's bench was ſolemnly argued and determined a very intereſting queſtion, reſpecting the laws of marriage:—a diſpute having ariſen between two pariſhes concerning the ſettlement of a pauper who had been charged to have two wives, but who had ſworn only to one; an appeal was made to the quarter ſeſſions, when the juſtices made an order, without permitting the wife, with whom he had ſworn to have contracted matrimony, to prove her marriage. A rule *niſi*, therefore, was obtained to quaſh this order, upon the ground that the wife ought to have been admitted an evidence. The court was, however, of a contrary opinion, and that the wife is in no caſe admitted as a witneſs to criminate her huſband. In the caſe before the court, the huſband had ſworn he was married to one wife only; the teſtimony of the wife would not only have imputed to him the crime of perjury, but might probably have led to a proſecution for that offence. They were therefore of opinion, that the order of ſeſſions ought to be confirmed, and, of courſe, the rule was diſcharged.

This day being appointed for the trial of the impeachment of Warren Haſtings, eſquire, the houſe of commons, about eleven o'clock, preceded by the managers of the impeachment, came from their own houſe into the hall. The managers were dreſt, the reſt of the members in their uſual undreſs. Mr. Burke led the proceſſion, and they took their ſeats on the green benches. 13th.

Half an hour after, the lords moved from their own chamber of parliament: the clerks of parliament firſt, the maſters of chancery following them, next the ſerjeants, then the judges; after them a herald, and then the eldeſt ſons of peers and peers minor; then, after the uſhers, the barons, biſhops, viſcounts, earls, marquiſſes, dukes, the archbiſhops, and the lord chancellor. The proceſſion cloſed with the royal family, the ſon of the

duke of Glouceſter walking firſt, and the prince of Wales laſt. In paſſing to their ſeats they took off their hats, and bowed to the throne.

Having taken their ſeats, the ſerjeant at arms made proclamation, commanding ſilence, and called upon Warren Haſtings, eſquire, to come into court.

Mr. Haſtings accordingly came into court, accompanied by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner, his two bail, and kneeling at the bar in the box aſſigned to him, he was ordered to riſe, which he accordingly did.

The ſerjeant at arms then made proclamation:

"Oyez, Oyez, Oyez. Whereas charges of high crimes and miſdemeanors have been exhibited by the honourable the houſe of commons, in the name of themſelves and of all the commons of Great Britain, againſt Warren Haſtings, eſquire, all perſons concerned are to take notice that he now ſtands upon his trial, and they may come forth in order to make good the ſaid charges."

The lord chancellor then addreſſed the priſoner as follows:

"Warren Haſtings,

"You ſtand at the bar of this court charged with high crimes and miſdemeanors, a copy of which has been delivered to you; you have been allowed counſel, and a long time has been given to you for your defence; but this is not to be conſidered as a particular indulgence to you, as it aroſe from the neceſſity of the caſe, the crimes with which you are charged being ſtated to have been committed in a diſtant place. Theſe charges contain the moſt weighty allegations, and they come from the higheſt authority: this circumſtance, however, though it carries with it the moſt ſerious importance, is not to prevent you from making your defence in a firm and collected manner, in the confidence that, as a Britiſh ſubject, you are entitled to, and will receive, full juſtice from a Britiſh court."

To which Mr. Haſtings made the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"I am come to this high tribunal equally impreſſed with a confidence in my own integrity, and in the juſtice of the court before which I ſtand."

The clerks of the court then proceeded to read the charges and the anſwers, which they did as long as they had day-light; and about a quarter paſt five, had come to the end of the ſeventh charge and anſwer, when the lord chancellor moved, that the lords ſhould adjourn to their own chamber of parliament. They accordingly withdrew in the order in which they came.

Her majeſty, with the four elder princeſſes, ſat in the center of the duke of Newcaſtle's box. The queen was waited on by the ducheſs of Ancaſter, lady Holderneſs, lord Ayleſbury, &c. She was dreſt plain without diamonds, and coming without ſtate, the uſual etiquette was diſpenſed with, and ſhe ſuffered the ladies above mentioned, with the young daughters of lady Lincoln, to ſit on the ſame ſeat with her.

So high was the public anxiety on the iſſue of the bruiſing match, which was decided yeſterday between Humphreys and Mendoza, that neither the diſtance from town, nor the ſtate of the weather, could prevent a very large body of people from aſſembling at the

11th.

the ſcene of action in Odiham.—Several hundreds of people paid half a guinea a-piece to gain admiſſion within the paddock, where the ſtage was raiſed. The paddock was well defended againſt the multitude by Tring, Ryan, Dunn, and a number of other of the ſtrongeſt men in England, who with clubs looked like ſo many giants; but what can reſiſt the ſhock of an Engliſh mob? The paddock was broken down, and the torrent ruſhed in.

The combatants mounted the ſtage exactly at one o'clock, and, after the uſual ſalutation, Mendoza inſtantly began the onſet with all the heat and impetuoſity of a man determined on victory. He threw himſelf in with much activity, and diſplayed much ſhewy enterpriſe, while Humphreys retreated and avoided the blows. The latter bore himſelf with great reſerve, and the Jew was accordingly the aſſailant in the firſt ſix or ſeven rounds. In theſe, Mendoza being more hazardous and more ſucceſsful than Humphreys, the bets, which were two to one in favour of the latter before the battle, changed to ſix to four, ſeven to four, and at laſt two to one againſt him. Several blows of Mendoza had their effect. He cut Humphreys under the left eye, and of courſe endeavoured to follow up the wound, but in this he was diſappointed by the ſuperior addreſs of his opponent.

The ſtage, from the wetneſs of the day, was extremely ſlippery, and for ſome time neither of them could keep their feet ſo as to give firmneſs to their action. To remedy this, Humphreys threw off his ſhoes, and got a pair of worſted ſtockings, in which, without ſhoes, he continued the battle with improved footing.

After they had fought 18 or 19 minutes, Humphreys began to manifeſt his ſuperior ſkill, and the bets again changed in his favour. He planted a dreadful blow on the neck, or near the jaw of the Jew, which ſickened, and almoſt diſabled him. He continued the battle, however, with much determination of ſpirit, until extravaſated blood and exhauſted breath made him ſo helpleſs, that he lay on the ſtage unable to riſe, and yielded the conteſt.

The battle laſted 29 minutes.

Humphreys was ſeconded by Johnſon, and Mendoza by Jacobs.

In conſequence of the above battle, it is ſaid that upwards of 20,000l. ſterling of bets will be transferred from the Jews to the Chriſtians—*rather to the* Gentiles.

19th. This day, at a half-yearly court of the proprietors of the bank ſtock, the governor acquainted the proprietors, that as this was the time when the dividends are uſually declared, it was the unanimous opinion of the directors, that the next half-yearly dividend, ending the 25th inſtant, ſhould be three pounds ten ſhillings, which makes the increaſe of the dividend of that ſtock at the rate of one per cent.

Limerick, Feb. 25. On the 20th inſtant, John Downs, eſquire, inſpector of exciſe, accompanied by ſome other civil officers, and a detachment of the 27th regiment, with two field-pieces, proceeded to attack the caſtle of Ognolly, in which has been carried on for ſome years an immenſe diſtillery in open defiance of the laws; but on the firſt appearance of the military force, the caſtle ſurrendered without the

leaſt reſiſtance. In it was found one of the moſt compleat diſtilleries in the kingdom, which they totally deſtroyed.

DIED.—On the 31ſt ult. at Rome, about half paſt nine o'clock, prince Charles Edward Lewis Caſimir Stuart. Since the death of his father, in the year 1765, he aſſumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the continent by the name of the chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the young Pretender. He was juſt ſixty-ſeven years and two months old on the day of his death, being born on the 30th of November, 1720. He was ſon to James Francis, prince of Wales, ſon to James II. His mother was the princeſs Maria Clementina Sobieſki, granddaughter of the famous John Sobieſki, king of Poland, who beat the Turks near Vienna, and made them raiſe the ſiege of that capital, and thus ſaved Chriſtendom from deſtruction. She had an immenſe fortune; a great part of which was loſt in the fruitleſs attempt made by her ſon, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two ſons by her huſband; Charles, who lately died, and Henry-Benedict, who by his father was created duke of York, and who, having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York. The elder ſon married, ſome years ago, a princeſs of Stolberg, in Germany; but by her, who is ſtill alive, he has no iſſue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he lately created ducheſs of Albany, and to whom he has bequeathed all the property he had in the French funds, which was very conſiderable. She is about twenty-five years of age, and much reſpected for her good-nature, piety, and politeneſs. To his brother, the cardinal, he has left his empty pretenſions to the crown of England. It is thought his eminence will change his title, and aſſume that of the king-cardinal. His eminence is a bachelor, and in his ſixty-third year. The remains of prince Charles will be buried in the church of Freſcati, of which city his brother the cardinal is biſhop, who will go in perſon to aſſiſt at high maſs, and perform the laſt duties at his funeral.

At Chelſea, aged 106, Mrs. Mary Warder. She had been married to three huſbands, the laſt of whom was a penſioner in that college. She had been the mother of twenty-one children, fifteen of whom are alive, and all married. The number of her children, grandchildren, and great grand-children, amounted to ſeventy-two. 14th.

In his 77th year, John Flower, eſquire, mayor of the borough of Devizes, being the fifth time of his filling that office.

MARCH.

The following is a conciſe ſtatement of the arrangement which his majeſty has been pleaſed to make for adjuſting the claims of rank between the king's and the Eaſt India company's officers, and ſettling them on a firm and laſting footing. 1ſt.

"Firſt, That from the day when hoſtilities ceaſed at Cuddalore, the officers in his majeſty's and the company's ſervice ſhould rank indiſcriminately from the dates of their commiſſions.

"Secondly,

"Secondly, That if it ſhould happen that two commiſſions, now or hereafter, ſhould be dated on the ſame day, the king's officer is to have the precedence.

"Thirdly, That ſuch king's officers, as hold commiſſions dated prior to the ceſſation of hoſtilities at Cuddalore, ſhould command all the company's officers of the ſame rank.

"Fourthly, That brevets ſhould be granted by his majeſty's authority to the company's officers, dated from the ceſſation of hoſtilities.

"Fifthly, That, in all future promotions, the company's officers ſhall receive brevet commiſſions from his majeſty.

"Sixthly, That no officer, poſſeſſing brevet local rank in India, ſhould remain there, unleſs he chuſes to ſerve with his actual rank in the king's army.

"Seventhly, That a period of eighteen months ſhould be allowed for the exchange of thoſe officers who now hold local rank in India.

2d. By the Ravenſworth, an account of the loſs of the company's country ſhip, the Ganges, captain Frazer, bound from Bengal to Madras, has been received, of which the following are the particulars:

On the 22d of May 1787, a leak had been diſcovered; but, while the veſſel could be kept clear by the pumps, no danger was apprehended. In the evening, however, the pumps were rendered uſeleſs, being choaked by the rice, of which the cargo conſiſted. In this dilemma it was judged adviſeable to run the ſhip aſhore. By two o'clock ſhe had taken ground, and was lying on her beam-ends, when Mr. Corbet, who, with his wife, were paſſengers, went down to acquaint his lady of the danger in the tendereſt manner poſſible, of which ſhe was ſufficiently appriſed, by the noiſe unavoidable on ſuch occaſions, and with great compoſure aſſured him, ſhe was prepared to meet with him whatever might be their fate: with this reſolution they got into the top, where they remained ſome time, till the ſhifting of the ſhip plunged the maſt into the ſea with ſuch violence as to oblige them all to quit their hold, except Mr. Brown, another paſſenger, who generouſly leapt into the water to ſave the lady, but periſhed in the attempt. Mr. Corbet was ſaved by the Pilot ſchooner, that took him up in a ſtate of inſenſibility; he lived to experience all the horrors of his miſerable ſituation. Out of one hundred and thirteen perſons, forty-three were ſaved. Of the gentlemen who periſhed, the following are the names: Meſſrs. Gardener, Brown, M'Intyre, jun. Boulden, and Joſeph.—Lieutenants Warren and Nuttel.

From the Bahama Gazette.

On the 3d of January, captain Thomas Thompſon, in 5th. the ſloop Sally, beating up from the S. W. point of Heneaga, ſaw a white flag flying on the ſhore, where, on landing, he found twenty-three women and fifty-three men and boys in a moſt diſtreſſed ſituation, having been paſſengers on board a brig from Dunlary in Ireland, bound to Charles Town and Baltimore, and put aſhore there for want of proviſions, the brig having been ſix weeks at ſhort allowance. They were told the place where they were landed was a plentiful iſland, on which they would find towns and inhabitants who would ſupply them with plenty of proviſions; but when they found themſelves deceived, and

wanted

wanted to return on board, they were fired at, and one man killed. Captain Thompſon is ſaid to have landed twenty of theſe unfortunate people on Long Iſland, and fifty-ſix at Naſſau.

Edinburgh, March 22. On Wedneſday a ſharp conteſt took place at the back of the Black Rocks, near Leith harbour, between a boat's crew belonging to Newhaven and another belonging to Preſton Pans, occaſioned by the latter's dragging oyſters on the ground laid claim to by the former. After a ſevere conflict for about half an hour with their oars, boat-hooks, &c. the Newhaven men brought in the Preſton Pans boat to Newhaven, after being much hurt on both ſides. This is the ſecond boat taken from them this ſeaſon.

Ireland. On Tueſday, the 27th of March laſt, a large bog of 1,500 acres, lying between Dundrum and Caſhel, in the county of Tipperary, began to be agitated in an extraordinary manner, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of the neighbouring inhabitants. The rumbling noiſe from the bog gave the alarm, and on the 30th it burſt, and a kind of lava iſſued from it, which took its direction towards Ballygriffen and Golden, over-ſpreading and laying waſte a vaſt tract of fine fertile land belonging to John Hide, eſquire. Every thing that oppoſed its courſe was buried in ruins. Four houſes were totally deſtroyed, and the trees that ſtood near them torn up by the roots. The diſcharge has been inceſſant ſince the 30th, and how far it will extend cannot at preſent be determined.

20th. The ſtates of Venice have publiſhed their formal refuſal to permit the Ruſſian fleet making uſe of their ports. It is dated in the Predagi (i. e. council or ſenate) on the 1ſt of March.

22d. A proclamation was this day inſerted in the London Gazette, recalling all Britiſh ſeamen, of what denomination ſoever, or whereſoever, from foreign ſervice; and prohibiting all maſters of ſhips, pilots, mariners, ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and all other ſeafaring men whatſoever (natural-born ſubjects of G. B.) from entering into foreign ſervice without licence, on pain of being proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law; and, in caſe of being captured by the Turks, &c. excluded from all right of redemption.

APRIL.

9th. This morning, came on the ballot for ſix Directors of the Eaſt India company, in the room of thoſe who go out annually by rotation. About a quarter after eleven o'clock in the evening, the ſcrutineers declared the numbers to be, for

Abraham Robarts, eſq;	1,045
John Michie, eſq;	1,021
George Tatem, eſq;	978
Thomas Parry, eſq;	856
John Woodhouſe, eſq;	830
Charles Mills, eſq;	793
David Scott, eſq;	729

The firſt ſix gentlemen, who are duly elected, were upon the proprietors liſt. David Scott, eſquire, was the only new candidate who had not been in the direction.

The following is a correct liſt of the eight gentlemen who have been elected this year to ſerve as Directors of the bank of England:

Thomas

Thomas Boddington, eſq;
Thomas Dea, eſq;
John Harriſon, eſq;
Chriſtopher Puller, eſq;
Thomas Raikes, eſq;
Samuel Thornton, eſq;
Ben. Winthrop, eſq;
Moſes Yeldham, eſq;

The laſt gentleman was elected in the room of Lyde Brown, eſq; deceaſed.

N. B. It is a rule agreed upon by the Directors of the Bank, that eight out of the twenty-four go out every year in rotation, with an exception only to thoſe who have paſſed the chair.

11th. In the evening lady Wallace's new comedy of the Ton was attempted to be a ſecond time acted at Covent Garden theatre, when the clamour was ſo great againſt it, that it was with difficulty the actors could get through with their parts. In the general uproar, whilſt Mr. Lewis was bowing to obtain audience, a quart bottle was thrown from the gallery into the pit. This increaſed the diſorder; but the occaſion being declared, and a reward of ten pounds offered to diſcover the delinquent, and a proper apology made by the manager, the repreſentation was ſuffered to proceed quietly to the end; and an indulgence of one night more, to give the author's numerous friends an opportunity of ſeeing it acted, was granted.

St. James's, April 9. A chapter of the moſt noble order of the Garter having been ſummoned to meet this day, the knights companions, with the officers of the order, all in their mantles; the knights (with their collars) attended the ſovereign in his own apartment, from whence a proceſſion being made, as uſual, to the great council chamber, and the ſovereign and knights companions ſeated, the biſhop of Carliſle was introduced, and humbly prayed to be admitted to take the oath of regiſter of that moſt noble order; which being done, and the ſovereign having inveſted him with the inſignia of office, he withdrew to his place; and as by the ſtatutes none but knights can be elected, Garter and Black-rod introduced his grace the duke of Dorſet, who was knighted by the ſovereign with the ſword of ſtate, as was likewiſe the duke of Northumberland. This ceremony over, and the ſuffrages collected, the knights companions proceeded to election, when his grace of Dorſet, by his majeſty's command, was declared duly elected. In like manner his grace of Northumberland was declared duly elected.

On the 2d inſt. the prince biſhop of Liege iſſued a proclamation againſt gaming in any part of his dominions, particularly at Spa, under the penalty of two hundred gold florins for the firſt offence, and two years impriſonment for the ſecond.

The damages done by the late ſtorms and inundations in Portugal are eſtimated at above two millions of cruſadoes. From Coimbra they write, that the fertile province of Beira has been laid waſte by the overflowing of the Mondego river, in ſuch a manner as to require many years to reſtore it to its former ſtate. The waters roſe ſo high, and with ſuch impetuoſity, as to bear down the noble bridge, the admiration of all travellers.

London Gazette.

Conſtantinople, Feb. 22.

The grand divan, which was aſſembled here on the 19th.

11th inſtant, came to the reſolution of releaſing Monſ. de Bulgakow, the Ruſſian miniſter, and the Ruſſian ſubjects, detained in the ſeven towers. Monſ. de Bulgakow is preparing to depart by ſea, and has given orders to freight ſhips for himſelf, his drugoman, and their families, for Leghorn.

Baron d'Herbert, the Imperial internuncio, and his interpreters, with all their families, departed from Conſtantinople the 15th inſtant.

21ſt. The court of king's-bench determined, that a woman was competent to ſerve the offices of commiſſioner of the ſewers and overſeer of the poor. Mr. Juſtice Aſhurſt obſerved, that the ſtatute of Elizabeth mentioned ſubſtantial houſekeepers, without diſtinction of ſex. He alſo mentioned a pariſh where a woman was choſen conſtable.

A diſſection at Mr. Cruickſhank's, in Windmill-ſtreet, is ſaid to have occaſioned much ſpeculation among the gentlemen of the faculty, there being no well-atteſted deſcription, in the anatomical annals of this or any other country, of ſuch a phenomenon. The inteſtines are all reverſed, the heart, &c. being on the right-ſide, and the liver on the left. In every other reſpect, but ſituation, the parts are complete. It is very probable, the perſon himſelf might live without a conſciouſneſs of ſuch a difference in the internal ſtructure of his body.

Died.—At Hawes, county of York, aged 105, John Scarr, a pauper. He could thread a needle without ſpectacles, and crack nuts in the laſt year of his life, as well as moſt young people.

Mrs. Mary Delany, at her houſe in St. James's Place, April 15, 1788, within a month of the completion of her 88th year. She was the daughter of Bernard Granville, eſq; married, firſt, to Alexander Pendarves, of Roſcrow, county of Cornwall, eſq; and, ſecondly, to Patrick Delany, dean of Down, in Ireland. She was niece to George Granville lord Lanſdowne, ſecretary at war under queen Anne, one of the firſt patrons of Pope, and himſelf a poet. In his ſociety, which was that of a very poliſhed court, ſhe acquired, in her youth, a grace and dignity of manners which ſhe preſerved to the laſt. Married early, and retired into a remote county, ſhe had the leiſure and good ſenſe to cultivate a naturally vigorous mind; and her letters and converſation eminently evinced the good uſe ſhe made of the opportunity. She poſſeſſed, in an uncommon degree, that quick feeling of the elegant and beautiful which conſtitutes taſte: ſhe was peculiarly fitted, therefore, to ſucceed in the fine arts. She made a great proficiency in muſic; but loved and excelled principally in painting, in which ſhe has been equalled by few of her ſex. When the failure of her eyes diſabled her from purſuing the higher branches of the art, in her 78th year ſhe invented a new one, that of imitating flowers in paper moſaic; and, till her 83d, when the dimneſs of her ſight prevented her going on even with that, ſhe completed 980 plants to a degree of perfection and effect not eaſily to be conceived but by thoſe who have ſeen them. She preſerved her warm affections and fine underſtanding to the laſt; and crowned a long and exemplary life by a calm, compoſed, and cheerful death. She was the choſen friend and companion of the late ducheſs dowager of Portland,

land, and during her grace's life constantly resided with her. Mrs. Delany afterwards removed to Windsor, his Majesty unsolicited presenting her with a residence there, and with an addition to her income, which before was far from inconsiderable.

MAY.

1st. By the last accounts received from the fleet from Botany Bay, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 13th of October last, and expected to sail again about the middle of November, and to proceed directly for their place of destination. They were very healthy, and the convicts very orderly. The number of deaths from England to the Cape amounted to twenty-one.

7th. Came on a trial at Guildhall, in which the trading people are deeply interested. The sole question was this, Whether the plaintiffs, who are wholesale grocers and tea dealers, to whom the defendant was a customer, were entitled to interest, on the amount of goods sold, computed from the end of three months, being the usual credit in the plaintiffs trade? which was decided in favour of the plaintiffs.

16th. His royal highness the duke of Orleans arrived at Portland-place from Paris, having obtained leave of his sovereign to retire to England till affairs are settled at court. His first visit was to Monsr. de Calonne, with whom he held conference for some considerable time, which sufficiently indicates the subject of his mission. His next visit was to the prince of Wales.

19th. Came on be tried, before lord Loughborough and a special jury, the cause instituted by the countess of Strathmore against Mr. Bowes, to recover back certain estates (value 12,000 l. a-year) which she had secured to herself by a private deed, made previous to her marriage with the defendant. This was on issue directed by the lord chancellor; and the question for the jury to try was, "Whether a deed the 1st of May 1777, executed by the court, revoking the former deed, was obtained by the influence of terror, arising from cruelty and violence." And the jury, without going out of court, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff. The whole court expressed the highest satisfaction.

Edinburgh. On Sunday, the 25th, the king, queen, and prince of Wales, were prayed for by name, and the rest of the royal family in the usual manner, in all the Nonjuring chapels in this city and Leith. The same manner of testifying the loyalty of the Scotch Episcopalians will also be observed in every part of the country, in consequence of the resolution come to by the bishops and clergy of that persuasion. Thus an effectual end is put to the most distant idea of disaffection, in any part of his majesty's dominions, to his royal person and government.

30th. The two annual prizes of 20 guineas each, given by lord North, chancellor of the university of Oxford, are, for the present year, adjudged to Mr. Roberts, A. B. of Corpus Christi, for an English Poem on Refinement; and to Mr. [illegible]-han, of Merton College, for Latin Heroics on the Art of Chemistry.

Both

Both of these compositions will be recited in the theatre at the ensuing commemoration.

31st. As the princess Elizabeth was sitting in her apartment, in the afternoon, her royal highness was surprized with the abrupt entrance of a shabby man. The princess, exceedingly alarmed, hastily quitted the room by an opposite door, and acquainted her attendants with what had happened. The page in waiting ran instantly and seized the fellow, who, upon examination, appeared to be a poor insane creature, who by some means or other had got into the palace unperceived. Being taken to the lodge, the porter protested, he had no recollection of any such man having passed; and being questioned in what manner he had obtained admittance, he laughed at the porter for asking; saying, it was *his* business to tell, and never would say more. As he appeared a harmless creature, he was suffered to depart; but in a short time returned, and, in peremptory terms, insisted on being introduced to the princess, "That he might pay his adorations at her feet." It was then thought necessary to take him into custody, and notice to be sent to lord Sidney. The result was, that, after being confined till next day, he was then examined by the magistrates in Bow-street, when it appeared his name was Spang; his father a Dane, but himself an Englishman, and a hair-dresser; that he had till lately worked with a Mr. Warren, who gave him a good character; and, upon the whole, his insanity being established on the clearest evidence, the magistrates ordered his parish to provide for him.

DIED.—At her house in Cavendish-square, Mrs. Adams, a widow lady of large fortune. Dying without immediate heirs, she has distributed upwards of 50,000l. in legacies; among which are, 300l. to Mary-le-Bonne charity-school; 1000l. to her own maid, and 500l. to her coachman. She has also left an annuity of 15l. a year, for the support of a favourite dog. Her remains were deposited, on the morning of the 22d inst. in Mary-le-Bonne burying-ground, attended by an immense concourse of people, the children of the school singing an anthem as the procession passed through the streets.

At Ostend, aged 107, Mr. George de Drusina. He was born in France, but had been upwards of eighty years in the service of the emperor of Germany.

Aged 102, Mademoiselle Jun, a nun of the Ursuline order at Bourdeax. She had led an austere religious life till she was 100 years old, and it was with regret that she obeyed the positive orders of her superior to keep her room on account of her age.

JUNE.

Jamaica, April 5. The slave laws here have been revised and consolidated, and several regulations made in favour of the negroes. The assembly have passed an act, which contains the following reforms: 1. Every possessor of a slave is prohibited from turning him away when incapacitated by sickness or age, but must provide for him the wholesome necessaries of life, under a penalty of ten pounds for every offence. 2. Every person who mutilates a slave shall pay a fine

1st.

fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, and be impriſoned not exceeding twelve months; and, in very atrocious caſes, the ſlaves may be declared free. 3. Any perſon wantonly or bloody-mindedly killing a ſlave ſhall ſuffer death. 4. Any perſon whipping, bruiſing, wounding, or impriſoning, a ſlave not his property, nor under his care, ſhall be ſubject to fine and impriſonment. 5. A parochial tax to be raiſed for the ſupport of negroes diſabled by ſickneſs and old age, having no owners."

Mr. Tankard, a king's officer at Dartford, in conſequence of an information, ſtopped the mail-coach from Dover, and demanded of the guard the key of the trunk on which he ſat. Being refuſed, he broke the trunk open, and two letter bags, with the braſs labels, "Dover bags," were found filled with lace. The coach and horſes were ſeized.

3d. Lord Mansfield ſigned the reſignation of his office at Caen-Lodge, before Mr. Montague the maſter in chancery, who underwrote it, and afterwards diſpatched it to the lord chancellor, who next day laid it before the king. Some ſlight exiſting differences, it is ſaid, was the reaſon the reſignation did not take place at the chancellor's houſe.

7th. A cauſe was determined in the court of king's-bench, of conſequence to be remembered. A female ſervant, having hired herſelf for a year, gave notice to quit at the end of her term. Her miſtreſs, in the mean time, in conſequence of impertinent behaviour, diſcharged her eight days before the expiration of the year; but at the ſame time paid her wages in full for the year's ſervice. The queſtion before the court was, "Whether this ſervice gained a ſettlement?" The cour determined in the affirmative.

17th. Arrived at Edinburgh the much talked of Mr. Brodie, lately apprehended for robbing the Edinburgh bank, after being traced to London, from London to Flanders, and from Flanders to Rotterdam, where he was ſeized, identified, and delivered up to the Britiſh conſul, in that city. Brodie was a man of property, of whom a particular account may be expected.

19th. One of his majeſty's meſſengers arrived at the office of the marquis of Caermarthen, with the proviſional treaty of defenſive alliance between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, ſigned on the 13th inſtant, by plenipotentiaries duly authorized for that purpoſe.

20th. Lord Elcho, grand maſter of all the lodges in Scotland, attended by a reſpectable body of free and accepted maſons, laid the foundation-ſtone of an aſſembly-room, to be built in a moſt elegant ſtyle, at Haddington, by ſubſcription.

1ſt. DIED.—At his houſe in the Adelphi, much lamented, George Heſſe, eſq. The manner of his death renders the circumſtance ſtill more unfortunate. About two o'clock in the morning he came home, and went into his library, where it appears he wrote five letters, which were found upon the table, addreſſed to the following perſons: Mrs. Heſſe, ſen. his mother, Mrs. Heſſe, jun. his wife, Mr. Agar, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Woodman. After which he charged very lightly one of his own travelling piſtols, and, putting it into his mouth, diſcharged it. The ball went through his head, and was found upon the ſopha. The report was

was not heard by any of the ſervants of the houſe. About eight, the maid-ſervant went in to open the windows, and ſeeing a man's leg on the ſopha, on opening the door, ſhe ran down to tell the valet that ſome man had broke into the houſe. On coming into the room, he immediately perceived it was his maſter, who was lying at his length on the ſopha, with the piſtol in his right hand, acroſs his breaſt. The letters above mentioned were on the table, with his watch, and a penknife. On the day preceding, Mr. Heſſe had dined with lord Gage; whence he went to the club at Phillimore's, and, on leaving that, immediately went home. The whole evening he was remarkably thoughtful; and for many weeks paſt had ſhewn ſymptoms of an altered mind. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict lunacy.

JULY.

On the 12th inſtant, at five in the afternoon, their majeſties, with their royal highneſſes the princeſs royal and princeſs Auguſta, arrived at Cheltenham, in Glouceſterſhire, for the benefit of the waters of that long-neglected ſpa. Their majeſties ſet out from Windſor about ſeven in the morning, proceeded to the earl of Harcourt's at Nuneham in Oxfordſhire, where they ſtayed about two hours, and then proceeded on their journey through crowds of people, who were every where aſſembled on the road, to expreſs their loyalty to his majeſty.

On the 18th their majeſties and the princeſſes attended divine ſervice at the pariſh church, where a ſermon was preached by the lord biſhop of Glouceſter.

The royal family reſide at lord Fauconberg's, a delightful ſeat, about a quarter of a mile from the town, and two hundred yards from the ſpa.

Their majeſties ride or walk abroad every day; and it may be eaſily conceived with what crowds of loyal ſubjects they are attended. They want no military guards.

On the 19th their majeſties and the princeſſes paid a viſit to earl Bathurſt, at Oakley Grove, where they were moſt nobly entertained, and a dinner provided fit for a king, which their majeſties, as was previouſly intimated, could not be prevailed on to partake, becauſe in direct oppoſition to the purpoſe of going to Cheltenham.

They have ſince been to Glouceſter, and are ſoon to viſit Worceſter and Hartlebury.

15th. A moſt extraordinary robbery was this day diſcovered to have happened at Devonſhire-houſe, where the lock of his grace's cabinet had been broken, and medals carried off to a conſiderable amount. Some diſcoveries have already been made, but not ſufficient to enable us to authenticate the recital.

16th. This afternoon the ſecretary of ſtate ſent a free pardon to Wilkins, the printer, in Newgate; but the right honourable lord George Gordon, who employed Wilkins, ſtill remains cloſe priſoner in that gaol.

The ceremony of preſenting the Indian ambaſſadors at Verſailles took place on Sunday the 10th inſtant. A ſplendid throne was prepared *dans la ſalle d'Hercule* (Hercules's hall, in the king's palace at Verſailles),

Verſailles), and on that throne the king received them. The proceſſion attending their introduction was very magnificent. The queen preceded, in a beautiful white dreſs, elegantly embroidered with variegated flowers. Her breaſt and ſleeve knots, of rich diamonds, dazzled the eyes of the gazing admirers, but chiefly her *aigret*, which was compoſed of brilliants of the moſt pure water. The duke of Bourbon was in the royal retinue. The other princes of the blood did not attend. When his majeſty had reached the throne, and the etiquette of placing the queen, the royal brothers, and the princeſſes Elizabeth de Provence and Artois on his right and left, was adjuſted, the three ambaſſadors advanced in ſolemn ſtate, without muſic, accompanied by twenty-four attendants in their Indian dreſſes and muſlin turbans, beſpangled with ſilver and gold. One of them carried a preſent for the queen in his hands, ſhut up in a kind of box; it was thought to be pearls. The preſentation was ſoon over, and they returned to Trianon, where they had ſlept the preceding evening, and where they dined in their own way. In the afternoon they returned to Verſailles, to enjoy the curious diſplay of waters, with which they were exceedingly pleaſed.

17th. Came on to be heard before the chancellor, at Lincoln's-inn-hall, a petition of a ſingular nature. The petitioner was a bankrupt, who was ſolicitous to obtain his certificate, to which his creditors had ſignified their conſent. The prayer of his petition was, that a queſtion propounded to him by one of his creditors, at his laſt examination, and the bankrupt's anſwer to ſuch queſtion, might be expunged from the proceedings under the commiſſion of bankruptcy.

The queſtion propounded was, Whether the bankrupt had loſt five pounds by a game at cards?—which he acknowledged he had.

This application to the chancellor became neceſſary by a certain proviſion in the bankrupt laws, by which a bankrupt, who has loſt five pounds at one time at a game of cards, and ſome other ſpecies of gambling therein deſcribed, is precluded from obtaining his certificate.

The chancellor rejected the petition.

25th. The high court of Juſticiary met at Edinburgh, to pronounce ſentence upon James Granger, unanimouſly found guilty by his jury, of having taken an active part in the combination among the operative weavers, and the riots which afterwards took place in Glaſgow and its neighbourhood in September laſt. The verdict of the jury being read, "that the priſoner ſhould be carried back to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, therein to remain till Wedneſday the 13th of Auguſt next, on which day he ſhould be publicly whipt through the ſtreets of the city by the hands of the common executioner; that he ſhould then be ſet at liberty, and be allowed till the 4th of October to ſettle his affairs; after which he ſhould baniſh himſelf from Scotland for ſeven years, under the uſual certifications in caſe of his again returning during that period;" the lord juſtice clerk deſired the opinion of the court upon the ſentence which fell to the court to be pronounced in conſequence of the verdict of the jury. The judges all concurred in the

the heinouſneſs of the offence, but felt for the priſoner, who, till thoſe unhappy diſturbances took place, had behaved as a good and worthy citizen, and lord Eſkgrove even wiſhed that the public whipping could be remitted. There were ſome, he ſaid, ſo callous, as to receive that chaſtiſement with no other emotion than what the ſmart of the laſh of the executioner occaſioned; while there were others who had ſo high a ſenſe of the indignity that they would rather almoſt ſubmit to the laſt puniſhment of the law than endure it; theſe being his ſentiments, he was extremely ſorry to be under the neceſſity of differing from the majority of their lordſhips in the mode of puniſhment, though he perfectly agreed in the atrociouſneſs of the crime. Lord Swinton felt much for the ſituation of the priſoner; but, ſitting as a judge, he thought himſelf bound to call in his judgment to correct thoſe feelings, by way of example for the benefit of ſociety. The ſentence, as before recited, was agreed to and pronounced.

DIED.—At Selkirk, aged 116, William Riddell. This man, who, in the early part of his life, was a conſiderable ſmuggler, and remarkable for his love of brandy, which he drank in very large quantities, was always ſo fond of good ale, that he has often declared he never drank a draught of pure water. He was not a regular drunkard, but had frequent paroxyſms of drinking, which continued ſeveral ſucceſſive days. After his 90th year, he at one time drank for a fortnight together, with only a few intervals of ſleep in his chair. When he married his third wife he was 95; and retained his memory and other faculties to his death. For the laſt two years of his life his chief ſubſiſtence was a little bread infuſed in ſpirits and ale.

AUGUST.

The poll for member for the city of Weſtminſter finally cloſed, when the numbers on caſting up the books were as follow: 4th.

	Townſhend.	Hood.	Total polled.
Frid. July 18,	572	292	864
Saturday 19,	521	484	1005
Monday 21,	826	839	1665
Tueſday 22,	440	704	1144
Wedneſd. 23,	382	573	955
Thurſday 24,	517	488	1005
Friday 25,	408	415	823
Saturday 26,	302	216	518
Monday 28,	643	382	1025
Tueſday 29,	469	233	702
Wedneſd. 30,	398	236	634
Thurſday 31,	264	156	420
Frid. Aug. 1,	123	97	220
Saturday 2,	177	261	438
Monday 4,	350	193	543
	6392	5569	11961

Majority for Lord J. Townſhend 823

Brighton, Aug. 6. This day, about twelve o'clock, the ſtand on the race-ground was crowded with the nobility, gentry, and others, to ſee three pitched battles on a ſtage erected for that purpoſe before the ſtand. The firſt was between Watſon and Jones. They both fought with great ſpirit for eighteen minutes, and aimed moſt of the blows at the head. Jones, finding himſelf too weak for any hopes of ſucceſs, yielded to Watſon.—The ſecond battle was between Ward and Reynolds. Ward (not the Briſtol man)

was

was evidently the ſtrongeſt, and fought manfully; but Reynolds ſhifted, ſhewed but little ſport, and on the firſt fair blow in the face, gave it up.—The third battle was between Tyne and Earl. Earl was the taller man, and a ſhoe-maker by trade; Tyne is a taylor, and has fought ſeveral battles. They both, from the firſt ſet-to, ſhewed great courage, and waſted but little time in manœuvring. Tyne appeared to have moſt ſkill; but Earl fought very faſt, and generally threw him. In the ſecond round, Tyne's right eye was cloſed up, and in a few rounds more he cut Earl terribly over the face in ſeveral places, and aimed moſt of his blows at the head and breaſt. However, after a dreadful conflict of forty-eight minutes, Tyne ſtruck Earl under the left ſide, and immediately cloſed in, and threw him a moſt dreadful fall, which killed him inſtantly. Several ſurgeons, who were preſent, endeavoured to bleed him, and otherwiſe uſe their ſkill; but all to no purpoſe. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales has declared that he would have ſome ſettlement made on the neareſt relation of the deceaſed; but that, on account of the dreadful example he had then witneſſed, he would never more either ſee or patronize another ſtage fight.

12th. Being the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, who then entered into the 27th year of his age, the ſame was obſerved in London and Weſtminſter, with illuminations, and other demonſtrations of joy. At Brighton, where his Royal Highneſs ordered an elegant dinner to be provided, it was ſtill more ſplendidly obſerved. In the evening a general illumination was diſplayed; and the caſtle honoured by company of the firſt diſtinction.

15th. Was the day appointed, by his Majeſty, for the celebration of the birth-day of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales at Windſor. Thoſe who were preſent on this occaſion, ſpeak of the ſolemnity as one of the fineſt ſights ever ſeen in this kingdom. Twelve of the Royal Family were ſeated at one table, and very near one hundred of the nobility of both ſexes, at two long tables to the right and left of the firſt. The *coup d'œil* of the whole, therefore, from the decorations of the tables, the blaze of lights, the ſplendor of the dreſſes, and, above all, the beauty of the ladies, formed a ſcene that was at once awful and impreſſive.

25th. Prince Charles of Lichtenſtein arrived at Vienna, brought in a litter from Zagran, by eighteen Sclavonians, relieving each other ſucceſſively on the road. The princeſs accompanied him with the utmoſt tenderneſs and attention; but little hope is entertained of his recovery.

Marſhal Laudohn has been appointed commander in chief in Croatia, in his room.

Marſhal Laudohn had a narrow eſcape in the late action; as he was reconnoitring with his firſt aid-du-camp, two centinels in an advanced piquet-guard fired, and both ſhots took place—one wounded the aid-du-camp rather dangerouſly, the other hit ſome of Marſhal Laudohn's accoutrements, and wounded the horſe on which he was mounted.

The Turkiſh fort of Gradiſca, ſo much boaſted of by the Auſtrians, is among the firſt trophies of his victories. The miſerable garriſon of which was reduced to the pitiful

number of 265 men, who, notwithſtanding, refuſed to ſurrender, till they could no longer endure the ſtench of their own dead. Only ten pieces of cannon were found in the fort.

A letter lately received from York, among other particulars, gives the following deſcription of the mauſoleum, erected about a mile from the front of Wentworth-houſe, the top-ſtone of which, a few days before the letter was written, was ſet by the Right Hon. lord Milton, ſon of earl Fitzwilliam, on which he laid a bank of England note, value ten pounds, for the workmen. The baſe of this noble ſtructure is of the Doric order, 26 feet ſquare; the middle ſtory of the Corinthian; and the rotunda, of twelve columns, of the Compoſite order. This grand edifice is erected to the memory of that great and illuſtrious character the late Marquis of Rockingham. The inſide of the baſe ſtory forms a dome ſupported by twelve Doric columns, wherein are intended to be placed ſtatues of the late marquis, late Sir George Savile, and ſome other of his intimate friends. In the inſide of the ſecond ſtory is placed a Roman ſarcophagus. The whole of the building is about 90 feet high, and forms a noble object, not only from the houſe, but for ſeveral miles round the adjacent country.

29th. This morning the purſer of the Princeſs Amelia, the laſt ſhip expected from Madras this ſeaſon, arrived at the India-houſe, with advice of the arrival of that ſhip off St. Helen's. She has brought diſpatches from that preſidency to the court of directors, which were near being loſt on landing, the boat being overſet the moment after the diſpatches were put on ſhore.

31ſt. On Sunday laſt, about twelve o'clock, the Archbiſhop of Sens, prime miniſter of France, was diſmiſſed from his employments.

2d. DIED.—At his houſe in Pall Mall, about two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Gainſborough, the painter, one of the greateſt geniuſes that ever adorned any age or any nation. His death was occaſioned by a wen in the neck, which grew internally, and ſo large as to obſtruct the paſſages. The effects of it became violent, a few months ſince, from a cold caught one morning in Weſtminſter-hall, at the trial of Mr. Haſtings. The malady began to increaſe from this time; but its ſymptoms ſo much eluded the ſkill of Dr. Heberden and Mr. John Hunter, that they declared it was nothing more than a ſwelling in the glands, which the warm weather would diſperſe. With this proſpect he went to his cottage near Richmond, where he remained for a few days; but growing worſe, he returned. A ſuppuration taking place ſoon after, Mr. John Hunter acknowledged the protuberance to be a cancer. Mr. Pott was at this time called in, with Dr. Warren; who confirmed this opinion, but found it impracticable to adminiſter aid. In a ſituation thus deſperate, the eſteemed and admired Gainſborough languiſhed, and died ignorant of the malady which brought him to his end. Since his death, the part has been opened, the excreſcence examined, and replaced. —Mr. Gainſborough was juſt turned of 61 years of age. Of his great excellence, both as a portrait and a landſcape painter, the number and

value of his works make it unneceſſary to ſpeak.

24th. In Glaſgow town hoſpital, after eight days illneſs, aged 105, John Young, weaver, born in Cumbernauld. He wrought for his own ſupport till the age of 99, when he was received into the hoſpital, and has ſince been employed in winding yarn. On the 15th inſt. the day allowed the poor of the hoſpital to ſee their friends, he went out with the reſt. He retained his memory to the laſt; remembered the battle of the Boyne, and the maſſacre of Glencoe.

26th. At Paris, her grace Elizabeth counteſs-dowager of Briſtol, ducheſs dowager of Kingſton. She was ſole daughter and heireſs of colonel Thomas Chudleigh, late of Chelſea-college (younger brother of ſir George Chudleigh, bart. of Aſhton, in Devonſhire) and Harriet his wife. In 1743 ſhe was appointed one of the maids of honour to the princeſs of Wales; which office ſhe continued to hold till her marriage with the duke of Kingſton.—Her grace was married Aug. 4, 1744, in the pariſh church of Lainſton, in Hampſhire, the ſeat of John Merrill, eſq. by the rev. Thomas Amis, rector of that pariſh, to the hon. Auguſtus-John Hervey, then lieutenant of the Cornwall man of war, ſecond ſon of John lord Hervey, ſon and heir of John the firſt earl of Briſtol (who, in conſequence of the death of his eldeſt brother, George-William, the ſecond earl of Briſtol, unmarried, March 20, 1775, ſucceeded to that title) both parties being then about eighteen years of age. The iſſue of this marriage was a ſon, born at Chelſea, in 1747, who died an infant. The earl died Dec. 22, 1779.—She was married, ſecondly, March 8, 1769, in the pariſh church of St. George, Hanover-ſquare, by the rev. Samuel Harpur, of the Britiſh Muſeum, to Evelyn duke of Kingſton. He died at Bath, Sept. 23, 1773, without iſſue.—Her grace was tried for bigamy before the houſe of peers, in Weſtminſter-hall, on April 15, 16, 19, 20, and 22, 1776, Henry earl Bathurſt, lord chancellor, being appointed high ſteward of Great Britain for that purpoſe; and on the laſt of thoſe days was found guilty by the unanimous and unequivocal adjudication of all the peers preſent, the duke of Newcaſtle only adding to his declaration of "Guilty, upon "my honour," the aſſertion, that ſhe was ſo "erroneouſly, but not "intentionally." After the trial, ſhe quitted this country, and reſided at St. Peterſburg, and many other foreign courts.—About a fortnight before her grace's demiſe, ſhe was attacked with a fever of ſo ſlight a nature, that the faculty conſidered it of little importance. She was indiſpoſed, rather than actually ill. The night preceding the day on which ſhe expired, an internal bleeding took place, and it appeared to have conſiderably relieved her. She aroſe a little later than her accuſtomed hour; by the aid of a domeſtic, walked about the ſaloon, and converſed with ſome friends, at different intervals, during the forenoon. At two o'clock ſhe expreſſed an inclination to drink a glaſs of wine, which was brought her. She then walked the length of the ſaloon, returned towards a couch, and the inſtant in which ſhe reached it, ſhe ſat down, fell gently backward, and expired without an agitation or a groan. On opening

the body, preparatory to embalment, the heart and lungs were found to be in perfect condition; but a ſmall blood-veſſel had burſt, which cauſed her death.——The ducheſs was born in 1720; conſequently ſhe was 68 years of age. The executors are, ſir Richard Heron, ſir George Shuckburgh, and Mr. Payne, formerly conſul at Algiers. Mr. Payne is gone to Paris, to bring over the will, which was made two years ago.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. The lord mayor of London went to St. Margaret's-hill court in the Borough, accompanied by ſir Thomas Halifax, ſir William Plomer, and Mr. Sheriff Fenn; where his lordſhip opened the court for granting licences to the publicans reſiding within the five pariſhes of the Borough.——Among many others who received their licences was the proprietor of the Dog and Duck tea-gardens; conſequently, that houſe will be opened in the uſual manner.

At three o'clock the lord mayor and aldermen withdrew from St. Margaret's-hill, after finiſhing the buſineſs of the day, and confirming the juriſdiction of the city of London in the exerciſe of magiſterial authority a ſecond time, with the full concurrence of the inhabitants, who accede to the enjoyment of many privileges and franchiſes by this extenſion of the city's charter.

The Surry magiſtrates attended at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe, at Union-hall, to maintain their claim of a juriſdiction over the Borough; ſo that this claim, which has been long in litigation, does not yet ſeem to have obtained a legal deciſion.

On Wedneſday the 3d, came on at Edinburgh, before the high court of juſticiary, the trial of William Brodie and George Smith, for breaking into the general exciſe-office for Scotland, in the night of the 5th of March laſt, and ſtealing bank-notes and money. The trial commenced at a quarter before nine o'clock in the morning, and the evidence was not cloſed till after one the next morning, when the whole was ſummed up by the lord advocate on the part of the crown, and by the priſoner's counſel. The lord juſtice clerk then gave his charge to the jury, which laſted till near ſix o'clock, when they were incloſed, and at one returned a verdict, unanimouſly finding the priſoners guilty. A motion was then made for an arreſt of judgment, which their lordſhips unanimouſly rejected; and the lord juſtice clerk paſſed ſentence on the priſoners, to be executed on Wedneſday the firſt of October next.

Mr. Brodie's behaviour during the whole trial was perfectly collected. He was reſpectful to the court; and, when any thing ludicrous occurred in the evidence, ſmiled, as if he had been an indifferent ſpectator. His demeanour, on receiving the dreadful ſentence, was equally cool and determined. He was carried back to priſon in a chair. Smith was much affected. Mr. Brodie was dreſſed in a blue coat, fancy veſt, ſattin breeches, and white ſilk ſtockings; a cocked hat; his hair full dreſſed and powdered. Smith was rather meanly dreſſed.

However extraordinary it may appear,

appear, it is a certain fact, that Mr. Brodie, at the death of his father, which happened about twelve years ago, inherited a conſiderable eſtate in houſes in the city of Edinburgh, together with 10,000 l. in ſpecie; but, by an unhappy connexion, and a too great propenſity to that deſtructive, though too predominant paſſion, gaming, he is reduced to his preſent deplorable ſituation.

8th. Two eight-oared cutters ſtarted from Weſtminſter-bridge, to row to Richmond againſt wind and tide, for a wager of ſixty guineas a ſide; the firſt through Richmond-bridge to win the money. The names of the boats were the Chatham and the Invincible. The bets at ſtarting were much in favour of the Invincible, and continued ſo till they came off Sion-houſe, when the Chatham touched her in the ſtern, and drove her aſhore, to the ſurprize of the ſpectators, the Chatham being 300 yards a-ſtern at Kew-bridge. On board the Invincible the exertions were ſo great, after this encounter, that one man may be ſaid to have died on his oar, and two others, on being landed at Kew, were taken very ill; of courſe the Chatham carried off the prize.

12th. William Maſon was this day tried for the robbery in Devonſhire-houſe. By the lenity of his grace the duke of Devonſhire, the priſoner was indicted only for a ſimple felony, of which he was convicted.

18th. This day there was a numerous meeting of proprietors of bank ſtock, at the half-yearly court, to hear the dividend declared; when Mr. Darell (the governor) declared, that they were enabled to make a dividend of 3 l. 10 s. *per cent.* for the half year, ending the 10th of October next. Mr. Alderman Pickett then aroſe, to know the grounds on which that dividend was declared. He deteſted all private views, and ſtated the right the proprietors had by their charter to meet and deliberate on the nature and circumſtances of their affairs; and according to the ſituation in which they ſtood, from time to time, to declare the dividend for the time being. He inſiſted, that as the profits of the company were progreſſive, the dividend ought alſo to be progreſſive in proportion to thoſe profits. He made other pertinent obſervations, which he formed into reſolutions; but as he found the ſenſe of the principal proprietors *in toto* againſt him, he forbore for the preſent to urge them. The directors acknowledge the right of the proprietors; but could by no means be anſwerable for what would attend the exerciſe of it.

The motion being put, that the court do agree to the dividend declared, the ſame paſſed unanimouſly.

On the 26th of July, early in the morning, a large hulk, in the ſervice of government, lying off Greenwich in Jamaica, in which was above 2000 weight of powder, took fire and blew up. There were only a white man and two negroes on board, by the careleſſneſs of whom a fire was left burning in the cabooſe when they went to ſleep. A little after twelve the white man awoke, and finding the veſſel on fire, inſtantly called the negroes to aſſiſt in quenching the flames; inſtead of which, they ſuddenly jumped into the only boat along-ſide, and

rowed off. In this dilemma the man got over the bows of the hulk, and ſupported himſelf by the cable till the exploſion took place, when he was blown into the air, and fell down again into the ſea, without receiving any other hurt than being ſlightly ſcorched.

A young Iriſh gentleman, for a very conſiderable wager, ſet out, on Monday the 22d inſtant, to walk to Conſtantinople and back again in one year. It is ſaid that the young gentleman has 20,000l. depending on the performance of this exploit.

29th. A common-hall was this day held at Guildhall, for the election of a lord mayor for the year enſuing, when William Gill, eſq. citizen and ſtationer, being the ſenior alderman, was choſen with unuſual unanimity.—Mr. Pickett's threatened motion for the demolition of Temple Bar, meeting with no hand to ſecond it, dropt of courſe unput.

30th. The arrangement of the French miniſtry, as reſolved on by the moſt Chriſtian King, ſtands thus.——It is nearly the ſame as it was when the archbiſhop of Sens was at the head of affairs.

M. de Caſtries has no ſhare whatever in the new adminiſtration; nor is there any place of premier now exiſting.

M. Necker, miniſter of the finances, and at the head of affairs. The place of ſuperintendant of the finances was aboliſhed under M. Fouquet, and probably will never be revived.

There is no comptroller general.

M. de la Moignon (and not de Montholon) keeper of the ſeals.

Count de Luzerne (and not de la Porte) miniſter of the marine.

M. de Brienne (and not de St. Prieſt) miniſter in the war department.

There is no ſuch office in France as ſecretary for the home department; but

Count de Montmorin (and not M. de Bretuil) ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs.

The other department of adminiſtration is, monſeigneur de Montmorency Laval, chancellor.

At preſent it is not intended there ſhould be any prime miniſter—but ſhould any ſuch department be filled, it will certainly be by the duc de Chatelet.

Died.—Rev. William Norman, rector of Bledon, in Somerſetſhire. As he was ſitting at ſupper (on the 25th) with a friend, he obſerved his brother, the rev. Henry Norman, take a large knife from the caſe, and go out into the kitchen. He immediately called to the ſervant to take it from him, which, through fear, he omitted to do. Soon after, Henry returned to the parlour, with the knife concealed under his coat, and, unobſerved by his brother, came behind him and ſtabbed him twice. The unfortunate gentleman lay in the greateſt agonies of pain till the morning of the 27th, when he expired.—The wretched perpetrator of this horrid act is rector of Morſted, near Wincheſter; and, having been ſome time ſince deranged in his intellects, was removed to his brother's at Bledon, for ſecurity, and in Auguſt laſt appeared in a more ſerene ſtate than for ſome years before. He therefore had greater liberties allowed him, and the tragical event happened as above related. The unhappy maniac, we are told, being aſked by his

his ſervant when he ſhould return home, gave for anſwer, "as ſoon "as he had killed his brother." No notice, however, was taken of this. He has been ſince confined in a private madhouſe.

OCTOBER.

9th. At a general court of proprietors at the Eaſt India houſe, for balloting on the queſtion for reſtoring captain Bruce Boſwell, late of the Earl of Cheſterfield Eaſt Indiaman; the ballot began at nine in the morning, and finally cloſed at ſix in the evening; ſoon after which it was declared for the captain.

11th. Between the hours of one and three in the morning, the palace of his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury was broke open, and plate, as it is ſaid, to the value of two thouſand pounds taken away; to ſecure which, his grace had lately removed a door that led into the plate-rooms, and had cauſed the paſſage to be bricked up with a wall eighteen inches thick. By this alteration, it is ſuppoſed, the villains came to the knowledge of the rooms where the plate was depoſited, a part of which was the property of Mr. Eden, who, before he went abroad, lodged it in the palace as a place of the greateſt ſecurity. Finding it impoſſible to get over the wall with the booty, the thieves picked the lock of the garden-door next the river, and it is thought conveyed away their prize in a boat moored along-ſide the biſhop's walk for that purpoſe. Not any of the family were alarmed, nor the robbery diſcovered until the ſervants roſe, when the hole in the wall, which was the ſize of the mouth of a large oven, betrayed the fact. A letter was found in the palace, evidently dropped by one of the depredators, without an addreſs, ſigned *Joſeph*, but no ſurname. The contents of the letter is, that the houſe of the writer's maſter had been broke open, but the family being alarmed, the men had gone off without effecting their purpoſe, and left behind them a ſack, and ſome implements for houſe-breaking. This epiſtle being taken to Bow-ſtreet, and the books examined, the houſe to which the letter alluded was known, information of the circumſtance having been given at the office after the intended robbery. The gentleman being waited on, immediately knew the hand-writing of the letter to be that of a ſervant named Joſeph, whom he had lately diſcharged, on an idea of his being concerned with the perſons who broke into his houſe. But nothing has yet been diſcovered by it.

16th. One Richard Coventry, a lighterman, navigating his barge from London-bridge, on the Surry-ſide of Black-friars was ſet faſt, and in going home, between twelve and one, made the following diſcoveries, of which he made oath before the juſtices at Union-hall in the Borough. Seeing a light in a carpenter's yard, and hearing the ſound of hammers, he was induced to be curious, and diſcovered five perſons hammering tankards, tureens, ſpoons, &c. the utenſils appearing to be covered with dirt and filth. It ſtruck him that this was the plate which was ſtolen from the archbiſhop; and he immediately called his fellow bargeman and a boy, who arming themſelves with two old piſtols and a cutlaſs, burſt

burſt into the place, and ſurprized the thieves at their work: four of them got off—the fifth jumped upon a pile of timber, but being ſurrounded was obliged to deſcend, and was taken into cuſtody by the watchmen. Four large bags of plate were found upon the ſpot, all tarniſhed black, having been thrown into the adjoining ditch. The plate was produced, and ſeveral pieces of it were beat cloſe together, ſo as to render it impoſſible to be identified: but it was not ſo with the greater quantity, which was clearly proved to be the property of the archbiſhop by two of his ſervants. The priſoner's name is Edwards. He has uſually plied upon the water, and occaſionally worked as a porter, and was known by the nick-name of *Oil Skin Jack*. The facts being fully corroborated, the priſoner Edwards was committed to the Borough New Gaol for further examination.

Ireland, 20th. The anniverſary of the birth of king William III. was obſerved at the Caſtle with more than ordinary ſolemnity. The appearance of nobility and gentry at the levee was ſuch as evinced their attachment to the revolution in favour of that illuſtrious monarch, and its happy conſequences in the eſtabliſhment of the preſent royal family on the throne of theſe realms. After the levee, his excellency, attended by a numerous train of the firſt perſonages in the kingdom, and eſcorted by the guard uſual on ſuch occaſions, went from the Caſtle to College Green, and after ſaluting the equeſtrian ſtatue of king William, proceeded from thence round Stephen's Green. The appearance on this occaſion was ſplendid, and the number of equipages more numerous than had been known for many years.

Portſmouth, 28th. A court martial was this day held on board the Edgar, to try lieutenants Wall and Lucas, officers on board the Phaeton frigate, captain Dawſon commander, for ſuffering themſelves to be beaten by the ſurgeon, Mr. William Wardrobe (under ſentence of death for ſtriking his commanding officer while on duty) without puniſhing or calling him to account for his conduct. The proſecutor was the third lieutenant, ſupported by the maſter. The beating was proved; but it likewiſe was proved, that the ſurgeon, in the courſe of ſervice, having received a contuſion in his head, was a maniac when he was in liquor, but a man of quiet temper and conſummate ſkill in his profeſſion when ſober, which had inclined lieutenant Wall (who had the command of the ſhip when the fatal quarrel happened, in which he was ſtruck) from a principle of humanity, to forgiveneſs, in which he had been ſeconded by lieutenant Lucas from the ſame motives; a lenity, which however commendable as private gentlemen, was reprehenſible in the extreme in officers, as dangerous to the ſervice in his majeſty's navy. Thus circumſtanced, they threw themſelves on the mercy of the court, hoping that, ſhould they be thought guilty, in ſhewing too great lenity to an unhappy man, in compaſſion to his more unhappy family (having a wife and ſeveral ſmall children, entirely dependant on his pay, in Scotland) a little of that lenity they may be blamed for ſhewing to others, may be extended to themſelves.

While the ſentence of the court martial

martial remained in suspence, another court martial was ordered to be held on captain Dawson, which commenced on the 7th instant, at the instance of Mr. Wilkie, the master, on a variety of charges (fourteen in number) the greatest part of which were judged by the court ill-grounded, scandalous, malicious, and subversive of all good government and discipline in the navy; but part of the tenth, the eleventh, twelfth, and part of the fourteenth, were fully proved; and therefore the sentence of the court was, that the captain be dismissed from his majesty's service.

30th. The general assembly of the church of Scotland, by an act passed on the 29th of May, 1788, appointed the 5th day of November, in the present year, to be observed, within the bounds of their national church, as a day of solemn thanksgiving, in commemoration of the revolution in 1688, and have enjoined all ministers to intimate the same from their pulpits, on the Lord's day preceding the said 5th of November.

DIED.—At Paris, suddenly, the marquis de Chastellux, a commanding officer in the French army in America, and author of "Travels in North America, in the years 1780, 1, 2," which have been translated into English. The marquis also wrote, "De la Felicité publique; ou, Considerations sur le sort des Hommes dans les differentes Epoques de l'Histoire," published at Amsterdam without his name, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1772.

At Paris, after a short illness, aged eighty-seven years, eight months, and twenty-seven days, Antoine de Contaut de Biron, duke de Biron, peer and first marshal of France, knight of the king's orders, colonel-general of the French guards, governor of Languedoc, baron of Perigord and Ruffey, lord of Bradefol, Mugron, and Brisambourg, count of Cabreres, and marquis of Rouffillon and Montferrand.—His remains lay in state till the evening of Monday, November 10, when they were buried with military honours, all the French guards attending.—Mr. Walpole thus describes his gardening: "In the garden of marshal de Biron at Paris, consisting of fourteen acres, every walk is battened on each side by lines of flower-pots, which succeed in their seasons. When I saw it, there were nine thousand pots of Asters, or La Reine Marguerite."

NOVEMBER.

1st. This morning William Gill, esq; lord mayor elect, was presented to the lord chancellor, according to ancient usage, for his majesty's approbation.

This day was tried before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an indictment against Joseph Mitton, a soldier belonging to the bank picquet, for the assault on Mr. Crespigny, son of the member of parliament of that name. The indictment charged the defendant with an assault with intent to murder, and also with a common assault.—After lord Kenyon had summed up the evidence with his usual accuracy, the jury pronounced their verdict, Not guilty upon the count charging the defendant with an intent to kill—but guilty upon the count for a common assault.

5th. Being the anniversary of the birth-day of king William III. the

the artillery company attended divine ſervice at St. Paul's church, and afterwards dined at the Armoury-houſe.

Among the clubs in London who celebrated the centenary of the glorious revolution, there were ſeven, beſides a number of inferior ones, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on that memorable occaſion.

At the dinner, at the London tavern, of the Revolution ſociety, more than eight hundred gentlemen were preſent, earl Stanhope in the chair. The tavern was elegantly illuminated. There were many more illuminations where the friends of that happy event were aſſembled.

At the Whig club, held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, his grace the duke of Portland in the chair, Mr. Sheridan, after paying an eloquent tribute to the memory of our immortal deliverer, ſubmitted to the approbation of the ſociety certain reſolutions reſpecting a column intended to be erected in Runney Mead (a ſpot ſacred to the liberties of the people) to perpetuate ſo illuſtrious an event, which were unanimouſly agreed to, and more than £. 1000 ſubſcribed by the ſeveral members.

Edinburgh, The 5th inſtant, being the 100th anniverſary of the landing of king William III. in England, the ſame was obſerved at Edinburgh as a day of thankſgiving. A number of excellent ſermons were preached at the various churches, in which the riſe, progreſs, motives, and joyful effects of the revolution that followed, were pointed out in a moſt maſterly and pathetic manner. The congregations, which were univerſally numerous, were in the principal churches of the firſt quality.

One of the Whig clubs, called, "The Independent Friends," came to the reſolution, "That, impreſſed with the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the ineſtimable bleſſings which theſe kingdoms enjoy in conſequence of the glorious revolution in 1688, they now enter into and ſhall promote a ſubſcription for erecting in Edinburgh, or the immediate neighbourhood thereof, ſome public monument, with a ſuitable inſcription, in commemoration of that great event, and in teſtimony of their firm and ſteady adherence to the principles of the revolution ſettlement."

On the 17th of September, the ſhip Alliance, captain Read, arrived at Philadelphia, from Canton, in China, after a voyage of fifteen months, part of which, outwards, was by a new track, from the Cape of Good Hope ſteering to the ſouth-eaſtward, and encircling all the eaſtern and ſouthern iſlands of the Indian Ocean, paſſing the ſouth cape of New Holland, and on their paſſage northwards diſcovering, as they ſuppoſed, ſome unknown iſlands, with the inhabitants of which, they, however, had no intercouſe; ſo that nothing can be concluded from their report.

By the report of doctor Ruſh, of Philadelphia, a ſecond phenomenon, equal, if not ſuperior, to that prodigy in calculation, Jedediah Buxton, has appeared in Maryland, in the perſon of a black ſlave; this is the more extraordinary, as it is ſomewhere remarked, that few of the race of woolley-headed blacks can go farther in the art of enumeration than the number 5. The man being aſked how many ſeconds a man of ſeventy years, ſome odd months, weeks, and days, had lived? *in a minute and a half*, told the

the number. The gentleman, after calculating the ſame by figures, ſaid he was wrong.—"*Stop, maſſa,*" replied the black, "*you forget the leap years*;" and on including them, the gentleman found the black was preciſely right. This ſlave is a native of Africa, and could neſther write nor read; neither could Jedediah Buxton. The publication of theſe *facts* ſeems to have an *end* in view, which, however, will by no means leſſen their credit, when reported by doctor Ruſh, on his *own knowledge*.

Ireland. A moſt extraordinary circumſtance occurred lately at Mullingar. A man about three years ago murdered his ſtep-mother in the open day; and the alarm being given, a gentleman, with his attendants, properly armed, repaired to the place in order to apprehend him. While the party were engaged in breaking open the ſtreet-door, he contrived to make his eſcape backward, and going round, mounted the gentleman's horſe, and rode clear off. He was not heard of for about three years; but on the 27th inſtant, went to the ſheriff of the county of Weſtmeath, and voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf; though remote from puniſhment, and living orderly, he had acquired the reputation of an honeſt man.

22d. The following intereſting point of law was argued and determined in the court of common pleas, before lord Loughborough. Mr. Williams, an auctioneer, was employed by Mr. Crown, of Brompton, to ſell his furniture by auction, on the premiſſes. A Mr. Millington, who had a claim of five guineas on Crown, had goods knocked down to him at the auction, for which he paid the cuſtomary earneſt, and next day found means to get the goods loaded and ſent off, and then tendered a receipt for the five guineas due to him, with 2l. 4s. 6d. in caſh, as payment to the auctioneer. The auctioneer refuſed the receipt in payment, paid Crown the full money for the lot, and then brought his action againſt Mr. Millington, and got a verdict in his favour. Millington moved the court to ſet aſide the verdict. The arguments offered by his counſel were principally theſe, that the auctioneer had himſelf no property in the goods, and his poſſeſſion was only a menial one, ſuch as a ſhopman has from his employers; therefore he could maintain no action in his own name for breach of contract; that the caſe was totally different from that of a factor for a foreign merchant, who was liable to ſue and be ſued, for the convenience of commerce, becauſe the principal, dwelling in a foreign country, could not be forthcoming; but here the auctioneer's principal being on the ſpot, removed all reſponſibility from the ſervant to himſelf. When the counſel on the other ſide had replied, lord Loughborough gave it as his decided opinion, that the auctioneer had not only a clear poſſeſſion of the goods, but that poſſeſſion was alſo coupled with an intereſt he had in them, as bound not only to defray all expences incurred by the ſale, but the law threw upon him the reſponſibility for the duty. On this ground the verdict was eſtabliſhed.

29th. Was committed to the Caſtle of Lancaſter, John Taylor, of Aldcliffe, for attempting

to ſhoot his wife and child, with a gun loaded with three ſlugs, which, though he ſnapped it twice, fortunately miſſed fire. In a ſcuffle which enſued, the wife twiſted the gun out of his hands, and diſcharged its contents on the firſt pull of the trigger.

30th. Lord George Gordon, of whom we have heard nothing material for ſome time, has lately taken occaſion to cauſe ſeveral hand-bills to be diſtributed, in which many texts of ſcripture are moſt ſcandalouſly applied to the unhappy ſtate of the king. They are chiefly ſelected from the books of Deuteronomy and Kings.

His lordſhip, in order to ſhew government that what Moſes and the prophets wrote in reſpect to the ſovereigns of thoſe days, would anſwer for any monarch in hundreds of centuries afterwards, thought proper to ſend ſeveral of thoſe hand-bills to the preſent members of adminiſtration, avowing himſelf as the author.

The applications evidently made, and the effects palpably intended, were to alienate from his majeſty the affections of his people, by the moſt ſcandalous perverſion of the texts above-mentioned.

As this proceeding was of a very criminal nature, orders were immediately ſent to the ſheriff to ſearch his lordſhip's apartments, and diſcover whether he had any means of printing ſuch treaſonable libels in Newgate. Accordingly ſir Benjamin Hammet went, on Thurſday, the 28th day of November, to lord George Gordon's apartment, on the felons ſide in Newgate, and tore down two copies from the walls of the room. He informed his lordſhip, that thoſe papers made a great diſturbance in the city, and threatened to remove his lordſhip to a worſe room. Lord George told the ſheriffs, he was under the power of his enemies, in a loathſome priſon, and they might do as they thought moſt prudent for themſelves; as to the printer, he was known to nobody but himſelf.

Died.—Lately, of a violent fever, on board his ſhip the Rotiſlaw, at Revel, admiral Samuel Carlowitch Greig, chief governor of the port of Cronſtadt, chevalier of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander-Newſki, St. George of the ſecond claſs, St. Woldmir of the firſt claſs, and St. Anne; and admiral and commander in chief of the empreſs of Ruſſia's fleet.—His remains have been conveyed from Revel to Peterſburg by water, and there interred with great funeral pomp in the cathedral church of St. Catherine, where a monument is to be erected.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. The royal ſociety held their anniverſary meeting, at their apartments in Somerſet-place in the Strand, when the preſident, ſir Joſeph Banks, bart. in the name of the ſociety, preſented the gold medal (called ſir Godfrey Copley's) to Charles Blagden, M. D. Sec. R. S. for his two papers "On Congela-"tion." The preſident on this occaſion delivered the cuſtomary diſcourſe on the ſubjects contained in Dr. Blagden's papers.

Afterwards the ſociety proceeded to the choice of the council and officers for the enſuing year, when, on examining

examining the ballots, it appeared, that the following gentlemen were elected of the council:

Of the old council, ſir Joſeph Banks, bart. Charles Blagden, M.D. Richard Brockleſby, M.D. Henry Cavendiſh, eſq; the reverend Lewis Dutens, M.A. Thomas Emlyn, eſq; the reverend Nevil Maſkelyne, D.D. Conſtantine John lord Mulgrave, ſir William Muſgrave, bart. Joſeph Planta, eſq; Samuel Wegg, eſq;

Of the new council, John Douglas lord biſhop of Carliſle, Francis marquis of Carmarthen, Charles Combe, M.D. George Fordyce, M.D. Sir Abraham Hume, bart. Thomas Barnard lord biſhop of Killaloe, Francis Millman, M.D. John Peachey, eſq; Samuel Prime, eſq; Robert Weſton, eſq;

And the officers were, ſir Joſeph Banks, bart. preſident; Samuel Wegg, eſq; treaſurer; Joſeph Planta, eſq; and Charles Blagden, M.D. ſecretaries.

8th. The recorder of London had a long conference with lord Sidney, on the ſubject of the preſent ſituation of the priſons of the metropolis, and the number of convicts that are increaſing to an alarming degree, owing to the delay of ſending abroad thoſe under ſentence of tranſportation. The ſeaſon is over for ſending them to Quebec and Nova Scotia; but aſſurances have been given, that two ſhips, properly fitted up, ſhall be ready, by the latter end of March next, to carry convicts to America.

11th. The poll at the conteſted election for Colcheſter cloſed, when the numbers were—for Mr. Tierney, 640—for Mr. Jackſon, 640. The mayor made a double return.

The aſſembly of the Notables, which met at Verſailles on the 6th of November, was diſſolved by the French king in perſon. The following is a tranſlation of his ſpeech:

"Gentlemen, in terminating your meetings, I aſſemble you around me, to teſtify my ſatisfaction at the zeal and application which you have obſerved in the examination of the different objects which I laid before you. I ſhall weigh with attention the reſult of your deliberations, and ſhall prepare every thing which may accelerate the aſſembly of the States General; a period that I wiſh for with much impatience, being aſſured they will provide an efficacious remedy for the evils of the ſtate."

16th. A ballot was held at the Eaſt India houſe for the choice of a director, in the room of the late Mr. Michie: at ſix o'clock the glaſſes were cloſed; and at ſeven the ſcrutineers declared the numbers as follows:

For Mr. David Scott, 568
Mr. Robert Jenner, 283

Upon which Mr. Scott was declared duly elected.

This day his royal highneſs the duke of York ordered 260 ſacks of coals to be diſtributed among the families of the married men of his regiment, and the ſame to be continued every week during the ſeverity of the weather.

DIED.—At Paris, in his 62d year, Peter Andrew de Suffren Saint Tropes, bailey and knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, vice-admiral of France, knight of the king's orders, ambaſſador at Malta to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, general of that order, commendeur of ſeveral priories, &c. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many gallant actions during the late

war in the East Indies.—Being a knight of Malta, he was buried in the Temple, on the 11th inst.

22d. In Princes-street, Hanover-square, Percival Pott, esq; F.R.S. late principal surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He was among the favoured few who are indulged with early eminence. He succeeded Nourse, his master, at St. Bartholomew's, where, man and boy, he had been occupied above fifty years; and yet, in all that time, who ever found him wanting in any pursuit of urbanity and elegance? He was an interesting converser; he had cultivated literature; he was fond of art. But his best praise was in real life, in the relative duties, and more trying efforts of active life. In the pecuniary parts of character, happy is he who can be as liberal. His life had been, if health and comeliness are so, uncommonly reputable to his skill. He looked 50 though at 75. He was sent for to a patient out of town. Catching cold, he caught his instant death. He was delirious before night; and before the next night, notwithstanding Dr. Millman's assistance, he was dead.—The following is as correct a list of his publications as we can obtain: 1. "An Account of Tumours which soften the Bones." Phil. Trans. 1741, N° 459. 2. "A Treatise on Ruptures," 8vo, London, 1756. 3. "An Account of a particular Kind of Rupture," 8vo, ibid. 1757. 4. "A Treatise on the Hydrocele," 8vo, ibid. 1762. 5. "A Treatise on the Fistula Lachrymalis," 8vo. ibid. 1763. 6. "An Account of an Hernia of the Urinary-Bladder, including a Stone." Phil. Trans. vol. LIV. for 1764. 7. "Remarks on the Fistula in Ano," 8vo, ibid. 1767. 8. "Some few general Remarks on Fractures and Dislocations," 8vo, ibid. 1768. 9. "Observations on the Nature and Consequences of those Injuries to which the Head is liable from external Violence," 8vo, ibid. 1768. 10. "Observations on Wounds of the Head," 8vo, ibid. 1760 and 1771. 11. "An Account of the Method of obtaining a perfect or radical Cure of the Hydrocele, or Watery Rupture, by means of a Seton," 8vo, ibid. 1771. 12. "Chirurgical Observations relative to the Cataract, the Polypus of the Nose, the Cancer of the Scrotum, the different Kinds of Ruptures, and the Mortification of the Toes and Feet," 8vo, London, 1775. All these different works have been collected and published in one volume quarto.

26th. At his apartments at Chelsea College, in his 95th year, Messenger Mounsey, M.D. For a considerable time he was family physician to the late earl of Godolphin, and physician to Chelsea College. His character and humour bore a striking resemblance to that of the celebrated Dean Swift. By his will he has directed that his body shall not suffer any funeral ceremony, but undergo dissection; after which, the "remainder of his carcase (to use his own expression) may be put into a hole, or crammed into a box with holes, and thrown into the Thames," at the pleasure of the surgeon. The surgeon to whom he has assigned this charge is Mr. Forster, of Union-court, Broad-street.—In pursuance of the doctor's singular will, Mr. Forster has since given a discourse,

courſe, in the theatre of Guy's Hoſpital, to the medical ſtudents and a conſiderable number of intelligent viſitors, on the diſſection of the body. He introduced the ſubject by a ſketch of the mental powers of Dr. Mounſey, obſerving, that his underſtanding was very comprehenſive, that his genius and wit ranked him high in the literary world, that his company was courted by men of the firſt character for talents and diſtinction, and that he retained the ſtrength of his judgment, and the livelineſs of his fancy, to the very advanced period at which his life ended.—Mr. Forſter then vindicated the doctor from all affectation, vanity, or whim, in having ordered his body for diſſection, and prohibited all funeral ceremony, ſtating, that whatever of ſingularity might appear in his will was reſolvable merely into a zeal for knowledge, and a deſire of benefiting mankind, as he conceived that a diſſection of his body would lead to the illuſtration of much uſeful truth. He mentioned alſo the philoſophic contempt in which the Doctor held all funeral pomp, and every ſpecies of unneceſſary form.

BIRTHS for the year 1788.

Jan. Lately, The right hon. lady Vernon, of a daughter.
8. Great ducheſs of Tuſcany, of a prince.
14. Lady of the hon. Fred. Lumley, of a ſon.
15. Lady of the hon. John Byng, of a daughter.
Feb. 9. Lady of Thomas Smith, eſq; M. P. for Nottingham, of a daughter.
10. Lady Carysfort, of a daughter.
18. At Copenhagen, her royal highneſs princeſs Sophia-Frederica, of a princeſs.
24. Lady Boynton, of a daughter.
26. Lady of Gerard Edward Noel, eſq; of a daughter.
27. Right hon. lady Kinnaird, of a ſon.
March 10. Lady Macdonald, of a ſon.
21. Right hon. lady Boſton, of a ſon.
24. Right hon. lady Louvaine, of a ſon.
29. Her royal highneſs the princeſs of Aſturias, of a ſon.
April 4. Lady of ſir Paulett St. John, bart. of a daughter.
12. Lady of ſir Samuel Hannay, bart. of a daughter.
May 9. Lady Carnegie, of a daughter.
13. Lady John Ruſſell, of a ſon.
19. Counteſs of Altamont, of a ſon and heir.
21. Her imperial highneſs the great ducheſs of Tuſcany, of a princeſs.
June. Lately, the counteſs of Eglintoun, of a daughter.
8. Lady Compton, of a ſon.
11. Lady Swinburne, of a ſon and heir.
19. Lady Calthorpe, of a daughter.
21. Right hon. Counteſs Kinnoul, of a daughter.

July 20. The right hon. lady Frances Benſon, of a ſon.

Aug. 6. Lady Frederick, of a ſon.

16. Lady Bernard, of a ſon and heir.

26. At Naples, her Sicilian majeſty, of a prince.

Sept. Lately, the right hon. lady Caſtle Stewart, of a daughter.

1. Lady of James Hodſon, eſq; of Ince, near Wigan, of a ſon and heir.

4. Right hon. lady Grey de Wilton of a daughter.

26. Lady Whichcote, of a daughter.

30. Ducheſs of Beaufort, of a ſon.

Oct. Lately, the right hon. lady Ann Fox, of a ſon and heir.

15. Her grace the ducheſs of Athol, of a ſon.

17. Counteſs of Abingdon, of a daughter.

20. Lady Allanſon Winn, of a daughter.

Nov. Lady Radnor, of a ſon. In Ireland, viſcounteſs Jocelyn of a ſon.

Dec. 2. The counteſs of Tankerville of a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1788.

Jan. Lately, Francis Burton, eſq; of Lincoln's-inn, member of parliament for Woodſtock, to miſs Halhead, eldeſt daughter of Nicholas Halhead, eſq; late of that place.

Jan. 14. Edward Miller Mundy, eſq; of Shipley, member of parliament for Nottinghamſhire, to the right hon. lady dowager Middleton.

23. The hon. ſir Francis Drake, bart. admiral of the blue, to miſs Onſlow, only daughter of George Onſlow, eſq; many years member of parliament for Guildford, Surrey.

26. Sir John Rous, bart. member of parliament for Suffolk, to miſs Wilſon, only daughter and heireſs of the late Edward Warter Wilſon, eſq; of Bilboa, in the county of Limerick, in Ireland.

Samuel Whitbread, eſq; junior, to miſs Grey, daughter of ſir Charles Grey, knight of the Bath and Thiſtle.

Feb. Lately, in Dublin, the right hon. lord viſcount Jocelyn, to miſs Bligh, of Merrion-buildings, eldeſt daughter of the dean of Elphin.

2. Lord viſcount Wentworth, to the counteſs Ligonier.

14. The earl of Aylesbury, to lady Ann Rawdon.

March 4. Lord Glaſgow, to lady E. Hay, third daughter of the counteſs of Errol.

6. Sir John Sinclair, bart. to the hon. miſs Macdonald.

11. Richard Groſvenor, eſq; member of parliament

ment for West Looe, Cornwall, to miſs Drax, only daughter of Edward Drax, eſq; of Melcomb Regis, Dorſet.

April 7. Hon. John Wilſon, one of the judges of the court of common-pleas, to miſs Adair, daughter of ſerjeant Adair, recorder of London.

11. Lambert Theodore Walpole, eſq; nephew to lord Walpole, to the hon. miſs Margaretta Clive, youngeſt ſiſter to lord Clive.

12. Right hon. the earl of Dundonald, to Mrs. Mayne.

14. Charles, Sturt, eſq; member of parliament for Bridport, in the county of Dorſet, to the right hon. lady Mary-Anne Aſhley, only daughter of the late earl of Shafteſbury.

May. Lately, The rev. Dr. Cleaver, firſt chaplain to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to miſs Wynne, daughter of the right hon. Owen Wynne.

1. Sir Nicholas Conway Colthurſt, bart. to miſs Harriet Latouche, daughter of the right hon. David Latouche,

13. Sir Egerton Leigh, bart. to Mrs. Beauchamp, daughter of the late ſir Edward Boughton, bart. of Lawford-hall, in the county of Warwick.

16. Sir Edmund Affleck, bart. rear-admiral of the red, and member of parliament for Colcheſter, to Mrs. Smithers.

20. The earl of Plymouth, to the hon. miſs Archer, one of the daughters of the late lord Archer.

29. Orlando Bridgeman, eſq; eldeſt ſon of ſir Henry Bridgeman, bart. member of parliament for Wigan, in the county of Lancaſter, to the hon. miſs Byng, eldeſt daughter of lord viſcount Torrington.

June 2. Monſ. de Calonne, miniſter of ſtate, to madame d'Harvelai.

4. —— Vyner, eſq; ſon of Robert Vyner, eſq; member of parliament for Thirſke, to lady Theodoſia Mary Aſhburnham, daughter of the late lord viſcount Aſhburnham.

8. The right hon. lord Charles Henry Somerſet, ſecond ſon of the duke of Beaufort, to the honourable miſs Elizabeth Courtenay, fourth daughter of the right hon. lord viſcount Courtenay.

26. Vice-admiral ſir Alexander Hood, knight of the Bath, to miſs Bray, only daughter of the late Thomas Bray, eſq; of Edmonton.

July 12. Right hon. the earl of

Burford, ſon to the duke of St. Albans, to miſs Moſes.

15. Right hon. viſcount Dudley and Ward, to Mrs. Baker.

Aug. 4. John Drummond, eſq; member of parliament for Shafteſbury, to the right hon. lady Suſan Fane, daughter of the late earl of Weſtmorland.

Oct. 11. The right hon. the marquis of Carmarthen, to miſs Catharine Anguiſh, daughter of the late Thomas Anguiſh, eſq; maſter in chancery, and accomptant-general.

Nov. Lately, the hon. H. Pelham, ſecond ſon of lord Pelham, to miſs Cobb, daughter of lady Mary Cobb.

Dec. 9. The hon. Frederick St. John, brother to lord viſcount Bolingbroke, to lady Mary Kerr, daughter of the marquis of Lothian.

PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1788, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

January. Reverend doctor Douglas, biſhop of Carliſle, appointed regiſtrar of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and dean of Windſor, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceaſed.

Reverend James Jones, D.D. appointed archdeacon of Hereford, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceaſed.

James Ford, M.D. appointed phyſician extraordinary to the queen.

March. Right hon. ſir James Harris, K.B. appointed ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the ſtates general of the United Provinces; and William Gomm, eſq; appointed ſecretary to the ſaid embaſſy.

Reverend Richard Farmer, D.D. appointed canon reſidentiary of St. Paul, vice right reverend doctor John Douglas, biſhop of Carliſle.

Captain William Wynyard, captain Charles Aſgill, and the hon. Charles Fitzroy, appointed equerries to his royal highneſs the duke of York.

William Stiles and William Roe, eſquires, appointed commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, vice Henry Pelham, and John Pownall, eſquires, reſigned.

Jeremiah Pemberton, eſq; appointed chief juſtice of Nova Scotia, vice Brian Finucan, eſq; deceaſed.

Thomas Walpole, eſq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the elector palatine.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, eſq; treaſurer of the navy, elected chancellor of the univerſity of St. Andrew, in Scotland, vice earl of Kinnoul, deceaſed.

George Roſe, eſq; member of parliament for Launceſton, in the county of Cornwall, elected verdurer of New Foreſt, vice ſir P. J. Clerke, deceaſed.

Right reverend doctor John Butler, biſhop of Oxford, tranſlated to the ſee of Hereford, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceaſed.

Right reverend doctor E. Smallwell, biſhop of St. David's, tranſlated to the ſee of Oxford, vice doctor Butler.

Reverend Samuel Horſley, D.D. appointed

appointed biſhop of St. David's, vice doctor Smallwell.

April. Reverend Samuel Weſton, M. A. appointed canon and prebendary of Canterbury cathedral, vice doctor Richard Farmer, reſigned.

Reverend Charles Fiennes, B. A. appointed prebendary of Weſtminſter, vice doctor Taylor, deceaſed.

Philip Goldſworthy, eſq; appointed equerry to his majeſty, and clerk-marſhal of the Mews, vice general Carpenter, deceaſed.

May. Right hon. Hugh lord Forteſcue, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon, vice earl Poulett, deceaſed.

Lieutenant-general William Auguſtus Pitt, right hon. James Cuffe, Ponſonby Moore, John Handcock, and Robert Langriſhe, eſquires, and colonel David Dundas, together with the hon. George Jocelyn, George Rawſon, and Charles Henry Coote, eſquires, appointed commiſſioners and overſeers of barracks, &c. in Ireland, vice James Cavendiſh, Fitzherbert Richards, and Ralph Ward, eſquires.

Sir George Yonge, and admiral ſir Alexander Hood, created knights of the Bath.

Reverend Francis Barnes, B. D. of King's college, Cambridge, appointed maſter of Peterhouſe, vice the late biſhop of Carliſle.

June. Right hon. ſir Lloyd Kenyon, bart. created a Britiſh peer, by the title of lord Kenyon, baron of Gredington, in the county of Flint.

Right hon. lord Kenyon, appointed lord chief juſtice of the court of king's bench, vice earl Mansfield, reſigned.

Richard Pepper Arden, eſquire, knighted, and admitted of the honourable privy council.

Sir Richard Pepper Arden, knight, maſter and keeper of the rolls, vice lord Kenyon.

Archibald M'Donald, eſq; knighted, and appointed attorney-general, vice Arden.

John Scott, eſq; knighted, and appointed ſolicitor-general, vice M'Donald.

The earl of Leven, appointed his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

George Roſe, eſq; clerk of the parliaments, vice Cowper, deceaſed.

July. Right hon. Richard viſcount Howe, created an Engliſh baron and earl, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Howe, of Langar, in the county of Nottingham, and Earl Howe.

Right hon. John earl of Chatham, and the right hon. Samuel lord Hood, added to his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain.

His grace the duke of Leinſter, appointed maſter and keeper of the rolls in Ireland, vice Rigby deceaſed; and Mr. Perry appointed his grace's deputy.

Edward Bearcroft, eſq; appointed chief juſtice of Cheſter, vice ſir Richard Pepper Arden, maſter of the rolls.

Francis Burton, eſq; appointed puiſne judge of Cheſter, vice the hon. D. Barrington, reſigned.

Auguſt. Joſeph Ewart, eſq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

Hon. Stephen Digby, appointed maſter, keeper, and governor of the hoſpital or free chapel of St. Katharine near the Tower, vice Waller, deceaſed.

Dr. William Wynne, appointed

judge of the prerogative and peculiars, and dean of the arches court, Doctors Commons, vice Dr. Calvert, deceaſed.

Sept. Right hon. John Griffin lord Howard, of Walden, K. B. created a baron of Great Britain, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Lord Braybrooke, Baron of Braybrooke, in the county of Northampton; with remainder to Richard Aldworth Neville, eſq; of Billingbear, Berks, and his heirs male.

Right hon. Jeffery Lord Amherſt, K. B. created a baron of Great Britain, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Baron Amherſt, of Montreal, Kent; with remainder to his nephew, William Pitt, eſq; and his heirs male.

Right hon. ſir Joſeph Yorke, K. B. created a Britiſh peer, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Lord Dover, Baron of the town and port of Dover, in the county of Kent.

Right hon. ſir James Harris, K. B. created a Britiſh peer, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Lord Malmeſbury, Baron of Malmeſbury, in the county of Wilts.

Right hon. and right reverend John Hinchcliffe, D. D. biſhop of Peterborough, appointed dean of Durham, vice the hon. and reverend William Digby, deceaſed.

William Scott, LL.D. knighted, and appointed his majeſty's advocate-general.

William Wynne, LL.D. knighted.

Charles Whitworth, eſq; appointed envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Peterſburgh.

Robert Liſton, eſq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Stockholm.

Daniel Hailes, eſq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Warſaw.

Nov. Iſaac Corry, eſq; appointed ſurveyor-general and aſſiſtant to the lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Ireland.

Hon. Thomas Pakenham, appointed chief keeper of ordnance ſtores in Ireland.

Hon. miſs Anne Boſcawen, appointed by the queen ſempſtreſs and laundreſs to her majeſty, vice hon. miſs Chetwynd, deceaſed; alſo, the hon. miſs Auguſta Brudenell, appointed one of her majeſty's maids of honour, vice hon. miſs Boſcawen.

DEATHS *for the Year* 1788.

Jan. 9. The right hon. and right rev. John Harley, D. D. biſhop of Hereford, dean of Windſor, and regiſtrar of the moſt noble order of the Garter.

12. At Bruſſels, lady Catharine Bellaſyſe, eldeſt daughter of the late earl of Fauconberg, and ſiſter to the preſent earl.

14. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, bart. member of parliament for Totneſs, Devonſhire.

16. The counteſs dowager of Fife, mother to the earl of Fife.

At Liege, the hon. Thomaſine Barnewall, viſcounteſs dowager Gormanſton.

24. In France, the cardinal de Luynes, archbiſhop of Sens, primate of both Gauls and Germany, abbot of Corbie, in Picardy, &c. commander of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, member of the French academy, and of that of ſciences.

27. Lieutenant-general Tryon, colonel of the 29th regiment of foot,

foot, late governor of the province of New York, and commander in chief of his majeſty's forces there.

30. Sir Aſhton Lever, knight, late poſſeſſor of the Muſeum, in Leiceſter-fields.

Feb. Lately, in France, lord Roſehill, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Northeſk.

March 5. Audrey, lady dowager viſcounteſs Townſhend, relict of the late Charles viſcount Townſhend, who died in 1764, and daughter and ſole heir of Richard Harriſon, eſq; of Balls, near Hertford, formerly governor of Fort St. George, in the Eaſt Indies, and poſtmaſter-general.

Lady H. Beauclerk.

8. Benjamin Carpenter, eſq; general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons, clerk-marſhal of the Mews, and principal equerry to the king.

11. Miſs Moore, daughter of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

15. Lady Wilmot, wife to ſir Robert Wilmot, bart. and daughter to the late hon. admiral Byron.

21. Lady Armytage, relict of the late ſir George Armytage, bart. of Kirklees, in the weſt riding of the county of York, and daughter of Godfrey Wentworth, eſq; of Hickleton, near Doncaſter, in the ſaid county.

Anne, counteſs dowager of Coventry.

24. The right hon. lady Elizabeth Fitzwilliam, ſiſter to the late, and aunt to the preſent, earl Fitzwilliam. She was ſecond daughter of John, ſecond earl Fitzwilliam.

31. The right hon. Suſannah lady viſcounteſs Fane, relict of Charles viſcount Fane, of the kingdom of Ireland.

April 8. The right hon. Richard Rigby, member of parliament for Taviſtock.

11. Right hon. Jane dowager counteſs of Hopetoun, daughter of Robert Oliphant, eſq; and ſecond wife to the late earl.

14. The right hon. Vere Poulet, third earl Poulet.

16. At Paris, George Le Clerc, count de Buffon, lord of Montbart, marquis of Rougemont, viſcount of Quincy.

19. Lord viſcount Kilcourſie, ſon to the earl of Cavan.

At Paris, the duke de Fleury.

22. Lady Flemming, relict of ſir William Flemming, bart. of Rydal, in the county of Weſtmoreland.

29. Lord Boringdon, colonel of the Devonſhire militia.

May 1. Jane dowager viſcounteſs Galway, relict of the late John viſcount Galway.

12. His ſerene highneſs duke Lewis Erneſt of Brunſwick Lunenburg, field-marſhal of the empire.

16. Rachel baroneſs Le Deſpencer, ſole daughter of Sir Francis Daſhwood, of Weſt Wycombe, Bucks, bart. by his ſecond wife lady Mary Fane, eldeſt daughter of Vere, fourth earl of Weſtmoreland.

22. The right hon. lady Mulgrave of the kingdom of Ireland.

June. Lately, the right hon. lord Cahier, of the kingdom of Ireland.

4. Sir John Lindſay, K. B. rear-admiral of the red.

15. Rev. ſir William Lowther, baronet, rector of Savillington, Yorkſhire, and prebendary of York.

18. Her grace Lucy ducheſs of Montroſe.

July 1. Lord viſcount Say and Sele.

5. Right hon. lady Byron, wife of the right hon. William lord

Byron, of Newſtead-abbey, in the county of Nottingham.

Aug. 5. The right hon. lady Colville, of Culroſs.

7. The duc de Richelieu and Fronſack, peer and firſt marſhal of France.

8. Right hon. Richard Wingfield, baron Wingfield, of Wingfield, in the county of Wexford, and fifth viſcount Powerſcourt, in the county of Wicklow.

10. Right hon. Edward Turnour Garth Turnour, earl of Winterton, of Gort, in the county of Galway, Ireland.

13. The right worſhipful Peter Calvert, LL.D. F.R. and A.SS. official principal of the arches court of Canterbury, and maſter, keeper, or commiſſary of the prerogative court of Canterbury.

24. Sir Charles Raymond, bart. banker.

29. Lady Purves.

Sept. Lately, in France, the duc d'Augillon.

2. George Montagu, duke and earl of Mancheſter, viſcount Mandeville, baron Montagu of Kimbolton, knight of the garter, lord-lieutenant, cuſtos rotulorum, and colonel of the militia of Huntingdonſhire, high ſteward of Godmancheſter, collector of the cuſtoms outwards in the port of London, preſident of the Lock Hoſpital, and LL.D.

At Paris, the marquis d'Aubeterre, marſhal of France, knight of the king's orders, and formerly ambaſſador to the courts of Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, and commandant in chief in Brittany.

6. At Rome, Cardinal Charles Boſchi.

10. Lieutenant-general James Cunninghame, colonel of the 45th regiment, and member of parliament for Eaſt Grinſtead.

11. At Liſbon, of the ſmall-pox, Joſeph Francis Xavier, prince of Brazil, and heir apparent to the crown of Portugal. He was born Aug. 21, 1761; married Feb. 21, 1771, to his aunt, Maria-Franciſca Benedicta, who was born July 24, 1748.

12. At Grenoble, Marſhal de Vaux, commander in chief of the province of Burgundy.

19. The hon. and reverend William Digby, dean of Durham.

28. Lady Philipps, relict of the late ſir John Philipps, and mother to lord Milford, of Picton caſtle, in the county of Pembroke.

Oct. 9. The right hon. John Ward, viſcount Dudley and Ward, recorder of Kidderminſter, Worceſterſhire, and LL.D.

13. Robert Nugent, earl Nugent of the kingdom of Ireland.

Nov. Lately, The princeſs of Wurtemburg, eldeſt daughter of the reigning duke of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle.

Harriet lady Archibald Hamilton.

12. At Gottingen, his ſerene highneſs Francis Juſtiniani, prince of Chio and the Holy Empire, born knight of the royal order of Chriſt.

23. At Madrid, his royal highneſs the infant don Gabriel, his catholic majeſty's third ſon; his conſort died a little time before.

Dec. 5. Lady Aubrey, widow of the late ſir Thomas Aubrey, bart. and mother to the preſent ſir John Aubrey.

7. The hon. miſs Cuſt, lord Brownlow's eldeſt daughter.

9. The right reverend Jonathan Shipley, D.D. lord biſhop and archdeacon of St. Aſaph.

12. The

12. The right hon. lady Suſan Powlett, aunt to earl Powlett.

14. William lord viſcount Courtenay.

23. Hon captain James Luttrell, youngeſt ſon of the late earl of Carhampton, member of parliament for Dover, and ſurveyor-general of the ordnance.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for* 1788.

Berkſhire. William Brummell, of Donnington.

Bedfordſhire. W. L. Antonie, of Colmworth.

Bucks. S. Langſton, of Little Horwood.

Cumberland. Sir F. Vane, of Hutton.

Cheſhire. John Glegg, of Withington.

Cambridgeſhire and *Huntingdonſhire.* Euſtace Kentiſh, of King's Ripton.

Devonſhire. Sir J. Chicheſter, of Youlſton.

Dorſetſhire. A. Chapman, of Holneſt.

Derbyſhire. Peter Pegge, of Beauchief.

Eſſex. T. Theophilus Cock, of Meſſing.

Hants. R. Brickenden, of Maltſhanger.

Glouceſterſhire. N. Smith, of N. Nibley.

Hertfordſhire. C. Bourchier, of Shenley.

Herefordſhire. T. Downes, of Staunton.

Kent. James Bond, of Hayes.

Leiceſterſhire. J. Clarke, of Great Wigſton.

Lincolnſhire. Edward Brown, of Stamford.

Monmouthſhire. G. Smith, of Pierceſield.

Northumberland. D. R. Grieve, of Swarland.

Northamptonſhire. J. Aſhley, of Ledgers Aſhby.

Norfolk. Thomas Kerrich, of Gelderſtone.

Nottinghamſhire. R. Stenton, of Southwell.

Oxfordſhire. T. Jemmett, of Little Milton.

Rutlandſhire. W. Belgrave, of Uppingham.

Shropſhire. Joſeph Muckleſton, of Preſcot.

Somerſetſhire. J. Lethbridge, of Sandhill Park.

Staffordſhire. T. Fletcher, of Newcaſtle under Line.

Suffolk. Sir T. C. Bunbury, of Barton.

Surrey. John Creuze, of Woodbridge.

Suſſex. John Bean, of Littlington.

Warwickſhire. W. Elliot, of Counden.

Worceſterſhire. J. Baker, jun. of Bevere.

Wiltſhire. Robert Aſh, of Langley.

Yorkſhire. John York, of Richmond.

SOUTH WALES.

Breconſhire. Sir E. Williams, of Llangoid Caſtle.

Carmarthenſhire. John Thomas, of Ciſtanog.

Cardiganſhire. John Vaughan, of Trewindſor.

Glamorganſhire. R. Jenkins, of Pantynawell

Pembrokeſhire. J. P. Langharne, of Orlanden.

Radnorſhire. Bell Lloyd, of Boulty Brook.

NORTH

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. Henry Pritchard, of Treſcawen.

Carnarvonſhire. John Holland, of Teyrdan.

Denbighſhire. Richard Wilding, of Llaſhaedr.

Flintſhire. John Fitzgerald, of Bettisfield.

Merionethſhire. Griffith Evans, of Cym yr aſon.

Montgomeryſhire. R. J. Harriſon, of Cefngwernfa.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council, for* 1788.

Cornwall. F. Gregor, of Reſtormel Park.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Copies of the Letters received by the Council * of* Brabant, *the 22d of* January, *from his Excellency Count de* Trauttmansdorff.

FERDINAND, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS it is our determined will, that conformably to our former orders the declaration of the 17th of December be publiſhed within twenty-four hours, and as that term is on the point of expiring, we now repeat to you our commands to carry our former orders into execution; forbidding you, at the ſame time, under pain of diſobedience, to ſeparate or quit the council, until you ſhall have taken the proper ſteps for iſſuing and publiſhing the ſaid declaration, and communicated to us ſuch your reſolution. We think it proper to inform you, that we have made known to the deputies of the States our abſolute intentions, in terms which announce the immediate conſequences of the leaſt delay on this head.

In the mean time, gentlemen, may God have you in his holy keeping.

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Counterſigned, by command of his excellency,

Bruſſels, Jan. 22, 1788. } VANDEVELDT.

To the council of Brabant.

Received by the council a quarter before nine o'clock.

The above diſpatch was accompanied by the following, addreſſed to the chancellor of Brabant.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I SEND you a diſpatch for the council, which I beg you will cauſe to be immediately read. By the contents you will perceive that I am *irrevocably* determined to enforce the execution of what I mentioned this morning, even though I ſhould come to thoſe *extremities* which I have had the good fortune hitherto to avoid; but the *exploſion* of which would be this day *infallible*, as well for the whole body, as for many individuals. It being his Majeſty's abſolute determination, which his dignity requires, that nothing, upon which he has already ſignified his will, may be made the ſubject of doubt, or altered in conſequence of any repreſentation or remonſtrance, you will find in the ſaid diſpatch the moſt

* The council of Brabant reſembles, in ſome degree, as to its functions, a provincial parliament in France; it is diſtinct from the legiſlature, and is the ſupreme court of judicature of the country, enjoying ſome privileges and prerogatives of a ſuperior nature to any poſſeſſed by the courts of law in England.

expreſs

expreſs injunction to the council (of which you are the head) not to ſeparate before the publication ſhall have been agreed to, and until their reſolution thereupon ſhall have been reported to me. I enjoin the judge-fiſcal (or chancellor of the exchequer) to take notice of every thing that ſhall be done upon this head, and give me an account of it. I inform you, at the ſame time, that I will not receive any more repreſentations or remonſtrances; and if any ſhould be ſent, the council will expoſe itſelf to the mortifying humiliation of ſeeing them returned unopened. I yeſterday gave you twenty-four hours to determine; to-day I can give you only *four*; and if the publication is not made in two hours hence, I will compel the council to it by FORCE, even though I ſhould be obliged to inveſt the council-houſe with troops, and have recourſe to the dire expedient of CANNON and BAYONETS, which his Majeſty MOST EXPRESSLY preſcribes.

And what would avail the moſt complete reſiſtance of the council, produced by that of the States? It could only throw a *difficulty* in the way of a publication, which it could not poſſibly prevent; and would amount to a renunciation of the conceſſions made in the declaration of the 2d of September, which will certainly be revoked this morning, if the oppoſition is not withdrawn by two o'clock.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Chancellor,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Received by the chancellor the 22d of January, 1788, with the above diſpatch, at a quarter before nine o'clock.

Soon after the delivery of the above letter, the whole town of Bruſſels was alarmed, and ſeveral of the citizens, anxious for the event, repaired to the market-place; in conſequence of which, general D'Alton ordered an enſign with a party to patrole the ſtreets. Some boys having thrown a few ſtones at the ſoldiers, the officer immediately formed, and ordered his men to fire, when five or ſix perſons were killed; after which, without waiting to re-load, the whole party, alarmed and panic-ſtruck, ran with the greateſt precipitancy back to the main body.

To this circumſtance the general alludes in the following letter.

Another letter to the chancellor.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE obſtinacy of the council is incredible; and the death of ſome wretches, of which it has been the cauſe, ought to make it a ſubject of repentance to the members all the days of their lives. I ſhall, however, ſoon find a remedy for it. In the mean time, it is neceſſary that you continue to ſit, till you receive a diſpatch from the States, which will be ſoon delivered to you, that you may paſs the reſolution for the publication, and communicate it to me this night.

I have the honour, &c.
TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Received in the council a little after nine at night—The diſpatch from the States arrived at eleven at night.

To the Rector, Heads, Doctors, &c. of the univerſity of Louvain.

FERDINAND, &c.

Venerable, dear, and well-beloved,

THE anſwer you returned to our diſpatch,

diſpatch, the 29th of this month, is the leſs admiſſible, in as much as, notwithſtanding our declaration, ſo clearly and ſo formally communicated to you in our diſpatch of the 29th ult. you ſtill PRESUME to confound the ſtatutes and privileges of the univerſity with the conſtitution of the country; and, under the pretext of its pretended quality of an eſſential branch or integral part of the conſtitution of Brabant, which you aſſume the univerſity to be, you ſtill perſiſt in oppoſing the ordinary courſe of law to the diſpoſitions of the ſovereign reſpecting the government of the univerſity. And, being determined that in the public acts and records there ſhall not remain a trace of any ſuch appeal to the law, we herewith ſend you back your anſwer; and we repeat to you, for the LAST TIME, that his Majeſty will by no means admit a claim or pretenſion, as contrary to the nature and conſtitution of the univerſity, as it is to the inconteſtible right conſtantly aſſerted and maintained by the ſovereigns of the Netherlands ever ſince the foundation of the univerſity, of being the ſole and excluſive judges of every thing relating to that body, as its ſupreme moderators and adminiſtrators, and conſequently of being at full liberty to change, modify, and reform whatever in their juſtice and wiſdom they may think fit, for the advancement of learning, to which all the rights, privileges, and franchiſes granted to the univerſity muſt neceſſarily be ſubordinate. And as, moreover, it is well known, that this manifeſt truth, acknowledged and admitted at all times by the univerſity itſelf, has of late been called in queſtion only by ſome turbulent perſons, who finding their account in maintaining thoſe abuſes which the paternal ſolicitude of his majeſty was about to reform in the univerſity, have thought proper to avail themſelves of the diſſenſions of the day, in order to procure to themſelves, under the pretext of the pretended right of the univerſity to be conſidered as an integral branch of the conſtitution of Brabant, a ſupport againſt any reform whatever:—and as it is for the intereſt of the univerſity (whoſe very exiſtence depends upon it), and conſequently of the city of Louvain, whoſe proſperity is ſo intimately connected with it, that ſo pernicious a cabal ſhould be deſtroyed; we again command you all in general, and each of you in particular, to ſubmit and conform to your ſovereign's deciſion, announced to you in our diſpatch of the 29th of December laſt, confirmed by our diſpatch of the 19th inſt.—and we enjoin you not to maintain, either by *word of mouth*, or in *writing*, the pretended right ſet up by the univerſity, which his majeſty has fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled: whoever ſhall DARE in the ſmalleſt degree to infringe this injunction, ſhall be proſecuted as REFRACTORY and DISOBEDIENT to the emperor's orders.—We give you notice at the ſame time, that we will receive no more repreſentations, deputations, or proteſts whatſoever on this ſubject; and that if you preſume to ſend any, we ſhall look upon them as formal acts of diſobedience, and proceed upon them as ſuch, according to the orders which we have received from his majeſty.—We enjoin you, the rector, to cauſe this our declaration to be read in full convocation of the univerſity;

univerſity; to have it entered in its regiſter, as well as in the regiſters of the different faculties; and to certify to us the execution of our preſent orders within the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

May God, &c. &c.

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Bruſſels, Jan. 22, 1788.

Account of a dreadful Inundation of the Sea at Ingeram, *on the Coaſt of* Coromandel, *in the* Eaſt Indies. *—In a Letter from Mr.* William Parſon *to* Alexander Dalrymple, *Eſquire.*

Ingeram, June 7, 1787.

My dear friend,

YOU wiſh to have a juſt and circumſtantial account of the late calamity we have ſuſtained. It is no wonder the accounts you have ſeen, ſhould be incoherent and imperfect; for while the misfortune was recent, our minds were diſtracted with a thouſand fears and apprehenſions for the conſequences: indeed people leſs alarmed and leſs gloomy than ourſelves might have admitted the apprehenſion of peſtilence and famine; the former, from the air being tainted from ſome thouſands of putrid carcaſes both of men and cattle; and the latter, from the country around us being deſtroyed, as well as our ſtock of proviſions and the fruit of the earth.

From the 17th of May, it blew hard from the N. E. but, as bad weather is unuſual at ſuch a ſeaſon, we did not apprehend that it would become more ſerious; but on the 19th at night it increaſed to a hard gale; and on the 20th in the morning it blew a perfect hurricane, inſomuch that our houſes were preſently untiled, our doors and windows beat in, and the railing and part of the wall of our incloſures blown down. A little before eleven it came with violence from the ſea, and I preſently perceived a multitude of the inhabitants crowding toward my houſe, crying out that the ſea was coming in upon us. I caſt my eyes in that direction, and ſaw it approaching with great rapidity, bearing much the ſame appearance as the bar in Bengal river. As my houſe was ſituated very low, I did not heſitate to abandon it, directing my ſteps toward the old Factory, in order to avail myſelf of the Terrace: for in that dreadful moment I could not ſo far reflect upon cauſes or effects, as to account for the phenomenon, or to ſet bounds to its encreaſe. I had indeed heard of a tradition among the natives, that about a century ago the ſea ran as high as the talleſt Palmira trees; which I have ever diſregarded as fabulous, till the preſent unuſual appearance called it more forcibly to my mind. In my way to the old Factory, I ſtopped at the door of Mr. Boures' houſe, to apprize the reſt of the gentlemen of their danger, and the meaſures I had concerted for my ſafety: they accordingly joined me; but before we attained the place of our deſtination, we were nearly intercepted by the torrent of water. As the houſe is built on a high ſpot, and pretty well elevated from the ground, the water never ran above a foot on the firſt floor, ſo we had no occaſion to have recourſe to the Terrace. Between one and two o'clock the water began to ſubſide a little, and continued gradually decreaſing till the body of it had retired; leaving all the low places, tanks, and wells full of

of ſalt water. I think the ſea muſt have riſen fifteen feet above its natural level. About the time of the water ſubſiding, the wind favoured it by coming round to the ſouthward, from which point it blew the hardeſt. As the Factory-houſe was in a very ruinous ſtate, and ſhook exceedingly at every guſt, we were very anxious to get back to Mr. Boures' houſe. I attempted it twice, but found I had neither power nor ſtrength to combat the force of the wind, getting back with the greateſt difficulty to my former ſtation. About five o'clock, during a ſhort lull, we happily effected our remove. It blew very hard the greateſt part of the night: at midnight it veered to the weſtward, and was ſo cold, that I thought we ſhould have periſhed as we reclined in our chairs. The gale broke up towards the morning. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe to you the ſcene that preſented itſelf to our view, when daylight appeared: it was dreary and horrid beyond deſcription. The trees were all blighted by the ſalt water, and the face of the country covered with ſalt mud; yet it had more the appearance of having ſuffered by a blaſt of hot wind, or by the eruption of volcanos, than by an inundation of water, ſuch an effect had it in deſtroying the herbage and foliage of every deſcription. Our houſes were found full of the inhabitants, who had taken refuge therein, ſtripped of doors and windows, and quite open to the weather at top; the godowns moſtly carried away, and ſeveral ſubſtantial tiled houſes ſo completely levelled, as ſcarcely to afford a mark of their ever exiſting: but our ſufferings were light, when compared with thoſe of Coringa, and the reſt of the villages nearer the ſea. At Coringa, out of four thouſand inhabitants, it is ſaid not more than twenty were ſaved, and thoſe moſtly on Mrs. Corſar's terrace, and on the beams of captain Webſter's houſe. Mr. Gideon Firth, Mr. George Day, and the Portugueze Padre were, I believe, the only Europeans that were drowned. At firſt the ſea roſe gradually, and as it came in with the tide the people were not much alarmed; but when they found it ſtill increaſe, ſo as to render their ſituation dangerous, they mounted on the top of their cadjan-houſes, till the ſea, impelled by a ſtrong eaſterly wind, ruſhed in upon them moſt furiouſly, when all houſes at the ſame awful moment gave way, and nearly four thouſand ſouls were launched into eternity. This tremendous ſcene was viſible from Mrs. Corſar's terrace, over which the ſea ſometimes broke, and they were frequently in great danger from the driſting of veſſels and other heavy bodies, which muſt inevitably have brought down the houſe, had they come in contact. At the Dutch village of Jaggernaickporan, I hear the diſtreſs was very great, and that about a thouſand lives were loſt; many of the villages in the low country between Coringa and Jaggernaickporan were totally deſtroyed, and the inundation carried its dreadful effects as far to the northward as Apparah; but I do not hear that many lives were loſt at that place. The inundation penetrated inland about ten coſs from the ſea in a direct line; but did little more damage to the weſtward of us than deſtroying the vegetation. It would be very difficult to aſcertain, with any preciſion, the number of lives loſt in this dread-

ful

ful viſitation; the moſt intelligent people I have conferred with on the ſubject, ſtate the loſs at from ten to twenty thouſand ſouls. This is rather an indefinite computation; but I think, if the medium be taken, it will then rather exceed than fall ſhort of the real loſs. They compute that a lack of cattle were drowned, and, from the vaſt numbers I ſaw dead at Nellapilla, I can eaſily credit their aſſertion. For two or three days after the calamity, ſuch was the languor of the inhabitants, that not a cooley or workman was to be procured at any price; it required our utmoſt exertion to get the dead bodies and the dead cattle buried with all poſſible ſpeed, to prevent the air being impregnated with putrid effluvia. This, to be ſure, was a taſk we could not fully execute, except juſt in the villages. However, no bad effects have enſued, which I impute to the continual land winds that have blown ſtrongly for ſome time paſt. Theſe have the property of drying up the juices of dead bodies and preventing putrefaction, which muſt neceſſarily have been the conſequence in a damp air. It is extraordinary, that the vaſt tract of low ground on the ſouth ſide Guadavery, from Gotendy to Bundarmalanka, ſuffered very little from the inundation, and ſcarcely a perſon periſhed. This country lies ſo exceedingly low, as to be flooded in many places by the common ſpring-tides, and a great deal of it is in conſequence covered with ſalt jungle. It is probable they owe their ſafety to thoſe ſmall iſlands at the mouth of the Guadavery, as well as Point Guadavery itſelf, which muſt have both contributed to break the force of the ſea.

When we had recovered from our conſternation on the 21ſt, we began to conſider how we ſhould be able to exiſt in ſuch a field of deſolation, as our wells were filled with ſalt water, our proviſions deſtroyed, and we found, by digging in different places, that no ſweet water was to be procured; when it was diſcovered that Providence had ſo far interfered in our favour, as to bring down the freſhes at a very early and unuſual ſeaſon. From what accounts we could haſtily gather, we were apprehenſive that the ſtores of rice were either much damaged or totally deſtroyed, as the rice godowns and gomarks are generally ſecured againſt an accident leſs formidable than this. However, the event has happily falſified our ſurmiſes, and proved our information fallacious, for rice has hitherto been plentiful and not dear. The generous ſupplies that have been ſent us from the preſidency will, I truſt, ſecure us from ſerious want. Our markets have not yet been attended by a perſon with an article for ſale; but this is not to be wondered at, as our ſupplies were generally furniſhed by the villages at no great diſtance inland; and theſe countries have been drenched ſufficiently in ſalt water to deſtroy their produce. The fiſhermen, a moſt uſeful body of people, inhabiting chiefly by the ſea-ſide, have been almoſt totally extirpated; and we are thereby deprived of a very material part of our ſubſiſtence. Time alone can reſtore us to the comforts we have loſt, and we have reaſon to be thankful that things have not turned out ſo bad as we apprehended. I have tired myſelf in attempting this narration, and I fear I have almoſt tired you in the peruſal of it. A great deal more might be ſaid upon the ſubject in a flowery garb:

garb: if it yields a moment's amuſement to my friend, my end is fully anſwered. The greateſt part of this intelligence you have already had in detail, but it is your deſire I ſhould bring it to one point of view. It is haſtily written and very inaccurate; but you will remember I was in a good deal of pain at the time of writing it, from an inflammation in my legs, ſo had not ſufficient eaſe or leiſure to correct or tranſcribe it.

Your's affectionately,

(Signed) WILLIAM PARSON.

Particulars relative to Lord Manſfield's *Reſignation of his Office of Chief Juſtice of the Court of* King's Bench; *with the Letters which paſſed between his Lordſhip and the Counſel of the* King's Bench *Bar on that Occaſion.*

June 3d, 1788.

THIS morning lord Mansfield ſent a ſervant from Caen Lodge to Mr. Montague, the maſter in chancery, at Frognal Grove, near Hampſtead, requeſting that gentleman's company to dinner. The anſwer returned was, "That Mr. Montague had come home the preceding evening from London ill, and remained then indiſpoſed." The meſſenger returned back, preſſing Mr. Montague's attendance on his lordſhip, who had ſome material buſineſs to communicate; upon which Mr. Montague replied, "He would wait on the Earl in the afternoon."

At five o'clock the maſter went to Caen-Wood-Lodge, where he was introduced to Earl Mansfield, who was alone. "I ſent for you, Sir, ſays his lordſhip, to receive as well officially, as my acquaintance and friend, the reſignation of my office; and in order to ſave trouble, I have cauſed the inſtrument to be prepared, as you will here ſee." He then introduced the paper, which, after Mr. Montague had peruſed, and found proper, the Earl ſigned. The maſter underwrote it, and afterwards diſpatched it to the lord chancellor's houſe, who laid it before the king.

Earl Mansfield has been chief of the king's bench exactly thirty-two years, having been raiſed thereto in May 1756, on the deceaſe of Sir Dudley Ryder.

Soon after his lordſhip's reſignation was ſignified, the following letter was ſent to him. It was ſigned by the counſel of the king's bench bar, who had practiſed in the court during his lordſhip's adminiſtration.

To the EARL of MANSFIELD.

My Lord,

It was our wiſh to have waited perſonally upon your lordſhip *in a body*, to have taken our public leave of you on your retiring from the office of chief juſtice of England; but judging of your lordſhip's feelings upon ſuch an occaſion by our own, and conſidering beſides, that our numbers might be inconvenient, we deſire in this manner affectionately to aſſure your lordſhip, that we regret with a juſt ſenſibility, the loſs of a magiſtrate, whoſe conſpicuous and exalted talents conferred dignity upon the profeſſion; whoſe enlightened and regular adminiſtration of juſtice made its duties leſs difficult and laborious, and whoſe manners rendered them pleaſant and reſpectable.

But while we lament *our loſs*, we

remember with peculiar ſatisfaction, that your lordſhip is not cut off from us by the ſudden ſtroke of painful diſtemper, or the more diſtreſſing ebb of thoſe extraordinary faculties which have ſo long diſtinguiſhed you amongſt men; but that it has pleaſed God to allow to the evening of an uſeful and illuſtrious life the pureſt enjoyments which nature has ever allotted to it—the unclouded reflections of a ſuperior and unfading mind over its varied events, and the happy conſciouſneſs, that it has been faithfully and eminently devoted to the higheſt duties of human ſociety, in the moſt diſtinguiſhed nation upon earth.

May the ſeaſon of this high ſatisfaction bear its proportion to the lengthened days of your activity and ſtrength. Signed.

The letter thus ſigned being tranſmitted to the venerable Earl by Mr. Erſkine, at the deſire of Mr. Bearcroft, the ſenior of that bar, and the reſt of the gentlemen who had thus ſubſcribed to it, his lordſhip, without detaining the ſervant *five minutes*, returned the following anſwer.

To the honourable T. ERSKINE, Serjeant's Inn.

Dear Sir,

I cannot but be extremely flattered by the letter which I this moment have the honour to receive.

If I have given ſatisfaction, it is owing to the learning and candour of the bar; the liberality and integrity of their practice freed the judicial inveſtigation of truth and juſtice from difficulties. The memory of the aſſiſtance I have received from them, and the deep impreſſion which the extraordinary mark they have now given me of their approbation and affection, has made upon my mind, will be a ſource of perpetual conſolation in my decline of life, under the preſſure of bodily infirmities, which made it my duty to retire.

I am, dear ſir, with gratitude to you and the other gentlemen,

Your moſt affectionate,

And obliged humble ſervant.

MANSFIELD.

Caen-Wood, June 18, 1788.

Tranſlation of the Duke of Sudermania's *Letter to the King of* Sweden, *giving an Account of the Engagement between the* Swediſh *and* Ruſſian *Fleets; extracted from the* Stockholm *Gazette of* July 31, 1788.

YOUR majeſty's fleet under my command, conſiſting of fifteen ſhips of the line, and five frigates, was on the 17th inſt. cruiſing in the Narrows off Kalkboden and Ekholmen, with the wind eaſterly, and very foggy weather, when early in the morning we heard ſeveral guns fired to windward. This was unexpected, as by information received from different ſhips, I had reaſon to believe the Ruſſian fleet were ſtill at anchor at Seaſkar. I ordered the fleet, however, to form in a line on the ſtarboard tack, a diſpoſition the moſt likely to gain the weather gage of the enemy; but there being little wind, and a very ſtrong current running near the lee-ſide of Ekholmen, the van were not able to accompliſh that manœuvre, which obliged me, at ſix, A. M. to form the fleet in a line of battle on the larboard tack, and I at the ſame time made the ſignal to prepare for action. Be-

fore this order of battle could be formed, a few Ruſſian ſhips of war were diſcovered through the fog, and various reports came in as to their number and force. Notwithſtanding this uncertainty, and the dangers of a lee-ſhore, I thought it diſhonourable for your majeſty's fleet to decline coming to action, and therefore made a ſignal to tack, and advance in columns to meet the enemy, who at ten A. M. we could evidently diſcern, ranged in line of battle, and ſteering towards us with the wind large; from which diſpoſition I then conceived hopes of getting to windward of them. Their cloſe order of ſailing, added to the hazineſs of the weather, rendered it impoſſible for ſome time to determine their exact force; but we at laſt made out 33 ſail, of which one was a three-decker, eight of 74, and eight of 66 guns, with ſeven frigates carrying heavy metal. Both fleets having advanced within about two gun-ſhot of each other, the van of the Ruſſian being oppoſed to our center, I made a ſignal for your majeſty's fleet to form the line a-head on the ſtarboard tack; but the enemy ſtill continued on the other tack, carrying all their ſtrength againſt our van. This manœuvre would have rendered the engagement indeciſive; and as by approaching the ſhoals and other dangerous places, I ſhould at any rate have been under the neceſſity of ſoon changing the diſpoſition of the fleet, and that in the time of action, I reſolved to tack, and form the line on the larboard, a diſpoſition which was not only the moſt proper to gain the enemy's weather-gage, by our line ſtretching on towards their left wing, but alſo to profit by a miſtake they ſeemed to commit in bearing up and opening different ways in the center. This, however, was ſoon corrected by Admiral Greig, who altered the diſpoſition of his rear, and cautiouſly bore down under an eaſy ſail, at the ſame time endeavouring to take his ſtation oppoſite to my ſhip, and his fleet afterwards bore down courageouſly within muſket-ſhot; upon which, at four, P. M. I made the ſignal for action, which ſoon became general throughout our line, and with ſuch fury, that in the ſpace of an hour the leading ſhip of the enemy's ſquadron was totally diſabled, and obliged to be towed out of the line, and brought round on the other tack, under the cover of ſome of their ſhips.

The ſmoke from the Ruſſian fleet ſettling down upon us, and our own being but little diſperſed from the lightneſs of the breeze, it was not poſſible to make or anſwer any ſignals, or even to diſtinguiſh our own line. This gave opportunity for ſmall diviſions of the enemy to ſtation themſelves on my quarter, and keep up a very heavy fire, being frequently relieved by others; and the ſame method of fighting ſeemed alſo to prevail in their van. But when the ſmoke had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, ſeveral Ruſſian ſhips were ſeen diſabled, and towing away to windward of their fleet. Afterwards they collected a conſiderable force in the van, and admiral Greig was alſo there, when the wind failing, and the ſmoke again ſettling on our fleet, which now, as in the morning, felt great inconvenience from the ſtrength of the current off Ekholmen, and to ſuch a degree, that notwithſtanding all poſſible manœuvres, and the greateſt exertion of our boats in towing, it was totally impracticable to prevent our ſhips falling round,

and ſuffering exceedingly by being raked fore and aft by the enemy.

It was in this critical ſituation that the Waſa, (commanded by the gallant count Horne, ſince dead of the wounds he then received,) very ſeaſonably covered me by a vigorous and well-ſupported fire; and I ſent lieutenant Ekholm to inform the van that the fleet was to veer, as the ſetting of the current did not allow us to come near the wind on this tack, but was in our favour on the other. At eight o'clock P. M. our line was again formed, and the action renewed with uncommon vigour on both ſides, but with great advantage to your majeſty's fleet, the enemy being obliged to veer, while expoſed to the hotteſt of our fire, in order to cover their rear and diſabled ſhips, which had retired aſtern. We have taken the Wiadiſlaff, of 74 guns, carrying thirty-two and forty-two pounders, and 783 men. The engagement finiſhed ſoon afterwards, at ten P.M. Night coming on, I judged it prudent to form the fleet on the other tack, in order to avoid the danger of Kalkboden, cover our prize, and conſult the honour of your majeſty's fleet, by endeavouring to retake the Prince Guſtave, who was laying diſabled, and without a flag. But this laſt piece of ſervice did not ſucceed, as the Ruſſian Admiral, and his whole fleet, wore to protect their prize. During the night, the enemy hauled their wind cloſe, and left the field of battle, whereas we carried lights in our top all night, and frequently fired ſignal guns. In the mean time reports were brought me from ſeveral ſhips, that they were in great want of ammunition, had ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, and ſome of them their maſts and rudders damaged.

I gave orders to make the moſt of their time by repairing their damages, and made a diſtribution of ammunition as far as it went. At day-break I formed the fleet in a line of battle on the ſtarboard tack as well as the faint breeze would let me. On the other hand, the Ruſſians had during the night got their diſabled ſhips a great way to windward, all their fleet keeping cloſe on a wind to cover them, which put it out of my power to renew the attack, particularly as the wind died away when the day advanced. I thereupon judged it moſt prudent to return to Helſingfors Road, not only to repair the ſhips, but eſpecially to ſupply them with ammunition, of which moſt of them had none whatever left. It appears from the prize your majeſty's fleet has taken, that the enemy was our ſuperior by nearly one third in point of force. Their fleet had been ſome time fitted out, and in the moſt expenſive and complete manner, with heavy artillery, being intended for an expedition to the Mediterranean. We loſt two poſt captains, one maſter and commander, and had five officers wounded.

It is evident from the many diſabled ſhips of the enemy, and from ſeveral confirmed reports that one of them had gone down, as well as their hauling their wind from the Swediſh fleet, that zeal for your majeſty's perſon, and love to their country, warmed the breaſt of every one under my command. All the captains paid the utmoſt attention to ſignals and evolutions, and maintained the line in a manner that did honour to the Swediſh name.

The

The enemy attacked us with all that confidence of ſucceſs which their great ſuperiority in ſize and force of ſhips, the ſituation of the field of battle, and the wind totally in their favour, in ſome meaſure ſeemed to warrant; but although the engagement was fought under many great diſadvantages on our ſide, their temerity was checked in a manner which reflects the greateſt honour on every officer and ſeaman in your majeſty's fleet.

Guſtav. the Third, at anchor on Helſingfors Road, July 20, 1788.

CHARLES.

Liſt of the Swediſh *Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of* Sudermania.

	Guns.	
Guſtavus the Third —	68	His R. H. Duke Charles. His Ex. Count Wrangel. Capt. Nordenſchold, Flag Capt. Capt. Klint.
Enigheton — —	70	Capt. Eneſchold.
Prince Guſtaf —	68	Count Wachtmeiſter.
Sophia Magdalena —	68	Capt. Linderſtedt.
Hedvig Eliz. Charlotta	60	Capt. Modee.
Omheton — —	60	Capt. Kruſenſkierna
Rattwiſon — —	60	Capt. Euſt.
Dygden — —	60	Baron Raab.
Waſa — —	60	Count Horn.
Federneſland —	60	Capt. Kuylenſtierna.
Aran — —	60	Capt. Hiſingſchold.
Forſigtigheten —	60	Capt. Fahlſtedt.
Prince Charles —	60	Capt. Pſilanderhielm.
Pr. Fred. Adolphus —	60	Capt. Leyonanckar.
Pr. Guſtavus Adolphus — —	60	Capt. Chriſtiernan.
	934	Guns.

Frigates.

Griffin — —	44	Capt. Von Horn.
Camilla — —	40	Capt. Duvfa.
Troga — —	40	Capt. Puke.
Minerva — —	40	Capt. Nauckhoff.
Thetis — —	40	Capt. Wollin.

Frigates to repeat Signals, and ſmall Veſſels.

Jaramas — —	32	Capt. Billing.
Hector — —	22	Lieut. Kullenberg.
Patriot — —	18	Capt. Wirgin.
Eſplendian — —	16	Lieut. Ekholm.
Jaroſlaw — —	32	Capt. Hokeſlyckt.
Sprengporten — —	26	Capt. Steding.
Trolle — — —	26	Capt. Gyſlenſchold.

List of the Ruſſian *Fleet, under the Command of Admiral* Greig.

	Guns.	
Roſtiſlaff — —	108	Admiral Greig. Capt. Ozendoff.
Maliſlaff — —	74	Capt. Mouloffsky.
St. Peter — —	74	Capt. Deniſon.
Wiadiſlaff — —	74	Capt. Bergh.
St. Helena — —	74	Rear Ad. Spiridoff. Capt. Breyer.
Kir-Iſlan — —	74	Rear Ad. van Diſſen. Capt. Tet.
Jaroſlaff — —	74	Capt. Biks.
Wſeſlaff — —	74	Rear Ad. Koſlaninoff. Capt. Makaroff.
Joan Bohoſloff — —	74	Capt. Warland.
Iſiaſlaff — —	66	Capt. Kartzoff.
Rodiſlaff — —	66	Capt. Travenen.
Diris — — —	66	Capt. Kakoſoff.
Damet Eſtafia — —	66	Capt. Boronoff.
Victor — —	66	Capt. Obolianinoff.
Mezeſlaff — —	66	Capt. Boriſoff.
Weichſlaff — —	66	Capt. Elphinſton.
Boleſlaff — —	66	Capt. Deniſoff.
In all 17 ſhips of the line — —	1,228	Guns.

Frigates.

Podagriſlaff — —	36	Capt. Lomen.
Briantchiſlaff — —	32	Capt. Sincawen.
Priamiſlaff — —	32	Capt. Seivers.
Slawa — —	32	Capt. Chichoicoff.
Nadechta Blahopoloutchia	32	Capt. Lolyret.
Woſmiſlaff — —	32	Capt. Liſoſkoy.
Mſtilawetz — —	28	Capt. Slomontoff.

Bomb Ketches.

Lechtouche — —	Capt. Shot.
Neva — — —	Capt. Bro-onn.

Tranſports.

Smelay — — —	8	Capt. Srewnens.
And three others.		

Subſtance

Substance of Admiral Greig's *Letter to the Court of* Petersburgh; *giving an Account of the same Engagement.*

"ON the 17th, about noon, our fleet discovered five Swedish ships, between 60 and 70 guns each, and eight large frigates, provided with heavy artillery, sailing in a line, having five small frigates and three packet-boats attending, under the command of the duke of Sudermania, whose ship carried the flag of admiral-general of Sweden, having also in the fleet a vice-admiral and rear-admiral's flags flying.

"Admiral Greig immediately gave the signal for an attack, and our ships directly crowded all the sail they could, advancing towards the enemy. The Swedes, on perceiving this, immediately formed into a line of battle. The weather was serene, and our ships profiting of a fresh south-east wind gained on the Swedes. The Rotislaw, commanded by admiral Greig, attacked the Swedish admiral; but he retired towards his small vessels; and it was not until about five o'clock that our line were abreast of the enemy, who then began to bear down upon us.

"The firing immediately commenced on both sides, and was continued with great briskness until ten at night.

"The Swedes twice began to give way; and although during the battle there was a dead calm, and that it was impossible to govern the ships, the fire was still kept up with the greatest intrepidity, and continued until the night was so far advanced that the Swedes began to haul up, and retired, leaving our fleet masters of the field of battle. They went under cover to Sweabourg, in Swedish Finland. We took from the enemy the Prince Gustave of 70 guns, bearing the flag of the vice-admiral, who defended himself with the greatest bravery more than an hour against our admiral, but was at length obliged to strike. We made prisoners, with this ship, the Comte Wachmeister, vice-admiral and aid de camp to the king of Sweden, who led the van, and fifteen officers, with all her crew.

"Admiral Greig writes, that he never saw a fight better sustained on both sides than the above. Our loss consists of 319 killed, and 686 wounded; that of the enemy must be more considerable, as the number found on board the ship we took amounts to 300 killed and wounded.

"After the battle, four ships of the enemy took advantage of the night and a calm, to surround one of our ships, and carry her off, after a vigorous resistance.

"The admiral gives a general eulogium on the conduct of all under his command."

The following is the Empress of Russia's *Letter, written by herself, and conveyed by a special Courier to Admiral* Greig, *after the above Action with the* Swedish *squadron.*

"To the worthy and brave, &c. &c.

WE should be wanting in that gratitude and politeness, which should ever distinguish sovereigns, did not we with the utmost speed convey to you (and our other brave and gallant officers and sea-

men of our fleet, who have proved themſelves worthy of their country) our approbation of your exemplary conduct; and the obligations which we owe you for your intrepid conduct in your engagement with our enemy the fleet of the Swediſh king. To the conſtant exertion of your abilities, and your zeal for the glory of the common cauſe of ourſelves and the whole Ruſſian empire, may, under God, be attributed the very ſignal victory you have gained; and we have not the ſmalleſt doubt, but that every part of our dominions, where this event ſhall be tranſmitted, will behold it in its proper point of view. It is with grief we read the record of thoſe poltroons, who, unable to catch fire from the ſpirited exertions of their fellow warriors, have ſo ſignalized themſelves in the annals of treaſonable cowards; and to whoſe cowardice the Swede has to boaſt that any ſhip of their fleet eſcaped when ſo encountered; and the more particularly that their high admiral eſcaped, when twice ſo nearly within their power to have captured.

"As we take upon ourſelves the ſole power to reward the meritorious, we ſhall take ſignal care for the very exemplary puniſhment of the guilty.

"We beg, therefore, that you would yourſelf accept our heartieſt acknowledgment; and we trouble you to communicate the ſame to our other worthy and animated officers and ſeamen. It is our pleaſure that the delinquents, mentioned in your official letters, be immediately brought to Cronſtadt to wait our further diſpleaſure.

"We ſincerely wiſh you, and all with you, health, and the moſt ſignal aſſiſtance of the Almighty God, whoſe aid we have invoked, and of whoſe aſſiſtance we cannot doubt in a cauſe ſo juſt.

"Your ſervices will perpetually live in our remembrance; and the annals of our country muſt convey your names to poſterity with reverence and with love.

"So ſaying, we recommend you to God's keeping ever. Done at Peterſburgh the 23d of July, in the year of grace 1788.

(Signed) CATHARINE."

Some Particulars of the naval Engagement between the Turks *and* Ruſſians, *in the* Black Sea; *extracted from a Letter, dated from Prince* Potemkin's *Head Quarters, June* 27.

"A Brigadier arrived here yeſterday in great haſte from the fleet ſtationed at the mouth of the Nieſter, commanded by the prince de Naſſau, who was diſpatched to prince Potemkin late at night on the 18th inſtant with the important news of the victory gained by the ſaid fleet over that of the Turks, after a ſmart engagement of five hours. The following are the circumſtances of it:

The capitan pacha having been to reconnoitre the gallies and great boats under the prince de Naſſau, off Oczakow, immediately aſſembled all the veſſels of every kind in the road of that fortreſs, to the number of 57, and prepared in perſon to attack the Ruſſian ſquadron (which kept about two leagues from the place where the Nieſter runs into the Black Sea.) On the 18th he advanced with a favourable wind againſt the ſaid ſquadron, which waited ready to receive him. The

Turks,

Turks, having the wind in their favour, began the cannonade, but too far off to do any harm. The Ruſſians did not play their artillery till the enemy was within reach, and then fired ſo ſucceſsfully, that, notwithſtanding the capitan pacha's great ſuperiority, he was obliged, after an engagement of five hours, to retire in great diſorder under the guns of his grand fleet, which was below Oczakow, and the prince de Naſſau returned to his former poſt. The Turks had three gallies ſunk, and moſt of their crews drowned, and a great many more damaged and diſabled. We are ignorant how many men they loſt; but our officers ſay there muſt, owing to the excellent direction of our artillery, have been a great number killed, whilſt we loſt not one veſſel, and had very few killed and wounded. After the engagement the prince de Naſſau immediately ſent an officer to prince Potemkin with the good news, who ſent off two couriers directly, one to Peterſburgh, and the other to the emperor's head quarters, after which *Te Deum* was ſung here amidſt a general diſcharge of our artillery."

An Account of the Jubilee, to celebrate the Centenary of the Revolution, at Whittington *and* Cheſterfield, *in* Derbyſhire *.

ON Tueſday the 4th of November, the committee appointed to conduct the Jubilee had a previous meeting, and dined together at the Revolution-houſe in Whittington. His grace the duke of Devonſhire, lord Stamford, lord George and lord John Cavendiſh, with ſeveral neighbouring gentlemen, were preſent. After dinner a ſubſcription was opened for the erecting of a monumental column, in commemoration of the glorious revolution, on that ſpot where the earls of Devonſhire and Danby, lord Delamere, and Mr. John Darcy, met to concert meaſures which were eminently inſtrumental in reſcuing the liberties of their country from perdition. As this monument is intended to be not leſs a mark of public *gratitude*, than the memorial of an important event; it was requeſted, that the preſent repreſentatives of the above-mentioned families would excuſe their not being permitted to join in the expence.

On the 5th, at eleven in the morning, the commemoration commenced with divine ſervice at Whittington church. The reverend Mr. Pegge, the rector of the pariſh, delivered an excellent ſermon from the words "*This is the day, &c.*" Though of a great age, having that very morning entered his 85th year, he ſpoke with a ſpirit which ſeemed to be derived from the occaſion.

The deſcendants of the illuſtrious houſes of Cavendiſh, Oſborne, Boothe, and Darcy (for the venerable duke of Leeds, whoſe age would not allow him to attend, had ſent his two grandſons, in whom the blood of Oſborne and Darcy is united); a numerous and powerful gentry; a wealthy and reſpectable yeomanry; a hardy, yet decent and attentive peaſantry; whoſe intelligent countenances ſhewed that they underſtood, and would be firm to preſerve that bleſſing, for which

* See Chronicle, p. 220, for the celebration of the ſame day by the different clubs in London and in Edinburgh.

they

they were aſſembled to return thanks to Almighty God, preſented a truly ſolemn ſpectacle, and to the eye of a philoſopher the moſt intereſting that can be imagined.

After ſervice the company went in ſucceſſion to view the old houſe, and the room called by the Anti-revolutioniſts "The plotting-parlour," with the old armed-chair in which the earl of Devonſhire is ſaid to have ſitten, and every one was then pleaſed to partake of a very elegant cold collation, which was prepared in the new rooms annexed to the cottage. Some time being ſpent in this, the proceſſion began:

Conſtables with long ſtaves, two and two.

Members of the eight Revolution clubs, four and four; *viz.*

1. Mr. Deakin's: flag, blue, with orange fringe, on it the figure of Liberty; the motto, "The Proteſtant religion and the liberties of England we will maintain."
2. Mr. Bluett's: flag, blue, fringed with orange; motto, "Libertas; quæ ſera, tamen reſpexit inertem." Underneath, the figure of Liberty crowning Britannia with a wreath of laurels; who is repreſented ſitting on a lion, at her feet the cornucopia of Plenty; at the top, next the pole, a caſtle, emblematical of the houſe where the club is kept; on the lower ſide of the flag Liberty holding a cap and reſting on the Cavendiſh arms.
3. Mr. Oſtliff's: flag, broad blue and orange ſtripe, with orange fringe; in the middle the Cavendiſh arms; motto as No. 1.
4. Mrs. Barber's: flag, garter blue and orange quartered, with white fringe; mottoes, "Liberty ſecured." "The glorious revolution 1688."
5. Mr. Valentine Wilkinſon's: flag, blue with orange fringe; in the middle the figure of Liberty; motto as No. 1.
6. Mr. Stubbs: flag, blue with orange fringe; motto, "Liberty, property, trade, manufactures;" at the top a head of king William crowned with laurel, in the middle, in a large oval, "Revolution 1688." On one ſide the cap of liberty, on the other the figure of Britannia: on the oppoſite ſide the flag of the Devonſhire arms.
7. Mrs. Ollerenſhaw's: the flag, blue with orange fringe; motto as No. 1. on both ſides.
8. Mr. Marſingale's: flag, blue with orange fringe; at the top the motto, "In memory of the glorious aſſertors of Britiſh freedom 1688;" beneath, the figure of Liberty leaning on a ſhield, on which is inſcribed, "Revolted from tyranny, at Whittington, 1688;" and in her hand a ſcroll with the words "Bill of Rights;" underneath, a head of king William the Third: on the other ſide the flag, the motto, "The glorious revolter from tyranny 1688;" underneath, the Devonſhire arms; at the bottom the following inſcription, "WILLELMUS DUX DEVON. Bonorum principum fidelis ſubditus; inimicus & inviſus tyrannis."

The members of the clubs were eſtimated to be 2000 perſons, each having a white wand in his hand with blue and orange tops and favours, with THE REVOLUTION ſtamped upon them.

The Derbyſhire militia's band of muſic.

The corporation of Cheſterfield in their formalities, who joined the

the proceſſion on entering the town.

The duke of Devonſhire in his coach and ſix.

Attendants on horſeback with four led horſes.

The earl of Stamford in his poſt-chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

The earl of Danby and lord Francis Oſborne in their poſt-chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Lord George Cavendiſh in his poſt-chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Lord John Cavendiſh in his poſt-chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Sir Francis Molyneux and ſir Henry Hunlocke, barts. in ſir Henry's coach and ſix.

Attendants on horſeback.

And upwards of forty other carriages of the neighbouring gentry, with their attendants.

Gentlemen on horſeback, three and three.

Servants on horſeback, ditto.

The whole was conducted with order and regularity; for, notwithſtanding there were fifty carriages, four hundred gentlemen on horſeback, and an aſtoniſhing throng of ſpectators, not an accident happened.

The company was ſo numerous as ſcarcely to be accommodated at the three principal inns.

In the evening a brilliant exhibition of fire-works was played off, under the direction of Signor Pietro.

The day concluded with a ball, at which were preſent near 300 gentlemen and ladies; amongſt whom were many perſons of diſtinction.

An hogſhead of ale was given to the populace at Whittington, and three hogſheads at Cheſterfield; where the duke of Devonſhire gave alſo three guineas to each of the eight clubs.

It was not the leaſt pleaſing circumſtance attending this meeting, that all party diſtinctions were forgotten. Perſons of all ranks and denominations wore orange and blue, in memory of our glorious deliverer. And the moſt reſpectable Roman Catholic families, ſatisfied with the mild toleration of government in the exerciſe of their religion, vied in their endeavours to ſhew how juſt a ſenſe they had of the value of civil liberty.

On Nov. 13*th*, 1788, *a Meeting was held at* Lambeth Palace, *at which the two Archbiſhops and four Biſhops were preſent; when the following Prayer was compoſed, and ordered to be uſed in all Churches and Chapels in* England *and* Scotland, *during his Majeſty's Indiſpoſition.*

PRAYER for the KING.

"O Merciful God, in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death, accept, we beſeech thee, the ſupplications of thy ſervants, who call upon thee in this time of their trouble.

"We acknowledge, that for our manifold ſins and wickedneſs we are moſt worthy to receive thy chaſtiſement. But thou, O God! in thy wrath, thinkeſt upon mercy. Vouchſafe therefore to hear the prayers of thy people, who with contrite hearts turn unto thee. Let thy merciful goodneſs regard their petitions which they offer unto thy Divine Majeſty,

Majeſty, in behalf of our ſovereign lord the king, and thy people committed to his care. May it pleaſe thee to remove from him the viſitation with which for the puniſhment of our tranſgreſſions thou haſt ſeen it good to afflict him. Let thy gracious providence guard and ſupport him. Give a bleſſing to the means uſed for his recovery: reſtore him, we pray thee, to his former health; and grant that he may continue, by his piety and wiſdom, to maintain amongſt us the bleſſings of true religion, civil liberty, and public peace; till it ſhall pleaſe thee to call him, full of years, and rich in good works, unto thy heavenly kingdom.

"Extend, O Lord, thy mercies to the queen, the prince of Wales, and all the royal family; be favourable and gracious unto them, and hide not thy face from them in their affliction. Let thy heavenly grace guide and direct them, and may they receive from thy Holy Spirit thoſe conſolations which thou only canſt beſtow.

"Finally, we intreat thee, that we, who now cry unto thee in our diſtreſs, may in thy good time be enabled to give thanks unto thee in thy holy place, for that thou haſt regarded the petition of thy ſervants, and reſtored our ſovereign to the ardent prayers of his people. Grant this, O Lord, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

A Prayer for the King, uſed in all the Jewiſh *Synagogues, on the ſame Occaſion.*

"He that diſpenſeth ſalvation unto kings, and dominion unto princes: who delivered his ſervant David from the deſtructive ſword; who maketh a way in the ſeas, and a path in the mighty waters; he ſhall bleſs, preſerve, guard, and aſſiſt, exalt, and highly aggrandize our moſt gracious ſovereign lord king George the Third. May the Supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, grant him life, preſerve and deliver him from all manner of trouble and danger. May he be pleaſed to ſend him a perfect cure, and in his infinite mercy grant him life, heal and ſtrengthen him. We beſeech the Supreme Being to remember his juſt and pious actions, ſo that they may intercede in his behalf, and cauſe all his pain to be removed from him. O! Lord God, I beſeech thee, now heal our lord king George the Third, in like manner as thou didſt heal Hezekiah, king of Judah; raiſe him from the bed of ſickneſs, lengthen his days, and grant him a life of bleſſing, mercy, health, and peace, as it is written, Prov. iii. 2. "For length "of days and years of life and "peace ſhall they add to thee." May the Almighty God be pleaſed in his mercy to remove all pain, trouble, and anxiety from our moſt gracious queen Charlotte, his royal highneſs George prince of Wales, and all the royal family, ſo that they may ſoon rejoice in the recovery of our moſt gracious ſovereign." —Amen. Selah.

A Prayer for the King, on the ſame Occaſion, appointed by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, *to be uſed on Litany Days before the Litany, and on other Days immediately before the* "Prayer for all Conditions of Men," *in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial*

ochial Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of Ireland, *during his Majeſty's preſent Indiſpoſition.*

" O father of mercies, and God of all comfort, our only help in time of need, we fly unto thee for ſuccour in behalf of our ſovereign lord the king, and of the people committed to his care; beſeeching thee to reſtore him to his former health, and to prolong his days on earth, that he may live to thee, and be an inſtrument of thy glory, by continuing to ſerve thee faithfully in piety and wiſdom, and to maintain amongſt us the bleſſings of true religion, civil liberty, and public peace.

" Favourably, O Lord, extend thy mercies to the queen, the prince of Wales, and all the royal family; and comfort and ſupport them in this their heavy affliction. And we beſeech thee, that we, thy ſervants, duly ſenſible of the manifold bleſſings which thou haſt extended to us under his mild government, may, in thy good time, be enabled to give thanks to thee, in thy holy place, for having reſtored our gracious ſovereign to the ardent prayers of his people.—Grant this, O Lord, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

The following was the Form uſed in the Dutch *Churches, on the ſame Occaſion.*

" Almighty God! be graciouſly merciful to our friend and neighbouring ally, whom it hath pleaſed thee to afflict with a dangerous illneſs; and, O Lord! if it is conſiſtent with thy all-wiſe decree, ſpare his life, not only for the welfare of the land over which he reigns, but of theſe provinces, and the whole Proteſtant religion.

" O Lord! with thee nothing is wonderful; thou haſt but to ſpeak the word, and the king ſhall recover."

Prayers to be ſaid for the Recovery of the King's Health, in the Chapels of the Roman Catholics.

In all the maſſes that are ſaid, let the following prayer for our moſt beloved king George be added to the poſt-communion of the day.

The Prayer.

" O God, who art the ſingular refuge of human infirmity, ſhew forth the power of thy protection upon thy ſervant George our king, that, being aſſiſted by the help of thy mercy, he may be reſtored to perfect health.

After each of the maſſes, before the prieſt departs, kneeling at the foot of the altar, let him ſay.

" *Antiph.* O Lord, ſave thy ſervant George our king: and hear us in the day when we call upon thee.

Pſalms xix and xx.

" May the Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation: may the name of the God of Jacob protect thee.

May he ſend thee help from the ſanctuary, and defend thee out of Sion.

May he be mindful of all thy ſacrifices: and may thy whole burnt-offering be made fat.

May he give thee according to the deſires of thy own heart: and confirm all thy counſels.

We will rejoice in thy ſalvation: and in the name of our God we ſhall be exalted.

The Lord fulfil all thy petitions:

now I know that the Lord will ſave his anointed.

He will hear him from his holy heaven: he will ſave him with the power of his right hand.

Some truſt in chariots and ſome in horſes; but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God.

They are bound and have fallen: but we are riſen, and are ſet upright.

O Lord ſave the king: and hear us in the day when we ſhall call upon thee.

" IN thy ſtrength, O Lord, the king ſhall be glad; and in thy ſalvation he ſhall exceedingly rejoice.

Thou haſt given him his heart's deſire: and haſt not with-holden from him the requeſt of his lips.

For thou haſt prevented him with bleſſings of ſweetneſs: thou haſt ſet on his head a crown of precious ſtones.

He aſked life of thee: and thou haſt given him length of days for ever and ever.

His glory is great in thy ſalvation: glory and great beauty ſhalt thou lay upon him.

For thou ſhalt give him to be a bleſſing for ever and ever: thou wilt make him exceeding glad with thy countenance.

For the king hopeth in the Lord: and through the mercy of the Moſt High he ſhall not be moved.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, world without end. Amen.

Antiph. O Lord ſave thy ſervant George our king, and hear us in the day when we call upon thee.

Lord have mercy on us.

Chriſt have mercy on us.

Lord have mercy on us.

Our Father, &c.

V. And lead us not into temptation.

R. But deliver us from evil.

V. O Lord, ſave thy ſervant George our king.

R. Who putteth his truſt in thee.

V. O Lord, ſend him help from thy holy place.

R. And from Sion protect him.

V. Be to him, O Lord, a tower of ſtrength.

R. To defend him from the enemy.

V. O Lord help him.

R. On the bed of his ſorrow.

V. O Lord, hear my prayer.

R. And let my ſupplication come unto thee.

V. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy ſpirit.

" *Let us pray.*

" O God, whoſe property is always to have mercy and to ſpare; receive our petition: that we and all thy ſervants who are bound by the chain of ſins, may by the compaſſion of thy goodneſs mercifully be abſolved.

" O God, who art the ſingular refuge of human infirmity, ſhew forth the power of thy protection upon thy ſervant George our king, that being aſſiſted by the help of thy mercy, he may be reſtored to perfect health.

" O God, at whoſe nod the courſe of human life is maintained, receive our petitions in behalf of thy ſervant George our king, for whom in his preſent ſickneſs we implore thy mercy: and grant that as we are afflicted at his danger, ſo we may rejoice at his recovery. Thro' our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thy Son, who with thee, &c.

R. Amen.

V. May the divine aſſiſtance remain always with us.

R. Amen."

Funeral

Funeral of the Pretender.—The following Extract of a Letter from Rome, *contains a particular Account of the Funeral of the late Count of* Albany.

"THE funeral obſequies of the late count of Albany were celebrated on the 3d of February, in the cathedral church at Freſcati; of which ſee the cardinal duke of York, his brother, is biſhop.

"The church was hung with black cloth (the ſeams covered with gold lace) drawn up between the pillars in the form of feſtoons, intermixed with gold and ſilver tiſſue, which had a very magnificent and ſolemn effect; eſpecially as a profuſion of wax tapers were continually burning during the whole of the ceremony in every part of the church.

"Over the great door, and the four principal ſide altars, there were written in the feſtoons (in large characters) the following texts of ſcripture, which were choſen by the cardinal, as alluſive to the ſituation and fortunes of the deceaſed:—Eccleſiaſtes, chap. 47, v. 17; Job, chap. 29, v. 5; Tobit, chap. 2, v. 18; Proverbs, chap. 5, v. 17; Maccabees, book 2, chap. 6, v. 31.

"A large catafalque was erected on a platform, raiſed three ſteps from the floor, in the nave of the church, on which the coffin, containing the body, was placed, covered with a ſuperb pall, on which was embroidered, in ſeveral places, the royal arms of England; on each ſide ſtood three gentlemen, ſervants of the deceaſed, in mourning cloaks, each holding a royal banner; and about it were placed a conſiderable number of very large wax tapers, in the form of a ſquare; guarded by the militia of Freſcati.

"About ten o'clock in the forenoon, the cardinal was brought into the church in a ſedan chair, covered with black cloth, attended by a large ſuite of his officers and ſervants, in deep mourning.

"He ſeated himſelf on his throne, on the right-hand ſide of the great altar, and began to chant the office appointed by the church for the dead, aſſiſted by his choir, which is numerous, and ſome of the beſt voices from Rome.

"The firſt verſe was ſcarcely finiſhed, when it was obſerved that his voice faultered, the tears trickled down his cheeks, ſo that it was feared he would not have been able to proceed; however, he ſoon recollected himſelf, and went through the function in a very affecting manner; in which manly firmneſs, fraternal affection, and religious ſolemnity, were happily blended.

"The magiſtrates of Freſcati, and a numerous concourſe of the neighbouring people, attended on this occaſion; who were attracted, not ſo much by their curioſity, or the purpoſe of aſſiſting at the maſſes, which were celebrating at every altar in the church, as a deſire of teſtifying their great reſpect for the biſhop; who conſtantly reſides amongſt them, and daily beſtows upon them temporal as well as ſpiritual bleſſings, with a very liberal hand."

AGE.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 11, 1787, to DECEMBER 16, 1788.

Christened	Males 9892 Females 9667	Buried	Males 9962 Females 9735	Increaſed in the Burials this Year 348.	

Died under Two Years	6138	—Fifty and Sixty	1698	A Hundred and Two	1
Between Two and Five	1522	—Sixty and Seventy	1481	A Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	667	—Seventy and Eighty	1145	A Hundred and Four	0
—Ten and Twenty	866	—Eighty and Ninety	460	A Hundred and Five	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1552	—Ninety and a Hundred	55	A Hundred and Six	1
—Thirty and Forty	2015	A Hundred	7	And 1 at the advanced age of	113
—Forty and Fifty	2086	A Hundred and One	2		

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Stillborn	713	Diabetes	0	Meaſles	55	BIT by a mad dog	0
Abſceſs	11	Dropſy	1021	Miſcarriage	0	Broken Limbs	3
Aged	1424	Evil	11	Mortification	218	Bruiſed	0
Ague	7	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2769	Palſy	62	Burnt	13
Apoplexy and Sudden	229			Pleuriſy	23	Choaked	0
Aſthma and Phthiſic	488	Fiſtula	2	Quinſy	1	Drowned	119
Bed-ridden	6	Flux	14	Raſh	1	Exceſſive Drinking	9
Bleeding	5	French Pox	45	Rheumatiſm	3	Executed	*7
Bloody Flux	1	Gout	58	Rickets	0	Found Dead	12
Burſten and Rupture	12	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	59	Riſing of the Lights	0	Fractured	1
Cancer	76	Grief	5	Scald Head	1	Frighted	0
Canker	0	Head-Ach	0	Scurvy	10	Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	67
Chicken Pox	2	Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	44	Small Pox	1101		
Childbed	197			Sore Throat	13	Killed themſelves	13
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	14	Jaundice	53	Sores and Ulcers	18	Licked by a mad dog	1
Cold	6	Impoſthume	1	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Murdered	2
Conſumption	5086	Inflammation	229	Stoppage in the Stomach	9	Overlaid	3
Convulſions	4485	Itch	0	Surfeit	3	Poiſoned	2
Cough and Hooping-Cough	298	Leproſy	0	Swelling	0	Scalded	5
		Lethargy	2	Teeth	346	Shot	0
		Livergrown	5	Thruſh	34	Smothered	1
		Lunatick	46	Tympany	1	Starved	5
				Vomiting and Looſeneſs	0	Suffocated	3
				Worms	7	Total	266

* There have been 35 executed, of which number (7 only) have been reported to be buried as ſuch within the Bills of Mortality.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received, thereon, for one Year, ended the 5th of* January 1789.

EXPORTED.

1788.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	49,769	8,241	
Wheat Flour	24,208	368	
Buck Wheat	121		
Rye	30,929	—	44,206 1 11½ Bo.
Barley	62,187	171	
Malt	146,280		
Oats	11,443	907	0 0 0 Dr.
Oatmeal	619		
Beans	8,933	997	
Peaſe	4,520	63	
Indian Corn	—	1	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat Flour	384		
Rye	291		
Barley	851		
Barley hulled	34		
Malt	3,287		
Oats	1,081	-------	976 10 4 Bo.
Oatmeal	368		
Peaſe and Beans	622		
Bear	2,198		
Bear Meal	52		

IMPORTED.

1788.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	116,936	
Wheat Flour	6,302	
Barley	10,685	
Oats	331,053	
Oatmeal	2,086	5,344 3 4
Beans	9,190	
Peaſe	1,092	
Indian Corn	17	

1788. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	25,111	1,321 11 6
Barley	794	
Oats	48,804	
Oatmeal	31,883	
Peaſe and Beans	619	
Wheat Flour	361	

The following is an account of the average prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1788.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	7½	3	5½	2	9	1	11½	3	4¾

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK, for the YEAR 1788.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	India Stock	India Bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequ. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	161	76 3/8	77 1/4	96 1/8	22 5/8	13 7/8	174 1/2	93	75 7/8	—	2 1/8	21	16 18 6
	158	75 7/8	75	95 1/8	22 3/8	13 1/4	174 1/2	78	73 3/8	—	2	2	16 14 —
Feb.	161 1/2	76 5/8	76 1/8	97 1/8	23	14	—	89	—	—	2 1/8	28	17 17 —
	158 1/2	75 1/2	75 1/2	95 3/8	22 5/8	13 3/4	—	79	—	—	2		15 19 —
Mar.	176 3/4	76 1/2	75 7/8	96 3/4	22 7/8	14	174 3/4	91	—	75 5/8	2	26	23 — —
	159 1/4	75 1/4	75 1/8		22 1/4		172 1/4	82	—		1	24	22 10 —
Apr.	176 3/4	74 7/8	75 5/8	96 5/8	22 3/8	13 1/2	175	88	74	75	2	12	—
	172	74 1/4	75 1/8	94	22 1/4	13 1/4	174 1/2	80		74 7/8	1 7/8		—
May	173 1/2	74 5/8	75 3/8	94 1/2	22 7/8	13 1/2	173 1/4	87	—	74 1/2	1 7/8	6	16 8 6
	171 3/8	74 1/8	74 1/4	94	22 1/4	13	170	60	—				16 3 9
June	172 3/8	75	75 1/8	94 7/8	22 3/8	13 5/8	171 1/2	81	—	—	2 1/8	21	16 6 —
	171 5/8	74 1/2	75 1/4	94 3/8	22 1/4	13 3/8		64	74 1/4	—	2	20	15 19 —
July	174 1/4	75	75 3/8	96 1/8	22 5/8	13 5/8	168 3/4	64	74 3/8	73 1/2	2 1/8	21	16 4 —
	172	74 3/4	73 7/8	94 1/4	22 1/8	13 3/4		40			2		15 19 6
Aug.	178 1/2	76 1/8	75 1/8	96 5/8	22 3/4	14	168 3/4	75	—	—	1 7/8	40	16 4 —
	175 1/4	74 7/8	74 1/8	95 7/8	22 1/2	13 1/2	167 3/4	35	—	—		32	16 — 6
Sept.	176 3/4	75 1/2	74 1/2	96 1/8	22 1/2	13 1/3	167 1/2	74	73 7/8	—	1 7/8	41	16 6 6
	175 1/2	74 7/8	74 1/8	96				69	73 3/8	—	1 3/4		16 1 —
Oct.	176 3/4	76	75 5/8	95	22 1/4	13 3/4	—	75	74	74 3/4	1 7/8	38	16 7 —
	172 3/4	74 1/2	74 5/8	94 1/2	22 1/8	13 3/8	—	70		74 5/8			16 3 6
Nov.	174 1/2	74 7/8	75 1/2	94 7/8	22 7/8	13 7/8	—	78	—	—			16 12 6
	171	73 1/8	74	93	21 7/8	13 1/8	—	72	—	—	1 7/8	—	16 5 6
Dec.	170 1/4	73 1/4	74	93 7/8	21 3/4	13 1/4	—	76	—	—			16 18 —
	169	72 3/8	73 1/4	91 7/8	21 1/4	13 1/8	—	70	—	—	1 7/8	37	16 3 6

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament to His Majesty for the Year 1788.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 18,000 men, including 3,620 marines, at 4l. per man per month, for 1788 — —	936,000	0	0
DECEMBER 7th.			
For expences of the late armament, incurred by augmenting the naval forces — — —	175,407	5	11
FEBRUARY 21, 1788.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay of marines, for 1788 — — — —	700,000	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building and repairing veſſels, over and above the allowance for wear and tear, for 1788 — —	600,000	0	0
Total of the navy —	2,411,407	5	11

ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 10th, 1787.			
For expences of the late armament incurred at the ordnance office — — — —	18,300	0	8
For the charges of the office of ordnance, for land ſervice, for 1788 — — —	419,407	0	1
Total of ordnance —	437,707	0	9

ARMY.

DECEMBER 10, 1788.			
For expences of the late armament, incurred at the war office — — — — —	59,878	4	0
DECEMBER 11, 1788.			
For the army, 16,982 effective men for guards and garriſons in Great Britain — — —	598,637	2	10

For

	£.	s.	d.
For forces for plantations and Gibraltar, for 1788 —	315,865	19	1
For the difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhments — — — — —	8,758	14	9
For the forces in the Eaſt Indies — —	11,292	13	0
For the pay of general and ſtaff officers in Great Britain, in the ſame year — — —	6,427	0	6
For full pay to reduced or ſupernumerary officers of the army — — — — —	4,273	2	2
For the paymaſter general, ſecretary at war, commiſſary general of the muſters, judge-advocate general, comptroller of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the Exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaſter general, and on account of poundage to the infantry	60,863	6	8
MARCH 11, 1788.			
For four troops of horſe and grenadier guards, to June 24, 1788 — — — —	28,490	1	0
For two regiments of life guards, from June 25 to December 24 — — — — —	19,294	11	6
For a compenſation to the reduced officers of the four troops of horſe and grenadier guards —	3,768	12	6
For return of admiſſion money to the privates —	28,000	0	0
APRIL 8.			
For the horſe guards, formerly reduced, for the ſame year — — — — —	223	17	0
For the officers late in the Dutch ſervice, for the ſame year — — — — —	3,392	14	2
For the Chelſea penſioners, for the ſame year —	173,833	1	9
For penſions to officers' widows, for the ſame year	9,978	14	3
For the reduced officers of land forces, and marines, for the ſame year — — — —	172,776	3	0
For reduced officers of the Britiſh American forces, for the ſame year — — — —	60,000	0	0
For the army extraordinaries, for 1787 —	480,058	3	4
Total of the army —	2,045,812	1	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

DECEMBER 6, 1788.			
For the Heſſian ſubſidy — — — —	36,193	15	0
DECEMBER 10.			
For the ſecret ſervice, on account of the late armament — — — — — —	58,166	0	0
For the building Carleton Houſe — —	20,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For the debts of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales — — — — — —	161,000	0	0
For iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes — —	17,496	14	6
APRIL 10, 1788.			
For the civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia, from 1ſt January, 1787, to 1ſt January, 1788 — —	5,845	6	0
The like of New Brunſwick, from June 24, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — —	4,300	0	0
The like of St. John's Iſland, from 1ſt January, 1787, to 1ſt January 1788 — — —	1,900	0	0
The like of Cape Breton, from June 24, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — —	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland, from 1ſt April, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — — —	1,182	10	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of the Bahama iſlands, from 1ſt January, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788, in addition to the ſalaries paid out of the duty funds — — — — —	4,080	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales, from 10th October, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — — —	2,877	10	0
For ſalary of chief juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands, from 24th of June, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — — — —	580	0	0
Ditto, Dominica — — — —	600	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the mint, for 1787 —	24,145	5	8¾
For the proſecution of offenders againſt the coin laws — — — — — —	1,394	6	8
APRIL 30.			
For roads and bridges in Scotland, for 1788, by order of general Mackey — —	4,000	0	0
MAY 5.			
Iſſued to the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of American claims — — —	4,510	12	0
To the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of Eaſt Florida claims — — — —	1,000	0	0
To the commiſſioners of American claims, for their expences — — — —	2,111	0	6
For the annual allowance of the American loyaliſts	74,725	12	0
For the ſurveys of lands in Nova Scotia, &c. —	2,982	12	1
For the bills drawn by the governor, &c. of New South Wales — — —	2,652	7	3
For the buildings at Somerſet Houſe — —	25,000	0	0
Iſſued to the chief clerk of the commiſſioners of enquiry into the public offices — —	813	13	6

Iſſued

	£.	s.	d.
Iſſued to the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of public accounts. — — — —	600	0	0
Iſſued to the ſecretary of the commiſſioners of the crown lands — — — —	5,000	0	0
For the convicts at Plymouth — —	4,533	6	6
For the convicts on the Thames — —	30,083	10	2½
MAY 19.			
For the proſecution of Warren Haſtings, eſquire —	8,058	15	1½
For the forts, &c. in Africa — — —	13,000	0	0
For the repairs of Catwater harbour, Plymouth —	2,000	0	0
Total of miſcellaneous ſervices —	522,932	17	0¾

DEFICIENCIES.

DECEMBER 4, 1787.			
To pay off the exchequer bills of laſt ſeſſions —	5,500,000	0	0
DECEMBER 13, 1787.			
To make good the eſtimated deficiency of land and malt — — — —	300,000	0	0
To made good the deficiency of the commutation-tax to 5th of April 1787 — —	89,899	2	5¼
To make good to the ſinking fund deficiencies of annuities for 1758, to 5th of April 1787 —	21,816	3	6¾
Ditto for 1778, to ditto — — —	68,895	16	8¼
Ditto for 1780, to ditto — — —	143,614	13	10½
Ditto for 1783, to ditto — — —	178,144	10	0
Ditto for 1784 and 1785, to ditto — —	76,362	8	0¾
MAY 5, 1788.			
To make good the deficiencies of the laſt year's grants — — — — —	63,671	18	2¾
Total of deficiencies —	6,442,404	12	10¼

Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy — — — —	2,411,407	5	11
Ordnance — — —	437,707	0	9
Army — — — —	2,045,812	1	6
Miſcellaneous ſervices — —	522,932	17	0¾
Deficiencies — — — —	6,442,404	12	10¼
Total of ſupplies for 1788 —	11,860,263	18	1

Ways and Means for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty for the Year 1788.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 6, 1787.			
By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound — — —	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty — — —	750,000	0	0
MAY 6, 1788.			
By loans and exchequer bills — — —	5,500,000	0	0
From the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, to April 5th, 1788 — — —	1,845,000	0	0
Surplus to ariſe from ditto, to diſcharge deficiencies as ſtated in the ſupplies — — —	578,000	0	0
Impreſt money to be paid in the courſe of the year — — — —	200,000	0	0
Army ſayings of the year 1786 — —	200,000	0	0
A further ſum to be paid by the Eaſt India company, on account of troops, and victualling the fleet in the Eaſt Indies — — —	500,000	0	0
By lottery of 48,000 tickets, at 15 l. 12s. 9d. each — — £. 750,600 0 0	270,600	0	0
Deduct prizes — — 480,000 0 0			
Savings from the army in 1786 and 1787 —	43,000	0	0
Total of ways and means for the year 1788 —	11,886,600	0	0
Total of ſupplies for ditto — —	11,860,263	18	1
Exceſs of ways and means for 1788 — —	26,336	1	11

N. B. There was no new tax laid this year, except an additional duty on ſpirits manufactured in Scotland and imported into England.

An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from the 5th of January, 1786, *to the 5th of* January, 1787; *and from the 5th of* January, 1787, *to the 5th of* January, 1788: *laid before the House of Commons in* April, 1788.

	1787.			1788.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	4,063,314	7	2½	3,714,477	2	6
Excise	5,531,114	6	10½	6,225,627	11	3
Stamps	1,181,464	11	10¼	1,182,060	16	0
INCIDENTS.						
Salt, 5th April 1759	241,853	4	10½	80,461	10	5
Additional duty, 10th May 1780	60,463	3	7½	21,615	7	3
Ditto, 22d June 1782	62,954	0	6	22,183	13	9
700l. per week, letter-money, 1st June 1711	36,400	0	0	13,300	0	0
2,300l. per week, ditto, 1784	119,600	0	0	43,700	0	0
Seizures, ditto, 1760	4,442	14	7	5,429	13	9
Proffers, ditto	635	16	11	661	9	2
Fines of leases, ditto	6,073	15	4	6,676	6	4
Alum mines, ditto	960	0	0	960	0	0
Compositions, ditto	2	10	0	2	13	4
Alienation duty, ditto	1,351	15	4	2,433	15	4
Fines and forfeitures, ditto	105	0	0	1,400	0	0
Rent of a light house, ditto	6	13	4	156	13	4
Rent of Savoy lands, ditto						
Letter money, ditto	95,000	0	0	93,000	0	0
6d. per lib. on pensions, 24th June 1721	53,300	0	0	41,100	0	0
1s. deduction on salaries, 5th April 1758	29,410	16	6½	32,102	6	3
Houses and windows, 10th October 1766	414,050	13	2¾	411,021	19	2¾
Houses, 5th April 1778	125,470	0	10¼	140,081	5	11¼
Hawkers and pedlars, 5th July 1710	1,925	0	0	1,554	7	10½
Hackney coaches, 1st August 1711	9,324	8	11	13,219	15	4

Ditto,

	1787.			1788.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ditto, 1784	11,979	0	0	14,269	0	0
Hawkers and pedlars, 5th July 1785	2,070	13	11	1,488	13	11½
First fruits of the clergy	6,413	9	3	5,164	2	10
Salt, 1st August 1785	12,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
Tenths of the clergy	9,903	14	10½	9,893	16	4
Male servants, ditto, 1785	64,586	18	6½	97,912	0	6½
Female ditto	19,061	19	0¾	33,994	6	8
Four-wheel carriages, ditto	86,307	14	1	134,5 2	13	10¾
Two-wheel, ditto	18,595	16	8½	30,046	19	10½
Horses, ditto	72,448	0	6½	110,885	1	9¼
Waggons, ditto	8,446	18	2½	18,530	15	2
Carts, ditto	4,887	0	0½	11,191	12	7½
Shops, ditto	32,796	6	7¾	64,265	1	1
Houses and windows, ditto, 1727	773	10	3	82	0	9½
Male servants, ditto, 1777, arrears	29	19	0	2	17	4
Consolidated letter-money, ditto, 1787	0	0	0	99,000	0	0
Ditto salt, ditto	0	0	0	235,669	7	2½
Total of incidents	1,613,661	15	2	1,800,969	7	5½
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents	12,389,555	1	1¼	12,923,134	17	2¼

Exchequer,
the 3d day of April 1788.

JOHN HUGHSON.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the fifth Seſſion of the ſixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, *on* Tueſday *the 27th of* November, 1787.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"AT the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, I informed you of the concern with which I obſerved the diſputes unhappily ſubſiſting in the republic of the United Provinces.

"Their ſituation ſoon afterwards became more critical and alarming, and the danger which threatened their conſtitution and independence, ſeemed likely, in its conſequence, to affect the ſecurity and intereſts of my dominions.

"No endeavours were wanting on my part to contribute by my good offices to the reſtoration of tranquillity, and the maintenance of the lawful government; and I alſo thought it neceſſary to explain my intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic. Under theſe circumſtances, the king of Pruſſia having taken meaſures to enforce his demand of ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the princeſs of Orange, the party which had uſurped the government of Holland applied to the Moſt Chriſtian king for aſſiſtance, who notified to me his intention of granting their requeſt.

"In conformity to the principle which I had before explained, I did not heſitate, on receiving this notification, to declare, that I could not remain a quiet ſpectator of the armed interference of France, and I gave immediate orders for augmenting my forces both by ſea and land.

"In the courſe of theſe tranſactions, I alſo thought proper to conclude a treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, by which I ſecured the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable body of troops, in caſe my ſervice ſhould require it.

"In the mean time, the rapid ſucceſs of the Pruſſian troops under the conduct of the duke of Brunſwick, while it was the means of obtaining the reparation demanded by the king of Pruſſia, enabled the provinces to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion under which they laboured, and to re-eſtabliſh their lawful government.

"All ſubjects of conteſt being thus removed, an amicable explanation took place between me and the Moſt Chriſtian king, and declarations have been exchanged by our reſpective miniſters, by which we have agreed mutually to diſarm, and to place our naval eſtabliſhments on the ſame footing as

in

in the beginning of the preſent year.

" It gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction that the important events which I have communicated to you, have taken place without diſturbing my ſubjects in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace; and I have great pleaſure in acquainting you, that I continue to receive from all foreign Powers the fulleſt aſſurances of their pacific and friendly diſpoſition towards this country. I muſt, at the ſame time, regret that the tranquillity of one part of Europe is unhappily interrupted by the war which has broken out between Ruſſia and the Porte.

" A convention has been agreed upon between me and the Moſt Chriſtian king, explanatory of the thirteenth article of the laſt treaty of peace, and calculated to prevent jealouſies and diſputes between our reſpective ſubjects in the Eaſt Indies.—I have ordered copies of the ſeveral treaties to which I have referred, and of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged at Verſailles, to be laid before you.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you, together with an account of the extraordinary expences which the ſituation of affairs rendered neceſſary.

" I have the fulleſt reliance in your zeal and public ſpirit, that you will make due proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice. I am always deſirous of confining thoſe expences within the narroweſt limits which a prudent regard to the public ſafety will permit; but I muſt at the ſame time recommend to your particular attention to conſider of the proper means for maintaining my diſtant poſſeſſions in an adequate poſture of defence.

" *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

" The flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce and revenues of this country, cannot fail to encourage you in the purſuit of ſuch meaſures as may confirm and improve ſo favourable a ſituation.

" Theſe circumſtances muſt alſo render you peculiarly anxious for the continuation of public tranquillity, which it is my conſtant object to preſerve.

" I am at the ſame time perſuaded you will agree with me in thinking that nothing can more effectually tend to ſecure ſo valuable a bleſſing, than the zeal and unanimity which were ſhewn by all ranks of my ſubjects on the late occaſion, and which manifeſt their readineſs to exert themſelves whenever the honour of my crown and the intereſts of my dominions may require it."

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, for the foregoing Speech.

Die Martis, 27° Novembris, 1787.

" *Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

" WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

" We acknowledge with heart-

felt gratitude your majeſty's conſtant regard to the intereſts of your people, which could not be more fully manifeſted than by your attention to the diſputes lately ſubſiſting in the republic of the United Provinces.

" The danger with which their conſtitution and independence were threatened, could not but affect, in its probable conſequences, the ſecurity and intereſts of your majeſty's kingdoms.

" We beg leave therefore humbly to expreſs our higheſt approbation of your majeſty's juſt and wiſe determination to counteract all forcible interference on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic; and we acknowledge in the fulleſt manner the propriety and neceſſity of the declaration made by your majeſty in conformity to theſe principles, when the intention of the Moſt Chriſtian king to aſſiſt the party which had uſurped the government of Holland was notified to your majeſty, for the augmentation of your forces by ſea and land; meaſures which, while they prepared the country for any emergency which might ariſe, were the moſt likely to prolong the bleſſings of peace.

" We learn, with particular ſatisfaction, the rapid ſucceſs of the Pruſſian troops under the auſpicious conduct of his Serene Highneſs the duke of Brunſwick, which has obtained for his Pruſſian majeſty the juſt reparation which he demanded, and enabled the provinces to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion under which they laboured, as well as to eſtabliſh their ancient and lawful government.

" The important events which have taken place, without diſturbing your majeſty's ſubjects in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, afford matter of cordial congratulation to your majeſty; and we are happy to ſee your majeſty enabled to enter into an agreement with the Moſt Chriſtian king for diſarming, and placing the naval eſtabliſhments of the two countries upon the ſame footing as in the beginning of the preſent year.

" We beg leave to return our humble thanks to your majeſty for ordering the ſeveral treaties and conventions to be laid before this houſe, and to aſſure your majeſty that we ſhall ſee with ſatisfaction any arrangement calculated to prevent jealouſies and diſputes between your majeſty's ſubjects and thoſe of the Moſt Chriſtian king in the Eaſt Indies.

" Your majeſty may depend upon our concurrence in ſuch meaſures as it may ſeem expedient to adopt, in conſequence of the other engagements entered into by your majeſty, as well as ſuch as may be neceſſary for placing your majeſty's diſtant poſſeſſions in an adequate poſture of defence.

" The flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce and revenues afford us the higheſt ſatisfaction, and cannot fail to ſtimulate us to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to confirm and improve ſuch important advantages, as well as to concur with your majeſty's paternal wiſhes for the continuation of the public tranquillity. We lament, that hoſtilities ſhould have broken out in any part of Europe; but we receive with ſatisfaction the information that your majeſty continues to be aſſured of the pacific diſpoſition of all foreign powers towards this country.

" We reflect with pleaſure on the

the zeal and unanimity ſhewn by all ranks of your majeſty's ſubjects on the late occaſion, as it muſt give more weight to the aſſurance we now humbly offer to your majeſty, that, with every wiſh to cultivate the bleſſings of peace, we ſhall be always ready to exert ourſelves to the utmoſt, when the honour of your majeſty's crown and the intereſts of your people may require it."

To which His Majeſty returned the following anſwer.

"*My Lords,*

"I thank you for this affectionate and loyal addreſs. The ſatisfaction which you have unanimouſly expreſſed in the meaſures I have taken is particularly agreeable to me. You may depend, that both in war and in peace my conſtant objects ſhall be the honour of my crown, and the advancement of the intereſts of my people."

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to His Majeſty, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne, November 29th, 1787.

"*Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

"WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

"Your faithful commons acknowledge, with gratitude, your majeſty's regard for the welfare and intereſts of your people, manifeſted by your endeavours to promote the reſtoration of their internal tranquillity, and the maintenance of their lawful government.

"We are ſenſible that the danger which lately threatened the conſtitution and independence of the United Provinces was likely, in its conſequences, to affect the ſecurity and intereſts of your majeſty's dominions; and we particularly applaud your majeſty's juſt determination to counteract all forcible interference, on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic.

"We feel, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the propriety and neceſſity of the declaration made by your majeſty, in conformity with thoſe principles, when the intention of the Moſt Chriſtian king was notified to your majeſty, as well as of the ſeaſonable and vigorous ſteps taken for the immediate augmentation of your majeſty's forces both by ſea and land.

"The rapid and brilliant ſucceſs of the Pruſſian arms, under the conduct of his Serene Highneſs the duke of Brunſwick, affords us matter of peculiar ſatisfaction, both as it was the means of obtaining the reparation demanded by the king of Pruſſia, and as it has enabled the Provinces to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion under which they laboured, and to re-eſtabliſh their lawful government.

"We cordially congratulate your majeſty on the important events which have taken place without having diſturbed your majeſty's ſubjects in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, and which have enabled your majeſty to enter into an agreement with the Moſt Chriſtian king for mutually diſarming, and placing the naval eſtabliſh-

ments

ments of the two countries on the ſame footing as in the beginning of the preſent year.

"We are ſenſible of your majeſty's goodneſs in the communication of the ſeveral treaties and declarations which your majeſty has ordered to be laid before this houſe. We ſhall ſee with pleaſure any arrangement properly calculated to prevent jealouſies and diſputes between your majeſty's ſubjects, and thoſe of the Moſt Chriſtian king, in the Eaſt Indies; and we ſhall proceed, without loſs of time, to conſider what ſteps it may be fit to take in conſequence of the other engagements entered into by your majeſty.

"Your majeſty may be aſſured of our readineſs to make ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for defraying the extraordinary expences which have been incurred by your majeſty, and for carrying on the ſeveral branches of the current ſervice.

"We ſhall make it the object of our immediate attention to conſider what meaſures it may be expedient to adopt for maintaining your majeſty's diſtant poſſeſſions in an adequate poſture of defence; and we ſhall proceed, with unremitted aſſiduity, in the purſuit of meaſures which may tend to confirm and improve the favourable ſituation of affairs.

"The flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce and revenue of the country muſt make us concur, with more peculiar earneſtneſs, in your majeſty's paternal wiſhes for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. On this account, while we ſee, with concern, the war which has unhappily broken out between Ruſſia and the Porte, we have great ſatisfaction in learning that your majeſty continues to receive, from all foreign powers, the fulleſt aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſition towards this country.

"We are thoroughly ſenſible that nothing can more effectually tend to ſecure the invariable bleſſings of peace, than the zeal and unanimity which was ſhewn by all ranks of your majeſty's ſubjects on the late occaſion, and which manifeſt their readineſs to exert themſelves whenever the honour of your majeſty's crown, and the intereſts of your dominions, may require it."

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

"*Gentlemen,*

"I return you my hearty thanks for this loyal and dutiful addreſs; the ſatisfaction you expreſs in the meaſures which I have purſued, and in the important events which have taken place, afford me peculiar pleaſure.

"You may depend upon my invariable attention to the happineſs and proſperity of my kingdoms."

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the cloſe of the fifth Seſſion, July 11*th*, 1788.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"IN the preſent advanced ſeaſon of the year, and after the laborious attendance which the public buſineſs has required of you, I think it neceſſary to put an end to the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. I cannot do this, without expreſſing the ſatisfaction with which I have obſerved the uniform and diligent attention

attention to the welfare of my people, which has appeared in all your proceedings."

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"The chearfulneſs and liberality with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies, demand my particular acknowledgments. It muſt afford you the greateſt ſatisfaction, that you have been enabled, without any addition to the burdens of my people, to provide for the extraordinary exigences of the laſt year, in addition to the current demands of the public ſervice, and to the ſum annually appropriated to the reduction of the national debt."

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I ſee with concern the continuance of the war between Ruſſia and the Porte, in which the emperor has alſo taken a part. But the general ſtate of Europe, and the aſſurances which I receive from foreign powers, afford me every reaſon to expect that my ſubjects will continue to enjoy the bleſſings of peace.

"The engagements which I have recently entered into with my good brother the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe with the States General of the United Provinces, which have already been communicated to you, are directed to this object, which I have uniformly in view, and they will, I truſt, be productive of the happieſt conſequences in promoting the ſecurity and welfare of my own dominions, and in contributing to the general tranquillity of Europe."

A Copy of the Treaty of defenſive Alliance between his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 25th of April, 1788.

THE mutual and ſincere friendſhip which has ſo long ſubſiſted between his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and the lords the ſtates general of the United Provinces, having been increaſed and ſtrengthened by the intereſt which his Britannic majeſty has lately manifeſted in the preſervation of the independence of the republic, and of its legal conſtitution, his ſaid majeſty, and the ſaid lords ſtates general of the United Provinces, have reſolved, in order to cement in the moſt ſolid and laſting manner the good harmony, confidence, and correſpondence between them, to form permanent engagements, by a treaty of defenſive alliance for the good of both parties, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, as well as of their own in particular. To accompliſh ſo ſalutary a purpoſe, his majeſty the king of Great Britain has named and authoriſed ſir James Harris, privy counſellor, knight of the Bath, member of the parliament of Great Britain, and his majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high mightineſſes; and their high mightineſſes the ſtates general of the United Provinces have named and authoriſed their deputies for foreign affairs; who, after communicating to each other their full powers in due form, and having conferred together, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

There ſhall be a ſincere, firm, and conſtant friendſhip and union between his Britannic majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the lords the ſtates general of the United Provinces, ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall direct their utmoſt attention to maintain this mutual friendſhip and correſpondence between them, and their dominions and ſubjects; and they engage to contribute, as far as ſhall be in their power, mutually to preſerve and defend each other in peace and tranquillity.

ARTICLE II.

In caſe either of the high contracting parties ſhould be hoſtilely attacked by any European power, in any part of the world whatſoever, the other contracting party engages to ſuccour its ally, as well by ſea as by land, in order to maintain and guaranty each other mutually in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions, territories, towns, places, franchiſes, and liberties, which belonged to them reſpectively before the commencement of hoſtilities.

ARTICLE III.

His Britannic majeſty guaranties, in the moſt effectual manner, the hereditary Stadtholderate, as well as the office of hereditary governor of each province, in the ſerene houſe of Orange, with all the rights and prerogatives thereto belonging, as forming an eſſential part of the conſtitution of the United Provinces, according to the reſolutions and diplomas of the years 1747 and 1748, by virtue of which the preſent Stadtholder entered into the poſſeſſion of thoſe offices in 1766, and was reinſtated therein in 1788: engaging to maintain that form of government againſt all attacks and enterprizes, direct or indirect, of whatſoever nature they may be.

ARTICLE IV.

The ſuccours mentioned in the ſecond article of this treaty of defenſive alliance, ſhall conſiſt, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, of eight thouſand infantry, two thouſand cavalry, twelve ſhips of the line, and eight frigates, which reſpective ſuccours ſhall be furniſhed in the ſpace of two months after requiſition made by the party attacked, and ſhall remain at its diſpoſal during the whole continuance of the war in which it ſhall be engaged, whilſt thoſe ſuccours (whether ſhips and frigates, or troops) ſhall be paid and maintained by the power of whom they ſhall be required, wherever its ally ſhall employ them.

ARTICLE V.

In caſe the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould not be ſufficient for the defence of the power requiring them, the power to whom requiſition ſhall be made ſhall ſucceſſively augment them, according to the wants of its ally, whom it ſhall aſſiſt, even with its whole force, if circumſtances ſhould render it neceſſary; but it is expreſsly agreed, in all caſes, that the contingent of the lords the ſtates general ſhall not exceed ten thouſand infantry, two thouſand cavalry, ſixteen ſhips of the line, and ſixteen frigates.

ARTICLE VI.

But as it may happen (conſidering the diſtance of ſeveral of the poſſeſſions of the two high contracting parties) that the advantages, which ought to reſult to them reciprocally

from the concluſion of the preſent treaty, may become illuſory, unleſs meaſures can be taken for the mutual defence of thoſe poſſeſſions, before their reſpective governors could receive orders from Europe for that purpoſe; it is ſtipulated and agreed, that in caſe either of them ſhould be hoſtilely attacked, or even menaced with an hoſtile attack, in its poſſeſſions, whether in Africa or in Aſia, by any European power, the governors of their ſettlements in thoſe parts of the world ſhall be enjoined to concert together the ſuccour to be furniſhed, and, in caſe of need, to furniſh ſuch ſuccour, in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual manner, to the party attacked; and that orders to that effect ſhall be expedited to the ſaid governors immediately after the concluſion of the preſent treaty: and in caſe the two high contracting parties ſhould be obliged to furniſh the aforeſaid ſuccours, they ſhall not permit the ſhips of war, of what nature they may be, of the power attacking, to enter into any of their ports in the aforeſaid ſettlements, until peace ſhall be reſtored between the party attacking, and the ally of the contracting party, unleſs the ſaid veſſels be forced to take refuge there, to avoid periſhing, or being ſhipwrecked.

ARTICLE VII.

If it ſhould happen that the two high contracting parties ſhall be equally involved in a war againſt a common enemy, they reciprocally promiſe each other not to diſarm but by common conſent; and they ſhall communicate to each other confidentially the propoſals for a peace, or truce, which may be made.

ARTICLE VIII.

If the high contracting parties prefer furniſhing their ſuccours of troops in money, they ſhall be at liberty on each ſide ſo to do; and then ſuch ſuccour ſhall be computed at one hundred thouſand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thouſand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thouſand florins, of like value, for one thouſand cavalry, per annum, and in the ſame proportion by the month.

ARTICLE IX.

The power requiring ſhall be obliged, whether the ſhips, frigates, and troops with which it ſhall have been furniſhed, remain for a long or ſhort time in its ports, to provide whatever they may want, at the ſame price as if they belonged to ſuch power itſelf. It has been agreed, that the ſaid troops or ſhips ſhall not in any caſe be at the expence of the party requiring, but that they ſhall nevertheleſs remain at its diſpoſal, during the whole continuance of the war in which it ſhall be engaged. The ſuccours above mentioned ſhall, with reſpect to diſcipline, be ſubject to the orders of the chief officer who commands them; and they ſhall not be employed ſeparately, or otherwiſe than in concert with the ſaid commanding officer: with regard to the operations, they ſhall be wholly ſubject to the orders of the commander in chief of the power requiring.

ARTICLE X.

It is agreed, that until the two powers conclude a treaty of commerce with each other, the ſubjects of the republic ſhall be treated, in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland,

Ireland, as the moſt favoured nation; and the ſame ſhall be obſerved in the United Provinces towards the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty. It is, however, to be underſtood, that this article is not to extend to a diminution of the import duties payable upon linens.

ARTICLE XI.

Whereas by the fourth article of the treaty of peace, ſigned in the month of June, 1784, his Britannic majeſty engaged to treat with the lords the ſtates-general for the reſtitution of Negapatnam, with its dependencies, in caſe the ſaid lords the ſtates-general ſhould in future have any equivalent to give; and whereas their high mightineſſes have now renewed their requeſt for obtaining that reſtitution, as well as ſettling and determining preciſely the ſenſe of the ſixth article of that treaty, concerning the navigation of Britiſh ſubjects in the eaſtern ſeas; his Britannic majeſty, in order to manifeſt his good-will towards the republic, is diſpoſed to concur in theſe deſires of their high mightineſſes, and even to ſecure to the republic additional and real commercial advantages in that part of the world, as ſoon as an equivalent for thoſe objects can be agreed upon; in return for which his Britannic majeſty will require nothing but what is favourable to the reciprocal intereſts and ſecurity of the contracting parties in the Indies: and, to prevent the negotiations for ſuch arrangements from retarding the concluſion of the preſent treaty, it is agreed that they ſhall be begun as ſoon as poſſible, and be concluded in the ſpace of ſix months from the date of the preſent treaty; and that the convention to be made thereon ſhall have the ſame force as if it was inſerted in the treaty itſelf.

ARTICLE XII.

The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified on each ſide, and the exchange of ratifications ſhall be made in the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner, if it can be done.

Done at the Hague, the fifteenth of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L. S.) JAMES HARRIS.
(L. S.) J. W. CONTE DE WELDEREN.
(L. S.) W. F. H. VAN WASSENAER.
(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.
(L. S.) GUILLAUME DE CITTERS.
(L. S.) W. N. PESTERS.
(L. S.) CHARLES BIGOT.
(L. S.) M. B. C. VAN VIERST VAN BORGEL.

Copy of the Treaty of Defenſive Alliance, between his Majeſty the King of* Great Britain, *and his Majeſty the King of* Pruſſia.

THEIR majeſties the king of Great Britain, and the king of Pruſſia, being animated with a ſincere and equal deſire to improve and conſolidate the ſtrict union and

* The proviſional treaty, upon which this was grounded, was ſigned at Loo, by the Sieur P. C. d'Alvenſleben, on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty, and Sir James Harris (now lord Malmſbury), on behalf of his Britannic majeſty, on June 15th, 1788.

friendſhip which, having been tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, ſo happily ſubſiſt between them, and to concert the moſt proper meaſures for ſecuring their mutual intereſts, and the general tranquillity of Europe, have reſolved to renew and ſtrengthen theſe ties by a treaty of defenſive alliance; and they have authorized for this purpoſe (to wit) his majeſty the king of Great Britain, the ſieur Joſeph Ewart, his envoy extraordinary at the court of Berlin; and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, the ſieur Ewald Frederick count de Hertzberg, his miniſter of ſtate, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Black Eagle; who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers to each other, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

There ſhall be a perpetual, firm, and unalterable friendſhip, defenſive alliance, and ſtrict and inviolable union, together with an intimate and perfect harmony and correſpondence, between the ſaid moſt ſerene kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, their heirs and ſucceſſors, and their reſpective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and ſubjects, which ſhall be carefully maintained and cultivated, ſo that the contracting powers ſhall conſtantly employ, as well their utmoſt attention as alſo thoſe means which Providence has put in their power, for preſerving at the ſame time the public tranquillity and ſecurity, for maintaining their common intereſts, and for their mutual defence and guaranty againſt every hoſtile attack; the whole in conformity to the treaties already ſubſiſting between the two high contracting parties, which ſhall remain in full force and vigour, and ſhall be deemed to be renewed by the preſent treaty, as far as the ſame ſhall not be derogated from, with their own conſent, by poſterior treaties, or by the preſent treaty.

ARTICLE II.

In conſequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two high contracting parties ſhall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity; and in caſe either of them ſhould be threatened with a hoſtile attack by any power whatever, the other ſhall employ his moſt efficacious good offices for preventing hoſtilities, for procuring ſatisfaction to the injured party, and for effecting an accommodation in a conciliatory manner.

ARTICLE III.

But if thoſe good offices ſhould not have the deſired effect, in the ſpace of two months, and either of the two high contracting parties ſhould be hoſtilely attacked, moleſted, or diſturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, poſſeſſions, or intereſts, or in any manner whatever, by ſea or land, by any European power, the other contracting party engages to ſuccour his ally without delay, in order to maintain each other reciprocally in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions, territories, towns, and places, which belonged to them before the commencement of ſuch hoſtilities: for which end, if his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould happen to be attacked, his majeſty the king of Great Britain ſhall furniſh to his majeſty the king of Pruſſia a ſuccour of ſixteen thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry; and if his Britannic

tannic majeſty ſhould happen to be attacked, his majeſty the king of Pruſſia ſhall likewiſe furniſh to him a ſuccour of ſixteen thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry; which reſpective ſuccours ſhall be furniſhed in the ſpace of two months after requiſition made by the party attacked, and ſhall remain at his diſpoſal during the whole continuance of the war in which he ſhall be engaged. Theſe ſuccours ſhall be paid and maintained by the required power, wherever his ally ſhall employ them; but the requiring party ſhall ſupply them, in his dominions, with ſuch bread and forage as may be neceſſary, upon the footing to which his own troops are accuſtomed.

It is nevertheleſs agreed between the high contracting parties, that if his Britannic majeſty ſhould be in the caſe of receiving the ſuccour in troops from his Pruſſian majeſty, his Britannic majeſty ſhall not employ them out of Europe, nor even in the garriſon of Gibraltar.

If the injured and requiring party ſhould prefer ſuccours in money to land forces, he ſhall have his choice; and in caſe of the two high contracting parties furniſhing to each other the ſtipulated ſuccours in money, ſuch ſuccours ſhall be computed at one hundred thouſand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thouſand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thouſand florins, of the like value, for one thouſand cavalry, per annum, or in the ſame proportion by the month.

ARTICLE IV.

In caſe the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould not be ſufficient for the defence of the requiring power, the required power ſhall augment them, according to the exigency of the caſe, and ſhall aſſiſt the former with his whole force, if circumſtances ſhall render it neceſſary.

ARTICLE V.

The high contracting parties hereby renew, in the moſt expreſs terms, the proviſional treaty of defenſive alliance, which they concluded at Loo, on the 13th of June in the preſent year, and they again engage and promiſe to act, at all times, in concert, and with mutual confidence, for maintaining the ſecurity, independence, and government of the republic of the United Provinces, conformably to the engagements which they have lately contracted with the ſaid republic; that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty, by a treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788, and his Pruſſian majeſty, by a treaty ſigned the ſame day at Berlin, which the ſaid high contracting parties have communicated to each other.

And if it ſhall happen that, by virtue of the ſtipulations of the ſaid treaties, the high contracting parties ſhould be obliged to augment the ſuccours to be given to the ſtates-general, above the numbers ſpecified in the ſaid treaties, or to aſſiſt them with their whole force, the ſaid high contracting parties will concert together upon all that may be neceſſary relative to ſuch an augmentation of ſuccours to be agreed on, and to the employment of their reſpective forces for the ſecurity and defence of the ſaid republic.

In caſe either of the ſaid high contracting parties ſhould, at any time hereafter, be attacked, moleſted, or diſturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, poſſeſſions, or intereſts, in any manner whatever, by

ſea or by land, by any other power, in conſequence and in hatred of the articles or ſtipulations contained in the ſaid treaties, or of the meaſures to be taken by the ſaid contracting parties reſpectively, in virtue of theſe treaties, the other contracting party engages to ſuccour and aſſiſt him againſt ſuch attack, in the ſame manner, and by the ſame ſuccours, as are ſtipulated in the 3d and 4th articles of the preſent treaty; and the ſaid contracting parties promiſe, in all ſimilar caſes, to maintain and guaranty each other in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions, towns, and places, which belonged to them reſpectively before the commencement of ſuch hoſtilities.

ARTICLE VI.

The preſent treaty of defenſive alliance ſhall be ratified by each party, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of ſix weeks, or ſooner if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten, being authorized by the full powers of their majeſties, the kings of Great Britain and of Pruſſia, have, in their names, ſigned the preſent treaty, and have thereto ſet the ſeals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the thirteenth of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L.S.) JOSEPH EWART.

(L.S.) EWALD FREDERIC COMTE DE HERTZBERG.

Act of Guaranty of the Stadtholderſhip of the United Provinces, by their High Mightineſſes the States General.

THE lords the ſtates of the provinces of Guelderland, Holland, and Weſt Frieſland, Zeland, Utrecht, Frieſland, Overyſſell, and Groningen, and of the county of Drenthe, having reflected upon the cauſes of the inteſtine diviſions by which the republic, and each province in particular, have of late years been diſtracted; and having found that theſe diviſions have, for the greateſt part, ariſen from the falſe and dangerous idea entertained by certain perſons, whether real or pretended, reſpecting the conſtitution and form of government of theſe provinces, and eſpecially with regard to the importance and neceſſity of the high and hereditary dignities of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, which idea they had inſtilled into the minds of other inhabitants not ſo well informed; and having moreover conſidered, that at the time of the happy reſtoration and confirmation of the Hereditary Stadtholderſhip in 1747 and 1748, the confederates regarded the union of all thoſe dignities in the perſon of one prince only, both with reſpect to the ſeveral provinces, and to the countries of the generality, as a ſingular advantage to the republic, being convinced that the bond of the union would derive from it renewed vigour and ſolidity; that conſequently theſe dignities having, from that period, obtained a cloſer and more intimate connection with the whole confederacy, they ought not only to be conſidered as an eſſential part of the conſtitution and form of government of each province, but likewiſe of the republic at large, and ſo attached to the union, that it cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt and proſper without theſe dignities; and that therefore,

therefore, as the confederates are bound to aſſiſt each other at the riſk of their lives and fortunes, for the preſervation of the bond of union, it neceſſarily follows, that they are obliged, under a mutual obligation, to ſupport each other reſpecting the firſt and principal means by which the union may be preſerved and maintained, and to protect it with their united force againſt all enterprizes; the more ſo, as experience has ſhewn, during the late troubles, that from beginnings of ſlight importance, which appeared at firſt to have only trifling alterations in view, a general confuſion enſued, which brought the confederacy to the eve of its diſſolution: the deputies of the above-mentioned provinces do ſolemnly declare, in the name and by order of the lords the ſtates of their reſpective provinces, by the preſent act, that the ſaid lords the ſtates regard and conſider the dignities of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives thereunto annexed, in manner and upon the ſame footing as they were conferred in the ſeveral provinces, and poſſeſſed by the preſent prince Stadtholder in the year 1766, as an eſſential part of their conſtitution and form of government, and they mutually guaranty the ſame to each other, as a fundamental law of the ſtate, promiſing that they will not ſuffer this fundamental law, ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the repoſe and ſafety of the republic, to be deviated from in either of the provinces of the confederacy.

In teſtimony whereof, we the underwritten being, by virtue of the reſolutions of their high mightineſſes of this day, expreſsly authorized thereto, have each of us, in the name of our reſpective ſtates, and in conformity to their reſpective reſolutions, ſigned this inſtrument.——— Hague, June 27, 1788.

A. R. VAN HECKEREN VAN ZUYDERAS.
W. F. H. VAN WASSINAER.
L. P. VAN DER SPIEGEL.
W. V. CITTERS.
W. N. PESTERS.
M. V. SCHELTINGA.
R. SLOST TOT DE HAAR B. DE V. IDSINGA.

The underwritten, in conſequence of the acceſſion of the county of Drenthe, and by virtue of full powers tranſmitted to him for that purpoſe, has ſigned the above act, July 3, 1788.

P. A. VAN HEIDEN, Droſſard of the county of Drenthe.

The Emperor's Declaration of War againſt the Porte, Feb. 10, 1788.

ALL Europe have been witneſs to the good faith with which the court of his imperial majeſty has for many years cultivated peace with the Ottoman empire; the ſincere diſpoſitions it has manifeſted on every occaſion to preſerve their good neighbourhood; its diſintereſted and indefatigable endeavours to avoid any interruption of their mutual harmony; and its readineſs to lend every office of mediation, to prevent any rupture between the Porte and the neighbouring courts.

Theſe pacific intentions were lately diſplayed in the differences which aroſe between the Porte and the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, when the emperor, uniting his endeavours with thoſe of his ally the

king of France, omitted nothing which was likely to effect an amicable adjuſtment of their diſputes. And whereas the grievances and demands of the court of Ruſſia did not exceed a requiſition for the juſt execution of the exiſting treaty between them and the Porte, and whereas the former court ſhewed the moſt favourable diſpoſition to accommodate the differences, his imperial majeſty was not without hopes that his endeavours, joined to thoſe of the court of Verſailles, would ſucceed in preventing a rupture, and the calamitous conſequences that muſt inevitably attend it.

But the Porte ſoon ſhewed the inefficacy of this attempt of the united courts, and, ſhutting their eyes againſt their ſalutary advice and preſſing exhortations, had the injuſtice to refuſe the Ruſſian envoy the neceſſary delay for a courier to return with freſh inſtructions from Peterſburgh, and required him to ſign a formal deed, revoking and declaring void the treaty of commerce concluded between the Porte and Ruſſia, as well as every ſtipulation reſpecting the Crimea. And, in conſequence of his refuſal to accede to a propoſition, which, independent of its impropriety, exceeded the powers of an envoy, the Porte did not heſitate to confine this miniſter, contrary to the moſt ſacred laws of nations, in the priſon of the ſeven towers, and to declare war againſt Ruſſia at the ſame time.

By ſo violent a proceeding, things were brought to the moſt critical extremity; yet the emperor did not loſe hopes, that hoſtilities might ſtill be prevented. He flattered himſelf that the Porte, yielding to the repreſentations of all the foreign ambaſſadors reſiding at Conſtantinople, would be perſuaded to releaſe the envoy, and give her imperial majeſty a ſatisfaction proportionate to the violation of the law of nations offered to the perſon of her miniſter, and thus a poſſibility occur of renewing conciliatory negociations.

But all theſe hopes were entirely deſtroyed by the Porte commencing open acts of hoſtility againſt all remonſtrances, and obliging Ruſſia to have recourſe to arms in her defence.

The Porte were not unacquainted with the ſtrict bands of amity and alliance which unite the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh. Of this occurrence they were informed, as well by verbal inſinuations as by a memorial preſented towards the cloſe of the year 1783. This was accompanied with an energetic repreſentation of the nature of this alliance, and the danger of provoking it.

The Ottoman court have therefore themſelves only to blame, if the emperor, after ſo many years employed in the preſervation of peace, and in his endeavours to live with them on the beſt terms, and after having ſeized upon every opportunity of amicable intervention, finds himſelf at length obliged by their conduct to comply with his engagements with the empreſs, and take a part in the war into which ſhe finds herſelf ſo forcibly drawn.

The emperor, by theſe facts and circumſtances, conceives himſelf authoriſed to rely with the utmoſt confidence on the approbation of all the courts of Europe, and flatters himſelf that they will unite their wiſhes for the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the common enemy of Chriſtianity.

At Vienna, Feb. 10, 1788.

Addreſs

Addreſs of the Parliament of Paris, *preſented to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at the Aſſembly of the* Bed of Juſtice, May *the* 8*th*, 1788, *on the Arreſt of Meſſieurs* d'Eſpremenil *and* de Montantbert, *two Counſellors of their Court* *.

" Sire,

" YOUR parliament is confirmed, by every proceeding, of the intire innovation which is aimed at in the ſyſtem of monarchy. At the moment even when your parliament was offering their ſuſpicions and remonſtrances at the foot of the throne, an act of abſolute authority is exerciſed in your name againſt two magiſtrates, whoſe conduct is irreproachable, and who ſhould rather deſerve your majeſty's protection for their ſupport of the rights of monarchy.

" At the time that the deputies of parliament were ſoliciting an audience at the foot of the throne, which public circumſtances ſeemed to require, the ſeat of ſovereign juſtice was inveſted by a body of armed people, who committed acts of violence in the middle of the night, and at the time your parliament was ſitting.

" Your majeſty has been adviſed not to receive the deputation of your parliament, becauſe you had not been made acquainted of their coming by a ſpecial meſſage. The efforts that have been made to conceal truth from your knowledge, but too plainly indicate the changes in the conſtitution which the enemies of magiſtracy have endeavoured to effect ſince 1771; and which they flatter themſelves to attain by a ſpecious plauſibility.

" Your majeſty, in ſummoning your parliament to the throne, was about to conciliate the love of your people by a meaſure conformable to ancient practice. But, ſire, the French nation will never adopt the deſpotic meaſures which you are adviſed to, and whoſe effects alarm the moſt faithful of your magiſtrates. We ſhall not repeat all the unfortunate circumſtances which afflict us; we ſhall only repreſent to you, with reſpectful firmneſs, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom muſt not be trampled on, and that your authority can only be eſteemed ſo long as it is tempered with juſtice.

" It is the intereſts of the nation which has determined each and every member not to take any part, either as a body or as individuals, in any functions which may be the conſequences of new regulations, nor will they aſſiſt in any meaſures which are not the unanimous reſolutions of parliament, endued with all its privileges. Such is the nature of the French monarchy; and we beſeech your majeſty not to ſuffer apparent or momentary advantages to divert your attention, as they may only produce unhappy conſequences.

" This objection is of ſuch importance to the public tranquillity, that the conſideration of it abſorbs every other ſentiment, and ſcarcely leaves us power to beſeech your juſtice in favour of the two magiſtrates who have been recently torn from us, attended by circumſtances which we dare not deſcribe.

" Your majeſty will, ſooner or later, diſcover the juſtice of our repreſentations; and, in whatever ſi-

* See State Papers in our laſt volume, relative to the arreſt of the Duke of Orleans, and two other counſellors of the parliament of Paris.

nation your parliament may find itſelf, it will feel the pleaſing and conſcious ſatisfaction of having uſed its beſt endeavours for the *ſervice of the king and the nation.*"

Speech of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on opening the Bed of Juſtice, May *the* 8*th.*

"THERE is no point in which my parliament has not, for this year paſt, deviated from its duty. Not ſatisfied with raiſing the opinion of each of your members to the level of my will, you have preſumed to ſay, that a regiſtry, to which you could not be forced, was neceſſary for confirming what I ſhould determine, even at the requeſt of the nation.

"The parliaments of the provinces have adopted the ſame pretenſions, the ſame liberties. From hence it reſults, that ſome laws, as intereſting as deſirable, have not been generally executed; that the beſt operations have become weak; that credit is deſtroyed; that juſtice is either interrupted or ſuſpended, in order that the public tranquillity might be ſhaken.

"I owe to my people, to myſelf, and to my ſucceſſors, to put a ſtop to theſe extravagant proceedings. I might have reſtrained them, but have preferred rather to prevent the effects of them.——I have been forced to puniſh ſome magiſtrates; but acts of rigour are contrary to my nature, even when they are indiſpenſable.

"My intention is not to deſtroy my parliaments; I mean only to bring them back to their duty, and their original inſtitutions; to convert the moment of a criſis into a ſalutary epocha for my ſubjects; to begin a reform in the judicial order, by that of the tribunals, which are the baſe of it; to procure to the ſuitors in our courts a juſtice more ſpeedy and leſs expenſive; to truſt the nation again with the exerciſe of their lawful rights, which muſt always be united with mine. I mean, above all, to ſet in every part of the monarchy that unity of views, and that *tout enſemble*, without which a great kingdom is but weakened by the number and extent of its provinces.

"The order I intend to eſtabliſh is not new: there was but one parliament when Philip le Bel fixed his reſidence at Paris. In a great ſtate there muſt be one king, one law, one regiſtry; courts of a juriſdiction not too extenſive, entruſted with the power of judging the great number of law-ſuits, and parliaments to which the moſt important ſuits muſt be referred; one only court in which the laws common to the whole kingdom ſhall be enregiſtered and preſerved; in ſhort, an aſſembly of the general ſtates, not once only, but whenever the exigencies of the ſtate may require it.

"Such is the re-eſtabliſhment which my love for my people has prepared, and which it now announces for their happineſs; the only object of my wiſhes is to render them happy. My keeper of the ſeals will now enter into a particular detail of my intentions."

(The reſt of the buſineſs was conducted by the keeper of the ſeals, who produced the different ordinances which his majeſty commanded to be regiſtered.

The firſt ordinance relates to the adminiſtration of juſtice. The object of this is to eſtabliſh two courts of juſtice

juſtice in each of the different diſtricts therein ſpecified: the one to decide all affairs not exceeding 4,000 livres; the other, ſuch as ſhall not exceed 20,000 livres, reſerving to the parliaments, when they reſume their functions, the right of judging matters of greater importance; each in its own province.

The ſecond ordinance is for the ſuppreſſion of ſome particular courts, which had a kind of juriſdiction independant of the other courts.

The third ordinance relates to the manner of condemning criminals.

The fourth is an edict for reducing the number of the members who have a right to ſit in parliament: among 120, only 67 will remain.

The next is for the re-eſtabliſhment of the cour pleniere, *or ſupreme aſſembly. This court will be compoſed of the chancellor or keeper of the ſeals, the great chamberlain of the parliament of Paris, the peers and great officers of ſtate, with ſeveral others from different parts of the magiſtracy, who will hold their places for life. The great object of this court, is the regiſtry of the laws and impoſts.*

His majeſty's laſt declaration, relates to the vacation of the parliament. By this, the parliament remains ſuſpended in all its functions till further orders. In the mean time, the proper meaſures are taking for carrying the above ordinances and declarations into execution, and a prohibition is laid on the parliament, and all its members, to aſſemble, or deliberate on any affair, public or private.

His majeſty then pronounced the following ſhort ſpeech, and cloſed the aſſembly for the day.)

" You have juſt heard my will; the more moderate it is, the more firmly it ſhall be executed. It tends in every thing to the happineſs of my ſubjects. I depend on the zeal of thoſe who are immediately called to compoſe my *cour pleniere*; the others will, I doubt not, merit by their conduct to be ſucceſſively called to it.——I am now going to name the firſt, and order them to remain at Verſailles, and the others to withdraw."

(In conſequence of the foregoing edicts of the king, le grand aſſemblee du parliament *(the great aſſembly of parliament) met on Friday laſt. Their proteſt is dated May the 9th, 1788, ſeven o'clock in the morning. It contains a repreſentation to his majeſty, that their ſilence in his preſence, on the day preceding, muſt not be conſtrued as an acquieſcence of their conſent to his majeſty's edicts; that, on the contrary, they wholly diſclaim taking any part in what paſſed at that ſitting, or giving their aſſiſtance to it. That they further decline accepting any ſeat in the new court his majeſty wiſhes to erect, called* la cour pleniere; *and they cannot accept of it, as being contrary to their oath, their duty, and fidelity to his majeſty.*

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ordinance, declaring the Proteſt and Deliberations above-mentioned, of the Parliaments and Courts, ſeditious and libellous.

IT having been repreſented to the king, that ſeveral writings had been clandeſtinely publiſhed, and that his indulgence has been much abuſed by no notice having been taken of them:—that beſides, fictitious ſignatures have been made uſe of to give them conſequence:

These and other weighty reasons have determined his wisdom to prohibit and suppress them.

Those writings, under the title of resolutions, or protests, of different bodies and communities, carry with them an air of disobedience and revolt, contrary to the duty of subjects, and especially of the officers of those bodies, whom the king forbids to hold any further assembly or deliberation, and from whom alone they hold the authority of exercising their professions.

These writings are in their form —illegal; in the effect they are intended to produce — fallacious: the contents are equally reprehensible, and assume a superiority over the royal authority. Some declare the king's acts—absurd in their form—despotic in their principles—tyrannical in their effects—destructive of monarchy, and the rights and capitulations of the provinces.

It is his majesty's wish to hold out to the nation its true interest—in the same manner to bring it back to its proper powers.

His goodness has delayed him hitherto from taking notice of those writings, hoping that his subjects would reflect, and repent of their errors, and induce his majesty to forget their conduct.

His majesty owes to his own authority—he owes it to his faithful subjects—he owes it to the people at large, to prevent for the future such acts, which made without power —out of the places of the ordinary sitting—against the express commands of the king, escape the notice of a formal proceeding to annul them, by the very vice of their formation, since to annul them, would be to suppose they had a regular existence;—but which, spread abroad as they have been, to mislead the nation from the true intentions of his majesty, do not less deserve his entire displeasure, as they are capable of troubling the public tranquillity, by their spirit of independence and rebellion.

From this report, made to his majesty—*the king being in his council, Orders*, that the deliberations and protests of his courts and other assemblies, made since the publication of his laws of the 8th of May last, and tending to prevent their execution and effect, are and shall remain *suppressed, as seditious—treasonable to the royal authority—made without power, and with a design to mislead his people.* *Prohibits* all persons, particularly officers of his courts, or other judges, to assist in future at such assemblies, or make such protests, *on pain of forfeiture and loss of estate, commission, civil or military appointment*, against all those who shall assist at, or sign them. *Prohibits* in like manner, and under the same penalties, all and every officer, in the different tribunals throughout the kingdom, to pay any regard to such decrees and protests, or the impressions they may have made.

His majesty declares likewise, that he will take under his especial protection, for the present and to come, all those tribunals and others of his subjects, who, submitting to such laws, stand forward to put them in execution; and holds himself to guaranty them on every occasion, against any feeble and seditious menaces which might alarm their fidelity. *Commands*, in the same manner, all officers and commandants of provinces to pay strict attention to the execution of the present ordinance, which shall be printed and stuck up wherever it shall

ſhall be found neceſſary, and notified, by the expreſs order of his majeſty, to all the grand bailiwicks and preſidencies throughout the kingdom.

Made at Verſailles, the 20th of June 1778.

(Signed)

BARON DE BRETEUIL.

Note delivered the 18th of June, by the Ruſſian *Ambaſſador at* Stockholm, *to the Swediſh Miniſtry.*

IN conſequence of the various objects which the under-written envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Ruſſia has lately conferred upon his excellency count d'Oxenſteirn, he has now the honour to preſent to him a ſuccinct recapitulation of the ſame in the preſent note.

Whatever may have been the ſurpriſe of the empreſs my ſovereign, when ſhe was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majeſty, not ſeeing any juſt motives which could occaſion them, reſolved to be ſilent as long as thoſe motions ſhould be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being appriſed of the motives alledged by the ſenator count d'Oxenſteirn to the miniſter of Denmark, and which he, in conſequence of the intimacy ſubſiſting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majeſty has reſolved to break ſilence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swediſh majeſty's miniſters.

During twenty-ſix years of her reign, the empreſs has not ceaſed to give conſtant teſtimonies to the king, and to the whole Swediſh nation, of her wiſh to cultivate the moſt perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, ſuch as at the laſt peace was eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates; if, therefore, in the midſt of the repoſe which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majeſty has never conceived the leaſt idea of diſturbing or altering, in any ſhape, the order of things, it would be arguing againſt every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when ſhe finds herſelf in a war which has been unjuſtly inſtigated againſt her by a powerful enemy, and to which ſhe cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to diſplay all the means which ſhe holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, ſhe has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the Chriſtian powers, particularly ſhe obſerved this conduct when ſhe reſolved to arm a fleet to ſend into the Archipelago; which intention the under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swediſh miniſters. All theſe diſpoſitions and preparations being therefore viſibly and ſingly directed to the circumſtance which Ruſſia found herſelf in, were in no ſhape of a nature to alarm any neighbour, that did not nouriſh ſome ſecret intention to multiply her embarraſſments, and take advantage of them. But, admitting for a moment that the court of Ruſſia had ſuppoſed ſuch deſigns, that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of treaties which bind them, ſound reaſoning, as well as the intereſt of the firſt, would have confined all her meaſures to prevent its effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, ſuch as prudence dictated, and were adopted,

ed, after the rumours which were ſpread on all ſides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the Ruſſian troops in Finland, and the deſtination of the uſual ſquadron that annually cruiſes in the Baltic to exerciſe the ſeamen; a cuſtom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occaſioned any umbrage.—Nevertheleſs, her armaments were daily advancing and increaſing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Peterſburgh; and then at laſt they were prepared. The ſenator, count d'Oxenſteirn, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the miniſter of a court ſtrongly allied to Vienna, and conſequently, it may be preſumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that thoſe preparations were directed againſt Ruſſia, on a ſuppoſition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this ſituation, the empreſs, on her ſide, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swediſh majeſty's miniſtry, and to all thoſe who have any ſhare in the adminiſtration, that her imperial majeſty could not give them a more ſolid proof of her pacific diſpoſitions towards them, and of the intereſt ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity, than by aſſuring them, on her royal word, that all the oppoſite intentions which ſome might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if aſſurances ſo formal and ſo poſitive, joined to arguments ſo plain and convincing, are not ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh a calm and tranquillity, her imperial majeſty is reſolved to await the event with that confidence and ſecurity which the purity and innocency of her intention inſpires her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands, and which ſhe has never employed but for the glory of her empire, and the happineſs of her ſubjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed)

COUNT ANDRE RAZAMOFFSKY.

Anſwer of the Court of Stockholm *to the foregoing Reſcript.*

HIS majeſty could not avoid being ſurpriſed when he ſaw, in the note delivered on the 18th June, by Mr. le comte de Razoumoffsky, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Ruſſia, the manner in which it was attempted to diſtinguiſh between the king and the nation; and the aſſurances given by the empreſs of her diſpoſition in their favour, and of the intereſt which ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Ruſſia in other countries, his majeſty cannot reconcile ſuch friendly ſentiments on the part of the empreſs, with an inſinuation that tends directly to draw a diſtinction between him and his people, and, firmly reſolved never to admit ſuch a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Ruſſia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their miniſter only, reſiding at his court; but, ſurpriſed as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hoſtile to the

the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razoumoffsky as envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at his court, reſerving himſelf, until his arrival in Finland, to anſwer the empreſs of Ruſſia on the other articles of the declaration, by his miniſter at Peterſburgh. Meanwhile his majeſty finds himſelf obliged to require the departure of comte de Razoumoffſky, by announcing to that miniſter that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the Swediſh government and failed in the reſpect due to the perſon of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this miniſter, ever ſince he knew him, ſtrongly marks the regret felt by his majeſty in commanding his departure; and nothing leſs than the powerful reaſons, of his dignity being perſonally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be diſturbed by thoſe principles it was not ſcrupled to avow, could have influenced his majeſty to wiſh the removal of a perſon who has ſuch claims upon his regard, that, in ſignifying his intentions to the comte de Razoumoffsky (whom he no longer acknowledges a public miniſter) his majeſty allows him a week to make the neceſſary preparations. The king has alſo given orders for ſhips, and every other accommodation that can render his paſſage to St. Peterſburgh convenient, that being the only mark of attention that the preſent circumſtances leave it in his power to ſhew to the comte de Razoumoffsky.

Copy of a Circular Note delivered by the Court of Sweden *to all the foreign Miniſters, dated* Stockholm, *June* 23, 1788.

WHILE the king, anxious to preſerve a good underſtanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the ſame with the court of Ruſſia; he has been aſtoniſhed to obſerve the little effect which his ſentiments have produced on the miniſter of that power; whoſe language, for ſome months paſt, in his public conduct, ſtill appears to bear the marks of that ſyſtem of diſſenſion which his predeceſſors tranſmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himſelf on this point, and wiſhed he could doubt the exiſtence of the efforts made by the Ruſſian envoy, to induce the Swediſh nation to return to thoſe errors which led it aſtray during the time of anarchy, and to diſſeminate anew, in the heart of the ſtate, that ancient ſpirit of diſcord, which Heaven, and his majeſty's paternal care, have happily extinguiſhed; till at length count Razoumoffsky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguiſhed all thoſe doubts the king was ſtill deſirous of preſerving on this ſubject. Amidſt the declarations of the empreſs's friendſhip for the king, with which the note is filled, this miniſter has not heſitated to appeal to others beſides the king. He addreſſed himſelf to all the members of adminiſtration, as well as to the nation itſelf, to aſſure them of the ſentiments of his ſovereign, and how much ſhe has their tranquillity

at

at heart. This Sweden, however, derives ſolely from its proper union; and the king could not but ſee, with the greateſt ſurpriſe, a declaration expreſſed in ſuch terms, diſcerning therein but too much of the policy and language uſed by that miniſter's predeceſſors; who, not content with ſowing diviſions among his majeſty's ſubjects, wanted to ſet up other authorities in oppoſition to the legitimate power, and to undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their aſſertions, witneſſes which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majeſty ſought to reconcile the aſſurances of the friendſhip of the empreſs of Ruſſia on the one ſide, with the appeal to the ſubjects of Sweden on the other. Every miniſter being charged to declare the ſentiments of his maſter, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the ſovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witneſs ſuperfluous. Such is the law, ſuch is the conſtant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceaſed to be obſerved, unleſs when by captious inſinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to ſet up thoſe barriers which form the diſtinction between the nation and their ſovereign. Thus hurt, in a way moſt nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razoumoffsky the language of a miniſter, hitherto charged to convey the friendly ſentiments of the empreſs; but, at the ſame time, unable to conceive, that expreſſions ſo contrary to the fundamental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the ſtate, would render every ſubject culpable, were preſcribed to him, the king chuſes rather to attribute them to the private ſentiments of the Ruſſian miniſter, of which he has given ſufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has paſſed, after declarations as contrary to the happineſs of the kingdom, as to the laws and reſpect due to the king, his majeſty can no longer conſider count Razoumoffsky in the quality of a miniſter, and finds himſelf obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia, the anſwer to the other points which have been juſt communicated.

Nothing leſs than ſo direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razoumoffsky, could induce his majeſty to inſiſt on the departure of one, whom he has honoured with particular regard. But ſeeing himſelf reduced to ſuch neceſſity with regret, his majeſty, in conſequence of his former good-will, has endeavoured to ſoften the diſagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razoumoffsky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Peterſburgh.

His majeſty wiſhing that the diplomatic body ſhould be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the ſenator count Oxenſteirn has the honour of communicating the ſame.

(Signed)

OXENSTEIRN.

Declaration

Declaration of the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, againſt the King of Sweden, *June* 30, 1788.

IT was towards the end of the laſt winter that the armaments by ſea and land began to ſhew themſelves in Sweden.—Whiſpers were purpoſely circulated in the kingdom, as if Ruſſia meditated an attack. In proportion as theſe preparations advanced, and as they believed they had made an impreſſion on ſome national ſpirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the ſame kind, even to foreign courts. The empreſs has the ſatisfaction to learn that theſe inſinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Ruſſia, after having for ſo long a time maintained a pacific ſyſtem in regard to Sweden, had choſen to depart from it in the moment when ſhe was engaged in a war ſo ſerious as that in which the Ottoman Porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empreſs, attentive to every thing which paſſed in a place ſo adjacent to her territories, judged it neceſſary, on the information and advice which ſhe received, not to neglect to take meaſures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, ſhe contented herſelf with ordering to Finland a ſlight reinforcement of troops, and with eſtabliſhing in this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indiſpenſably neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence. In fine, repoſing on the innocence and rectitude of her intentions, on the religious tenure of the perpetual treaty ſubſiſting between the empire of Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden, and above all, not knowing of any one ſubject of diſcuſſion, open or concealed, between the two courts—the amicable correſpondence, on the contrary, continuing as uſual between them—ſhe had undoubtedly every right to think, that, ſtrong as might be the ambition, the uneaſineſs, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the Swediſh monarch to make war on her muſt be repreſſed by the reſpect to good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of ſovereigns more even than of other men; by the impoſſibility of giving any colour of equity to the flight which he wiſhed to give to his paſſions; and, in fine, by the obſtacle, equally ſtrong, that of the ſolemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without aſſembling, conſulting, and obtaining the conſent of his ſubjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the ſatisfaction which ſhould have been placed in her imperial majeſty's various aſſurances, than the reſolution which ſhe took of detaching from the fleet deſtined for the Archipelago a ſquadron of only three ſhips, which ſhe ſent to ſea in the beginning of this month, notwithſtanding the poſitive advices ſhe had of all the Swediſh fleet being cruizing in the Baltic. Theſe ſhips, three days after their departure from the port of Cronſtadt, fell in, off the Iſle of Dago, with the Swediſh fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ſhip of the vice-admiral Vanderſeer, who commanded this little

ſquadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the preſence of the duc de Sudermania, the king's brother, the commander of the Swediſh fleet, and required the ſalute. The vice-admiral replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no ſalute could take place between the Ruſſian and Swediſh fleets, but that reſpecting, in the perſon of the duc de Sudermania, the couſin-german of the empreſs, and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to theſe diſtinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a ſalute with thirteen guns, and ſent an officer on board the duke's ſhip to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the ſame time, that it was to his perſon only that the honours were addreſſed. The anſwer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Ruſſia, in regard to the ſalute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unleſs it was given to the Swediſh flag, as he had received the moſt preciſe orders from the king, his brother, to make that flag reſpected in every place, and on every occaſion.

The empreſs had hardly time to make her complaints on the injuſtice and irregularity of this proceeding, to the court of Stockholm, when ſhe was informed of the proceeding, ſtill leſs expected, of the diſmiſſion of her miniſter from the Swediſh court and territories. The pretended reaſons of this meaſure are expoſed in the declaration of the king made to the miniſters of foreign courts. Theſe reaſons are not calculated to impoſe on the moſt unenlightened, and they therefore require no anſwer; but one cannot help obſerving, that it is the firſt example of the kind by which a ſovereign aſſured his ſubjects of the pacific and benevolent ſentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empreſs, reſolved to continue to the laſt in the principles of moderation ſhe had profeſſed, confined her reſentment of this proceeding to the reciprocity which ſhe was naturally authorized to uſe in regard to the miniſter of the king of Sweden. She ſignified to him to quit her court in the ſame ſpace of time which had been fixed for her miniſter at Stockholm. The only difference in the proceeding was, that all falſe and inſidious imputation was carefully avoided—This difference has been eſtabliſhed and demonſtrated indeed by the good faith which has accompanied the cauſe of the empreſs, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſcenes, which threatened an almoſt inevitable war, the empreſs was pleaſed to cheriſh hopes that the amicable explanations which the Swediſh monarch had himſelf promiſed the foreign powers, might yet tend to preſerve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reaſon of ſtate on either ſide tended to interrupt. But this hope is totally vaniſhed. She learns that on the 21ſt or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden having fallen haſtily on the frontiers of Ruſſia, have carried off the money depoſited in ſeveral cuſtom-houſes, have

a penetrated

penetrated to the environs of Nieſlat, and have even opened the ſiege of its caſtle.

It is by a ſeries of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the moſt generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance againſt Ruſſia, hath at length puſhed to the uttermoſt the moderation of the empreſs, and has obliged her to have recourſe to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that ſhe iſſues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and ſea. In making known this reſolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, ſhe proteſts to them, that the king of Sweden is alone reſponſible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injuſtice may give riſe.

Exhortation of the King of Sweden *to his Subjects.*

WE, Guſtavus, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful ſubjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourſelves again attacked by enemies on another ſide of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our ſtates and the independence of our dear country, no leſs than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear ſubjects will with the arms aſſume the courage of their anceſtors, with firmneſs and unanimity to repulſe the enterpriſes of our enemies—more eſpecially as ourſelves ſhall ſet the example, like our illuſtrious predeceſſors, to defend, to the very laſt man, the independence of a kingdom, that boaſts ſo remote an antiquity. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not conceal from you, my ſubjects, all the means which the enemy wiſhes to employ, in order to ſubjugate a people, whoſe valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin ſolely by open force, they are ſtriving to excite diſcord, as well between yourſelves, as between you and us, fomenting jealouſies by ſecret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full perſuaſion that a Swediſh king, united with the Swediſh nation, could not eaſily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and ſtates, that you will not liſten to treacherous inſinuations, but that you will conſtantly perſevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during ſixteen years of our reign, we have no leſs experienced than deſerved. We have alſo to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which intereſt themſelves in the independence of the Swediſh nation, are this preſent moment endeavouring to accompliſh our wiſhes in the reſtoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, ſoon be eſtabliſhed. We truſt, that ſo ſoon as that ſalutary end ſhall be attained, we ſhall

nave the ſatisfaction to meet our ſubjects, united in the ſtricteſt bonds of concord, in a general diet of the ſtates, where we may offer up our thankſgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection accorded to us, and to our kingdom. In the mean while, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand; and we remain in the utmoſt affection towards you all, of whatſoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlſtadt,
Sept. 26, 1788.
(and lower)
HERM. VON. LAASTBONE.

Declaration, and Counter-Declaration, between Denmark *and* Sweden.

DECLARATION.

HIS Daniſh majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Peterſburgh and Copenhagen, in furniſhing the former with the number of ſhips and troops ſtipulated by ſeveral treaties, and particularly that of 1781; he yet conſiders himſelf in perfect amity and peace with his Swediſh majeſty: which friendſhip ſhall not be interrupted, although the Swediſh arms ſhould prove victorious, either in repulſing, defeating, or taking priſoners, the Daniſh troops, now in the Swediſh territories, acting as Ruſſian auxiliaries under Ruſſian flags. Nor does he conceive that his Swediſh majeſty has the leaſt ground to complain, ſo long as the Daniſh ſhips and troops now acting againſt Sweden do not exceed the number ſtipulated by treaty; and it is his earneſt deſire, that all friendly and commercial intercourſe between the two nations, and the good underſtanding between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed)
Count De BERNSTORP.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengtporten, his Swediſh majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen.

Sept. 23, 1788.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernſtorf, to the under-ſigned, in which his Daniſh majeſty conceives that his Swediſh majeſty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the Daniſh ſhips and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Ruſſia, is a doctrine which his Swediſh majeſty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations, and rights of ſovereigns, and againſt which his majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to proteſt.

Nevertheleſs, to prevent an effuſion of blood between the ſubjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly the moment when a negociation has began to reſtore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleaſing proſpect of a general peace; his Swediſh majeſty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a ſpeculative diſcuſſion, whether or not there is a cauſe or ground of complaint, on his ſide, and reſts perfectly ſatisfied with the aſſurances contained in his Daniſh majeſty's declaration, that his Daniſh majeſty has no hoſtile views againſt Sweden,

and

and that the friendly and commercial intercourſe between the ſubjects of both kingdoms, and the good underſtanding between the two courts, ſhall remain uninterrupted.

His Swediſh majeſty puts the ſtrongeſt faith and utmoſt confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, has repreſented to him on this important occaſion.

His majeſty, therefore, to prevent the horrors of war, and the calamities impending the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union reſtored between them; embraces with ſatisfaction his Daniſh majeſty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negociation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Pruſſia, and the good ſucceſs of which is the greateſt object of his majeſty's ambition, and which his majeſty has fully declared to the aforeſaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the Ruſſian auxiliaries is not conſidered as hoſtilities againſt his Daniſh majeſty, agreeable to the declaration delivered by count Bernſtorf.

(Signed)

Baron de SPRENGTPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, Oct. 6, 1788, and delivered to the count Bernſtorf, at Copenhagen.

Copy of a Declaration delivered to the confederated States of Poland *by the Pruſſian Miniſter at* Warſaw, *dated* October 12, 1788, *on the Subject of an intended Alliance between* Ruſſia *and* Poland.

DECLARATION.

IF the projected alliance between Ruſſia and Poland has for its firſt object the conſervation of the ſtates of Poland, the king does not ſee the neceſſity or utility of it, becauſe the ſafety of Poland is ſufficiently guaranteed by the laſt treaties. It cannot be ſuppoſed that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It muſt then be ſuppoſed the king has ſuch a deſign; and, in conſequence, this alliance is directed againſt him.

Thus the king cannot but object and proteſt ſolemnly againſt the ſaid alliance, as tending to break the good harmony eſtabliſhed between Pruſſia and Poland by the moſt ſolemn treaties.

If, in the ſecond place, this alliance is directed againſt the common enemy, and if under this qualification is included the Ottoman Porte; the king, out of friendſhip for the republic of Poland, cannot but repreſent, that the Porte having always religiouſly obſerved the peace of Carlowitz, and that during the whole courſe of the preſent war they have carefully avoided the ſtates of the republic, there will infallibly reſult the moſt dangerous conſequences, as well for the ſtates of the republic, as for thoſe of his Pruſſian majeſty which are neighbouring, if Poland contracts alliances which authoriſe the Porte to ſee an enemy in Poland. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will ſee at once how difficult and impoſſible it will be to defend his country againſt an enemy ſo near, ſo formidable, and ſo unruly.

The king cannot then be indiffe-

rent

rent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greateſt danger towards the republic, but to his own ſtates, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object againſt the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a reſpectable ſtate. But he leaves to the conſideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is abſolutely foreign to it, and conſequently leading to grievous conſequences. The king is flattered, that his majeſty the king of Poland, and the ſtates of the ſerene republic aſſembled in the preſent diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majeſty now repreſents, in the way and through motives of the moſt ſincere friendſhip, and for the true welfare and common intereſt of the two ſtates, ſo cloſely united by the indiſſoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majeſty alſo hopes, that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia will not refuſe her approbation to motives ſo juſt, and ſo conformable to the welfare of the Poliſh nation; and he expects alſo with confidence, from one part and the other, that they deſiſt from the project of an alliance ſo little neceſſary, but always ſo dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majeſty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wiſe meaſures, the imminent danger with which their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majeſty will grant them the neceſſary aſſiſtance, and the moſt powerful ſuccours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and ſecurity of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, the
12th of Oct. 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.

Anſwer of the Diet at Warſaw *to the King of* Pruſſia's *Declaration.*

THE under-ſigned, by the expreſs orders of the king and the confederate ſtates of the diet, has the honour to tranſmit to M. de Buckholz the following anſwer:

The reading of the ſaid declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impreſſed the ſtates aſſembled with a lively ſenſe of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in aſſuring to Poland the ſafety of its poſſeſſions.

The project of an alliance between Ruſſia and Poland, not having been propoſed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the buſineſs of the diet, conformable to the general will of the nation; and the propoſitions coming from the throne reſpecting the augmentation of impoſts, and the military of the republic, are not in the ſyſtem of an offenſive force, but ſolely for defending and preſerving its poſſeſſions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the ſtates aſſembled receive a propoſition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the ſame nature of a diet, in ſo public a ſtep will never veil its proceedings, but act conformable to the independence of its ſovereignty,

to the rules of prudence, to the ſacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly ſentiments of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the ſpirit of the deliberations of the preſent diet, the ſtates aſſembled unanimouſly ſeek to fix in the opinion of his Pruſſian majeſty an advantageous idea of their underſtandings, and their patriotiſm.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOWSKY,

Refendary of the crown, marſhal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed)

CASIMIR PRINCE SAPHLEHA,

General of artillery of Lithuania, marſhal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warſaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

The following circular Letter was ſent, by Order of the Emperor of Morocco, *to all the* European *Conſuls reſident within his Dominions.*

"IN the name of God! To all the conſuls: Peace to him who followeth the right way.

"Know ye, that for theſe thirty years we have obſerved the conduct of the Engliſh, and ſtudied their character; we have always found that they *never keep their word*. We never could dive into their character, becauſe they have no other than that of *telling lies*. We are acquainted with the character of other Chriſtian nations; we know that they keep their word; but a nation like the Engliſh, of which there is no knowing the character, who know not how to keep their word, and who only can *tell lies*, does not deſerve that we ſhould ſpeak or write any thing to them; for, according to our religion, *a lie* is the moſt abominable of all vices. Their ambaſſador, Curtis, told us that he had orders from his court, that the ſhips built on our ſlips, and which we were to ſend to Gibraltar, ſhould be there completely refitted. In conſequence of which, we ſent thoſe ſhips to Gibraltar, provided with every thing neceſſary, and with money; but he ſent back our ſhips, and nothing was done to them: but what offends us moſt is, that he even ſends back the ſhips which we had ſent to conduct them to our brother the ſultan Abdulhamed, whom God preſerve! After this, it is not neceſſary to add more.—On the 17th of the moon Jumadilala, of the year 1702—that is, Feb. 25, 1788."

Lords Proteſt againſt the India Declaratory Bill.

Die Mar. 19th March, 1788.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE we object altogether to the very ſtyle and form of the preſent bill, inaſmuch as it purports to be a declaratory bill of a kind as dangerous in its application as it is certainly unuſual, if not new, in its principle. If the act of the 24th of his majeſty be clearly expreſſed, any declaration of its ſenſe is evidently unneceſſary; if it be worded, whether from accident or deſign, in dark equivocal terms, we conceive, that, in order to do away every ambiguity,

biguity, the mode moſt open and candid in itſelf, as well as moſt regular and conformable to the uſage of parliament, would have been by a bill to explain and amend, and not to declare. And we cannot but behold this extraordinary bill with yet greater alarm, when it has been avowed that it is intended to operate as an act of indemnity for paſt meaſures not explicitly ſtated. Surely it is a propoſition abſurd and monſtrous on the very face of it, to call upon this houſe to declare what was and is law, ſubject to proviſions which ſhall be. A declaration ſo qualified is a new ſpecies of bill of indemnity, which, unlike all others, does not content itſelf with holding forth terms of protection againſt the penal conſequences of an illegal act committed, but retroſpectively alters and reverſes the nature and eſſence of the action itſelf from its very origin, if certain proſpective conditions be ſubſequently obſerved.

2dly. Becauſe the preamble of the preſent bill, which muſt be preſumed to ſet forth the legal grounds of the propoſed declaration, does not appear to us in reality to contain any ſuch grounds. It offers nothing more than partial and pieced extracts from various ſections of the 24th of his preſent majeſty, two of which evidently convey only general powers, to be exerciſed "in ſuch manner as in the ſaid act is directed," that is, ſubject to limitations and modifications not recited in the preamble; and the third of theſe extracts, which is taken from the concluſion of the 11th ſection of the act above mentioned, is in truth part of the clauſe imperative on the directors, not enabling to the commiſſioners; binding the former to obey the orders of the latter, (that is, all ſuch orders as they may lawfully iſſue under other parts of the act) but not conferring on the latter any portion of diſtinct power. Their powers, whatever they may be, muſt be ſought in the enabling clauſes of the act, by which alone this imperative clauſe can be conſtrued, but of which not a trace is to be diſcovered in the preamble.

3dly. Becauſe the limitations and reſtraints on the power of the commiſſioners, which are now impoſed for the firſt time in this bill, carry with them an intimation highly derogatory to the honour and wiſdom of this houſe; inaſmuch as they imply, that in the very moment when this houſe felt the moſt tender apprehenſions for the ſafety of chartered rights, and when they were moſt anxiouſly alarmed for the conſequences of transferring the power and patronage of the company, even for a time, they conſciouſly and deliberately paſſed an act, by which thoſe rights were to be ſuperſeded, and that power and patronage in effect veſted in the Board of Control for ever, without ſufficient checks and guards to protect the one, or to prevent the corrupt uſe of the other. The authors of theſe limiting and reſtraining clauſes have left to the majority of this houſe no other refuge from the imputation of this inconſiſtency, but in an ignorance of that meaning, which we are now called upon to declare.

4thly. Becauſe, if any ſuch limitations and reſtraints be indeed neceſſary, the proviſions of this bill, we are perſuaded, muſt prove nugatory and inefficient.

5thly. Becauſe coupling the act of

of the 24th of his majeſty with all its accumulated explanations and amendments, and underſtanding the powers there conferred on the commiſſioners to the extent implied in the preamble and limiting clauſes of the preſent bill, the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by that act, in truth, realizes all the dangers which were ever attributed to another meaſure then recently rejected by this houſe, and is certainly fruitful of formidable miſchiefs proper to itſelf, friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal, hoſtile to all good government, and eſpecially abhorrent from the principles of our popular conſtitution.

The patronage of the company (and this ſeems to be the moſt ſerious terror to the people of England) the commiſſioners enjoy in the worſt mode, without that reſponſibility which is the natural ſecurity againſt malverſation and abuſe. They cannot immediately appoint, but they have that weight of recommendation and influence, which muſt ever inſeparably attend on ſubſtantial power, and which in the preſent caſe has not any where been attempted to be denied.

Should this fail them in the firſt inſtance, they can intimidate and encourage; they can ſuppreſs the approbation and the cenſure of the directors on their own ſervants; they can ſubſtitute blame for praiſe, and praiſe for blame, or they may inſtantly recall whomſoever the directors may appoint, againſt their will; and this they may repeat, till they ultimately compel the directors, harraſſed and over-awed, to nominate the man whom the commiſſioners may wiſh to favour. Nor is this diſpoſal of patronage without reſponſibility, the only evil that characteriſes the ſyſtem; all the high powers and prerogatives with which the commiſſioners are veſted, they may exerciſe inviſibly, and thus, for a period at leaſt, invade, perhaps in a great meaſure finally baffle, all political reſponſibility; for they have a power of adminiſtering to their clerks and other officers an oath of ſecrecy framed for the occaſion by themſelves; and they poſſeſs in the India Houſe the ſuſpicious inſtrument of a ſecret committee, conſiſting only of the chairman, the deputy chairman, and one other director, all bound to them by an oath. Through theſe they have ſent an arrangement for paying the debts of the nabob of Arcot, beneficial to individuals, injurious to the company, and fundamentally contradicting the plain principle of an expreſs clauſe in that very act by which their own board was inſtituted: and through theſe they have concurred to tranſmit a diſpatch, altered too by themſelves, on a ſubject of mere trade, over which they profeſs to diſclaim all right of management. After ſuch examples, we muſt confeſs that our imaginations cannot figure to us any deſcription of buſineſs, which may not be ſheltered behind the thick veil of the ſecret committee; and from our paſt experience, relative to the firſt of theſe tranſactions, we are ſo juſtly ſenſible of the great advantages with which the ſervants of the crown muſt argue on ſuch topics before an aſſembly conſtitutionally diſpoſed to a general confidence in them, that we ſhould be ſanguine indeed, did we but expect any conſiderable check to be given to the poſſible miſconduct of the board of control, by the fears of a parliamentary inquiry.

6thly. Becauſe the operation of this

this bill, and of the act, the meaning of which it is to declare, ought to have been limited to the duration of the exiſting charter. Whatever may be the right of the legiſlature to ſubject the trade and the general revenues of the company to the inſpection and control of the board of commiſſioners, nominated by the crown, ſo long as the company continue in the enjoyment of an excluſive trade, and in the management of great territorial revenues, we muſt, however, maintain, that to perpetuate ſuch inſpection, and to render the ſignatures of that board neceſſary to all the company's diſpatches of every kind, when they may carry on their trade merely as a commercial corporation, without any monopoly, and when they may remain in the management only of their own proper eſtates, is a meaſure of injuſtice wholly unprecedented, and an example liable to much reaſonable jealouſy in a commercial country like Great Britain.

On all theſe grounds of objection; to the ſtyle and form of the bill, as a declaratory bill; to the incongruities, abſurdities, and deficiencies of the bill itſelf; to much of the principle, and to all the diſtinguiſhing characters of the ſyſtem which it is meant to declare, as well as to the perpetual operation which it gives to that ſyſtem, we think it incumbent upon us here ſolemnly, on the journals of parliament, to record our hearty diſſent, for the ſatisfaction of our conſciences, and for our juſtification to our fellow-citizens, and to poſterity.

PORTLAND,
CARLISLE,
DEVONSHIRE,
PORTCHESTER,
DERBY,
SANDWICH,
CHOLMONDELEY,
POWIS,
CARDIFF,
CRAVEN,
BEDFORD,
LOUGHBOROUGH,
FITZWILLIAM,
SCARBOROUGH,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Diſſentient for the firſt reaſon only.

HAY.

Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament paſſed in the Year 1788.

AN* act for charging an additional duty on ſpirits manufactured in Scotland, and imported into England.

An act for regulating the trade between the ſubjects of his majeſty's colonies and plantations in North America, and in the Weſt India iſlands, and the countries belonging to the united ſtates of America; and between his majeſty's ſaid ſubjects and the foreign iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

† An act for removing any doubt reſpecting the power of the commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to direct, that the expence of raiſing, tranſporting, and maintaining, ſuch troops as may be judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Britiſh territories and poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, ſhould be defrayed out of the revenues ariſing from the ſaid territories and poſſeſſions; and for limiting the application of the ſaid

* See Supplies, and Ways and Means, ante.
† See Lords Proteſt to the India Declaratory Bill, ante.

revenues

revenues in the manner therein mentioned.

An act for reducing the duties on the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the European dominions of the ſtates general of the United Provinces, into this kingdom.

An act to enable the Eaſt India Company to borrow a further ſum of money upon bond.

An act to enable juſtices of the peace to licenſe theatrical repreſentations occaſionally, under the reſtrictions therein contained.

An act for appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the loſſes of all ſuch perſons who have ſuffered in their properties, in conſequence of the ceſſion of the province of Eaſt Florida to the king of Spain.

An act to repeal the duties and drawbacks of cuſtoms and exciſe, payable on the importation and exportation of wine (except wine the produce of the European dominions of the French king, Rheniſh, Germany, and Hungary wine, Portugal and Madeira wine, and wine of the produce of Spain, or of any of the dominions of the king of Spain) and for granting other duties and drawbacks in lieu thereof; to repeal the duty of exciſe upon foreign green glaſs bottles imported, and for charging an additional duty of cuſtoms in lieu thereof; for aſcertaining the duty on carriages, the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported directly from thence; for obviating a doubt with reſpect to the duties on white woollen cloths exported; and for reſerving to his majeſty the hereditary and other revennes of the crown in Scotland.

An act to enable his majeſty to make ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary to prevent the inconvenience which might ariſe from the competition of his majeſty's ſubjects, and thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian king, in carrying on the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland.

An act for the better ſecuring the rights of perſons qualified to vote at county elections.

An act for allowing the importation of rum, or other ſpirits, from his majeſty's colonies or plantations in the Weſt Indies, into the province of Quebec, without payment of duty, under certain conditions and reſtrictions.

An act for giving relief to ſuch perſons as have ſuffered in their rights and properties, during the late and unhappy diſſenſions in America, in conſequence of their loyalty to his majeſty, and attachment to the Britiſh government; and for making compenſations to ſuch perſons as have ſuffered in their properties, in conſequence of the ceſſion of the province of Eaſt Florida to the king of Spain.

An act for appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the loſſes and ſervices of all ſuch perſons who have ſuffered in their rights, properties, and profeſſions, during the late unhappy diſſenſions in America, in conſequence of their loyalty to his majeſty, and attachment to the Britiſh government.

An act for the better regulation of chimney-ſweepers, and their apprentices.

An act for the further regulation of the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to ſerve in parliament.

An act for providing certain temporary

temporary regulations reſpecting the tranſportation of the natives of Africa, in Britiſh ſhips, to the Weſt Indies, or elſewhere.

Abſtract of this Act.

It ſtates, That it is expedient to prevent, as far as may be, inconveniences attending the conveying, in Britiſh ſhips, the natives of Africa to the Weſt Indies, and other foreign parts; it therefore enacts, that, after the 10th of June 1788, it ſhall not be lawful for any maſter, or other perſon taking the charge or command of any ſhip or veſſel whatever, belonging in the whole or in part to any port in this kingdom, to have on board, at any one time, or to convey or tranſport the natives of Africa from the coaſts thereof, to any iſland in the Weſt Indies, belonging to his majeſty, or to any other place in parts beyond ſea, in any greater number than in the proportions following; (that is to ſay) In every ſhip, where the ſpace between the two decks ſhall not be leſs than five feet in height, and where the cabin ſhall be fitted for the accommodation of the negroes, in the proportion of five perſons for three tons, if the burthen of the ſhip does not exceed 160 tons; and of three perſons for two tons, if the burthen of the ſhip does exceed 150 tons; and in every ſhip where the ſpace between the two decks ſhall be leſs than five feet, or where the cabin ſhall not be fitted for the accommodation of the negroes, in the proportion of one perſon for every ton burthen of the ſhip or veſſel in or on board which ſuch natives ſhall be ſo conveyed, carried, brought, or tranſported as aforeſaid; which tonnage ſhall be deemed and taken to be the tonnage deſcribed and ſet forth in the reſpective certificate of the regiſtry of each ſhip or veſſel, granted in purſuance of an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his majeſty, intituled, "An act for the further increaſe and encouragement of ſhipping and navigation," under the penalty of the forfeiture of 20l. for every native exceeding in number the proportion directed; one moiety of which ſhall be to the uſe of his majeſty, and the other moiety to thoſe who ſhall proſecute for the ſame.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

An erroneous Account of the late Biſhop of London, taken from one of the Monthly Publications, having been inadvertently inſerted in the Annual Regiſter for 1787, *we have been favoured with the following Particulars, which, as they are received from the beſt Information, may be depended on.*

A ſhort Account of the Life and Character of Robert Lowth, *D. D. late Biſhop of* London.

HIS Father was William Lowth, Fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, and Chaplain to Dr. Peter Mew, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been Preſident of that College. Under his patronage he became Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter, 1696, and Rector of Buriton, in the county of Southampton, 1699. He was a ſtudious and learned man, and the author of *Commentaries on the Prophets, Directions for the profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures*, and ſome other theological pieces *.

By Margaret, daughter of Robert Pitt, of Blandford, in the county of Dorſet, Eſq. he left two Sons, and three Daughters. The elder of the Sons is William Lowth, Prebendary of Wincheſter, now living; and the other was Robert, late Biſhop of London. Margaret, the eldeſt Daughter, was married to John Sturges, M. A. Prebendary of Wincheſter; Mary, the ſecond, died unmarried; and Martha, the third, is the relict of Robert Eden, D. D. Archdeacon of Wincheſter, and Prebendary of the Cathedral.

The Biſhop was born on the 27th of November, 1710. He was educated at Wincheſter College, and from thence ſucceeded to New College in Oxford, 1730. He was elected Profeſſor of Poetry in that Univerſity 1741, and re-elected 1743. To the patronage of Biſhop Hoadly he owed the Rectory of Ovington, 1744, and afterwards of Eaſt Woodhay, 1753, both in the County of Southampton, having been appointed by him Archdeacon of Wincheſter, 1750. In 1754, the Univerſity of Oxford honored him, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred by Diploma. In 1755 he went to Ireland, as firſt Chaplain to

* For a more particular account of Mr. William Lowth's Family, Writings, and Character, ſee a ſhort *Life* prefixed to the 6th edition of his *Directions*, printed 1788.

the late Duke of Devonſhire, then Marquis of Hartington, Lord Lieutenant. In conſequence of this appointment, he had the offer of the Biſhopric of Limeric, which he exchanged with Dr. Leſlie, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgefield near that place, for thoſe preferments. In June, 1766, he was made Biſhop of St. David's; and in the October following he removed, by the King's command, to the See of Oxford, from whence he was tranſlated to that of London, April 1777.

He accompanied to Berlin, Mr. Legge, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, who went to that court in a public character, 1748; and with whom, from his earlieſt years, he lived on terms of the moſt intimate and uninterrupted friendſhip.

His connection with the late Duke of Devonſhire aroſe from his having attended, 1749, the Duke's Brothers, Lord George and Lord Frederic Cavendiſh, on their travels, and eſpecially at Turin; which place was their principal reſidence during their abſence from this country.

He married, 1752, Mary, the daughter of Lawrence Jackſon, of Chriſt-church, in the county of Southampton, Eſq. by whom he had two Sons, and five Daughters. Of theſe children, two only ſurvived him; Robert, now Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Vicar of Halſtead, Eſſex; and Martha. He had the misfortune to loſe, 1778, his eldeſt Son, Thomas Henry*, Fellow of New College in Oxford; a young man of the moſt promiſing expectations, and diſtinguiſhed abilities. At length, after an ill ſtate of health, continued during ſome years, and attended with the moſt ſevere ſufferings, all which he bore with the greateſt reſignation and fortitude, he died at Fulham on the 3d of November, 1787.

In an account of his works, we may begin with his *Prelections on the Hebrew Poetry*. To this work, the duties of his Profeſſorſhip gave occaſion; and the choice of his ſubject, which lay out of the beaten paths of criticiſm, and which was highly intereſting, not only in a litterary but a religious view, afforded ample ſcope for the poetical, critical, and theological talents of the author. In theſe Prelections, the true ſpirit and diſtinguiſhing character of the Poetry of the Old Teſtament are more thoroughly entered into, and developed more perfectly, than ever had been done before. Select parts of this Poetry are expreſſed in Latin compoſition, with the greateſt elegance and force; the *general* criticiſm which pervades the whole work, is ſuch as might be expected from a writer of acknowledged poetical genius and litterary judgment; and the *particular* criticiſm applied to thoſe paſſages of the original Hebrew, which he has occaſion to introduce, in order either to expreſs the ſenſe, or correct the words of it, is a pattern for that kind of Sacred Litterature: nor are the Theological ſubjects which occur in the courſe of the work, and are neceſſarily connected with it, treated with leſs ability.

To the Prelections is ſubjoined, a *Short Confutation of Biſhop Hare's Syſtem of Hebrew Metre*; in which

* Mr. T. H. Lowth, obtained one of the Prizes given annually by the Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, 1773, and again, 1776.

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he ſhews it to be founded on falſe reaſoning, on a *petitio principii*, that would equally prove a different and contrary ſyſtem to be true. It is here mentioned chiefly for the purpoſe of taking notice of what followed it; namely, a Latin letter of the Rev. Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge, in vindication of the Harian metre, and a *Larger Confutation* of it addreſſed in anſwer to that gentleman, 1766. This *Larger Confutation*, which from the ſubject may be ſuppoſed dry and unintereſting to the generality of readers, is yet as a piece of reaſoning, extremely curious; for there never was a fallacy more accurately inveſtigated, or a ſyſtem more completely confuted, than this of Biſhop Hare's; who was perhaps not conſcious of the fallacy himſelf.

In 1758, was publiſhed his *Life of William of Wykeham, Biſhop of Winchester*, and Founder of the Colleges, in which he had received his education. It is collected from authentic evidences, and thereby affords the moſt certain information concerning the manners, and ſome of the public tranſactions of the period in which Wykeham lived; as well as concerning matters of a more private and local kind, reſpecting chiefly the two Societies of which he was the Founder.

His *Short Introduction to Engliſh Grammar*, was firſt publiſhed in 1762, and has ſince gone through numerous editions. It was originally deſigned only for domeſtic uſe; but its utility in recommending a greater attention to grammatical form and accuracy in our language, than had hitherto been obſerved in it, and the many judicious remarks which occur there, together with the favourable reception it has met with, fully juſtified its being given to the public.

About the year 1765, happened his controverſy with Dr. Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, which at the time afforded much matter of converſation, and the memory of which is ſtill recent. If we do not now wiſh to dwell on the particulars of this controverſy, it is becauſe violent litterary contention is an evil, like other war, and though perhaps ſometimes unavoidable, yet is always to be regretted; and becauſe the characters of learned, ingenious, and amiable men never appear to leſs advantage, than under the form, which that ſtate of hoſtility obliges them to aſſume.

The laſt work of his life was *the Tranſlation of Iſaiah*; a work for which he was eminently qualified, by his critical knowledge of the original language, by his underſtanding more perfectly than any other writer the character and ſpirit of its poetry, and by his general erudition, both litterary and theological. In the Preliminary Diſſertation, the form and conſtruction of the poetical compoſitions of the Old Teſtament are examined more particularly and at large, than even in the Prelections themſelves; and ſuch principles of criticiſm are eſtabliſhed, as muſt be the foundation of all improved tranſlations of the different, and eſpecially of the poetical books of the Old Teſtament. The tranſlation of the prophecies of an author, who is almoſt always ſublime or elegant, yet often obſcure notwithſtanding all the aids of criticiſm, was executed in a manner adequate to the ſuperior qualifications of the perſon who undertook it; and marked out the way for other attempts of a like kind, at

a time when the hopes of an improved Verſion of all the Holy Scriptures was cheriſhed by many, when Sacred Criticiſm was cultivated with ardor, and new ſources of it were opened by the labors of the indefatigable and learned Kennicott.

Several Occaſional Diſcourſes, which the Biſhop was by his ſtation at different times called upon to deliver, were of courſe publiſhed, and are all worthy of the excellent author of them; but there is one on the *Kingdom of God*, on the extenſion and progreſſive improvement of Chriſt's Religion, and on the means of promoting theſe by the advancement of religious knowledge, by freedom of enquiry, by toleration, and mutual charity, which may be diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, as exhibiting a moſt comprehenſive view of the ſucceſſive ſtates of the Chriſtian Church, and containing the trueſt principles of Chriſtianity.

From various poetical pieces, may be ſelected as deſerving peculiar notice, *the Choice of Hercules*, from the fable of Prodicus, which was written very early in his life, and has ſeveral times appeared in print; and a ſpirited and manly Imitation of the 6th Ode of Horace, Book the 3d. applied to the alarming ſituation of this Country at the time of the Rebellion, 1745, and firſt printed in the *Muſeum*, a periodical publication.

With theſe abilities, equally applicable either to elegant literature, or profeſſional ſtudies, Biſhop Lowth poſſeſſed a Mind, that felt its own ſtrength, and decided on whatever came before it with promptitude and firmneſs; a mind, fitted for the high ſtation in which he was placed. He had a Temper, which in private and domeſtic life endeared him in the greateſt degree to thoſe who were moſt nearly connected with him, and towards others produced an habitual complacency and agreeableneſs of manners; but which was ſuſceptible of conſiderable warmth, when it was rouſed by unjuſt provocation, or improper conduct. To theſe abilities and diſpoſitions were added, qualities ſtill more valuable, the virtues of a good Man, and of a ſincere Chriſtian.

Character of the Emperor Juſtinian; *from Vol. 4, of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the* Roman *Empire, by* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq.*

"IT would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the moſt conſpicuous object of his own times: but the confeſſions of an enemy may be received as the ſafeſt evidence of his virtues. The reſemblance of Juſtinian to the buſt of Domitian, is maliciouſly urged*; with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleaſing countenance. The emperor was eaſy of acceſs, patient of hearing, courteous

* The *rubor* of Domitian is ſtigmatiſed, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus (in Vit. Agricol. c. 45.); and has been likewiſe noticed by the younger Pliny (Panegyr. c. 48.) and Suetonius (in Domitian, c. 18. and Caſaubon ad locum. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 8.) fooliſhly believes that only *one* buſt of Domitian had reached the 6th century.

and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous, than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge* and the dispatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed: and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armour of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass co-

* The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecdot. c. 8. 13.), still more than by the praises (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31. de Edific. l. i. Proem. c. 7.), of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Justinian by Ludewig (p. 135—142.)

lumn and a ſtone pedeſtal of ſeven ſteps: and the pillar of Theodoſius, which weighed ſeven thouſand four hundred pounds of ſilver, was removed from the ſame place by the avarice and vanity of Juſtinian. Future princes were more juſt or indulgent to *his* memory; the elder Andronicus, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equeſtrian ſtatue: ſince the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks*."

Character of Mahomet; *from the ſame.*

"AT the concluſion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I ſhould balance his faults and virtues, that I ſhould decide whether the title of enthuſiaſt or impoſtor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately converſant with the ſon of Abdallah, the taſk would ſtill be difficult, and the ſucceſs uncertain: at the diſtance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his ſhade through a cloud of religious incenſe; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting reſemblance would not equally apply to the ſolitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative diſpoſition: ſo ſoon as marriage had raiſed him above the preſſure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea moſt congenial to nature and reaſon; and a ſlight converſation with the Jews and Chriſtians would teach him to deſpiſe and deteſt the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of ſalvation, to reſcue his country from the dominion of ſin and error. The energy of a mind inceſſantly bent on the ſame object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm ſuggeſtions of the underſtanding or the fancy, would be felt as the inſpirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and viſion; and the inward ſenſation, the inviſible monitor, would be deſcribed with the form and attributes of an angel of God†. From enthuſiaſm to impoſture, the ſtep is perilous and ſlippery: the dæmon of Socrates‡ affords a memorable

* See in the C. P. Chriſtiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24. N° 1.), a chain of original teſtimonies, from Procopius in the 6th, to Gyllius in the 16th, century.

† The Chriſtians, raſhly enough, have aſſigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that ſeemed to deſcend from heaven and whiſper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ,) his Arabic tranſlator, the learned Pocock, inquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confeſſed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themſelves. Leſt it ſhould provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is ſuppreſſed in the Arabic verſion; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham, l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.)

‡ Εμοι δε τουτο εςιν παιδος αρξαμενου, φωνη τις γιγνομενη ὁ ὁταν γενηται αει αποτρεπει μ τουτο ὁ αν μελλω πραττειν, προτρεπει δε ουποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121 122.

morable inſtance, how a wiſe man may deceive himſelf, how a good man may deceive others, how the conſcience may ſlumber in a mixed and middle ſtate between ſelf-illuſion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were thoſe of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human miſſionary is incapable of cheriſhing the obſtinate unbelievers who reject his claims, deſpiſe his arguments, and perſecute his life; he might forgive his perſonal adverſaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the ſtern paſſions of pride and revenge were kindled in the boſom of Mahomet, and he ſighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the deſtruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injuſtice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his ſword was conſecrated by the example of the ſaints; and the ſame God who afflicts a ſinful world with peſtilence and earthquakes, might inſpire for their converſion or chaſtiſement the valour of his ſervants. In the exerciſe of political government, he was compelled to abate of the ſtern rigour of fanaticiſm, to comply in ſome meaſure with the prejudices and paſſions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the inſtruments of their ſalvation. The uſe of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injuſtice, were often ſubſervient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the aſſaſſination of the Jews and idolaters who had eſcaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of ſuch acts, the character of Mahomet muſt have been gradually ſtained; and the influence of ſuch pernicious habits would be poorly compenſated by the practice of the perſonal and ſocial virtues which are neceſſary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his ſectaries and friends. Of his laſt years, ambition was the ruling paſſion; and a politician will ſuſpect, that he ſecretly ſmiled (the victorious impoſtor!) at the enthuſiaſm of his youth and the credulity of his proſelytes *. A philoſopher will obſerve, that *their* credulity and *his* ſucceſs, would tend more ſtrongly to fortify the aſſurance of his divine miſſion, that his intereſt and religion were inſeparably connected, and that his conſcience would be ſoothed by the perſuaſion, that he alone was abſolved by the Deity from the obligation of poſitive and moral laws. If he retained any veſtige of his native innocence, the ſins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his ſincerity. In the ſupport of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed leſs criminal; and he would have ſtarted at the foulneſs of the means, had he not been ſatisfied of the importance and

122. edit. Fiſcher.) The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan,) are beyond the reach of human foreſight; and the divine inſpiration (the Δαιμονιον) of the philoſopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the moſt rational Platoniſts are expreſſed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54.) and in the 14th and 15th Diſſertations of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172. edit. Davis.)

* In ſome paſſage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: "qui detache la chaine de ſon cou pour en donner ſur les "oreilles à ſes confreres."

juſtice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a prieſt, I can ſurpriſe a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the ſale of captives, the mothers ſhould never be ſeparated from their children, may ſuſpend or moderate the cenſure of the hiſtorian *.

The good ſenſe of Mahomet † deſpiſed the pomp of royalty: the apoſtle of God ſubmitted to the menial offices of the family: he kindled the fire, ſwept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his ſhoes and his woollen garment. Diſdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he obſerved without effort or vanity, the abſtemious diet of an Arab and a ſoldier. On ſolemn occaſions he feaſted his companions with ruſtic and hoſpitable plenty; but in his domeſtic life, many weeks would elapſe without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeaſed with a ſparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taſte of milk and honey: but his ordinary food conſiſted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two ſenſual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid: and Mahomet affirmed, that the fervour of his devotion was increaſed by theſe innocent pleaſures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity ‡. Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran: their inceſtuous alliances were blamed, the boundleſs licenſe of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was diſcouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either ſex, was puniſhed with an hundred ſtripes §. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legiſlator: but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abuſed the claims of a prophet. A ſpecial revelation diſpenſed him from the laws which he had impoſed on his nation; the female ſex, without reſerve, was abandoned to his deſires; and this ſingular prerogative excited the

* Gagnier relates, with the ſame impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.)

† For the domeſtic life of Mahomet, conſult Gagnier, and the correſponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288.); his children (p. 189. 289.); his wives (p. 290—303.); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160.); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309.); the falſe accuſation of Ayeſha (p. 186—199.) The moſt original evidence of the three laſt tranſactions, is contained in the 24th, 33d, and 66th chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part. iv. p. 49—59.) have maliciouſly exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

‡ Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque ſolvitur ſexus (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4.)

§ Sale (Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c.; and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognize many Jewiſh ordinances.

envy,

envy, rather than the ſcandal, the veneration, rather than the envy, of the devout Muſulmans. If we remember the ſeven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the wiſe Solomon, we ſhall applaud the modeſty of the Arabian, who eſpouſed no more than ſeventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their ſeparate apartments round the houſe of the apoſtle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal ſociety. What is ſingular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker. *She* was doubtleſs a virgin, ſince Mahomet conſummated his nuptials (ſuch is the premature ripeneſs of the climate) when ſhe was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the ſpirit of Ayeſha, gave her a ſuperior aſcendant: ſhe was beloved and truſted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful."

A ſhort Account and Character of Sophia Charlotte, *firſt Queen of* Pruſſia, *extracted from Memoirs of* Frederick *the Third, of* Pruſſia, *by* Joſ. Towers, *L.L.D.*

"SHE was ſiſter to George I. king of England, was beautiful in her perſon, loved muſic, was much attached to literature, and a great encourager of profeſſors of the fine arts. She was well read in hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and theology, and ſpoke moſt of the European languages with eaſe.

Her grandſon, Frederick III, in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, ſays of her, that 'ſhe was 'a princeſs of ſingular merit, in 'whom were joined all the charms 'of her ſex, with the graces of wit, 'and the ſolidity of reaſon. In her 'younger days ſhe had travelled 'into Italy and France, under the 'care of her relations. She was 'deſigned for the crown of France, 'Lewis XIV. having been ſtruck 'with her beauty; but political 'reaſons defeated this marriage. 'This princeſs brought along with 'her the ſpirit of ſociability, true po-'liteneſs, and the love of arts and 'ſciences into Pruſſia. She founded 'the royal academy. She invited 'Leibnitz, and ſeveral other learned 'men to her court; her curioſity 'leading her to inquire into the 'firſt principles of things. One 'day, as ſhe preſſed Leibnitz very 'hard upon this ſubject, this philo-'ſopher replied to her, "Madam, "there is no poſſibility of ſatisfying "you: you want to know the why "and the wherefore." Charlotten-'burg (where ſhe reſided) was the 'rendezvous of the people of taſte; 'and the great variety of diverſions 'and entertainments contributed to 'render this abode delightful, and 'the court moſt ſplendid. Sophia 'Charlotte had a great and noble 'ſoul: her religion was pure, her 'temper ſweet, and her mind was 'improved by the reading of good 'books both in French and Italian. 'She died at Hanover among her 'own relations. They wanted to 'introduce a Calviniſt miniſter into 'her apartment; but ſhe ſaid to 'them, "Let me die in peace, "without diſputing." Upon this 'occaſion one of the ladies of ho-'nour, whom ſhe was very fond of, 'was diſſolved in tears. "Do not "cry for me, ſays ſhe, for I am "going now to ſatisfy my curioſity

"on

" on the principles of things, which " Leibnitz could not explain to me, " on ſpace, infinity, on being, on " nothing; and I am preparing for " the king my huſband the ſhew of " my funeral, where he will have " another opportunity to diſplay his " magnificence."

Pollnitz ſays, that 'M. de la 'Bergerie, the miniſter of the 'French church, who aſſiſted her in 'her laſt moments, was ſo ſurprized 'at her courage and calmneſs, that 'he was more attentive to hear than 'to exhort her. " I have," ſaid ſhe, " for twenty years ſeriouſly " ſtudied my religion, and have " read the books that treated of it " with too much application to be " in any doubt as to my principles. " You cannot mention any thing to " me but what I have read, and " what you can ſay to me will cer- " tainly add nothing to my opi- " nion."

She died at Hanover, on a viſit to her mother, the electreſs of Hanover, on the firſt of February, 1705, in the 37th year of her age. Her body was conveyed to Berlin, where it was interred with great magnificence. This princeſs had formed ideas of government ſo equitable, and ſo extremely different from thoſe which prevailed in Pruſſia, that ſhe was often ſtyled by the Germans THE REPUBLICAN QUEEN."

Some Account and Particulars relative to the Natives of Montagna Negro, *on the Coaſt of* Dalmatia, *at the Head of the Gulf of* Catarro; *from a Voyage from* Venice *to* Lutichea, *being a Supplement to a* Series *of* Adventures *in the Courſe of a Voyage up the* Red Sea, *&c. By* Eyles Irwin, *Eſq.*

" I MENTIONED the natives of Montagna Negro, as a parcel of banditti. They are, in all probability, the aborigines of the country; and when Greece declined from her former greatneſs, mouldered by degrees from the Roman hands, and became a prey to the barbarous nations, theſe wretched remains of a celebrated people, forſook their fertile plains and vallies, and took refuge amidſt barren and almoſt inacceſſible mountains. They preſerved, indeed, their liberty by this deſperate ſtep; but loſt, what is, perhaps, of more conſequence to the happineſs of mankind—the manners, the morals, the laws, which form and preſerve, unbroken, the bonds of ſociety. The Montagnegrines have returned to the ſtate of nature; and in a few ages have undone a ſyſtem, which their foreſathers could not accompliſh, during the revolution of a thouſand years! There is a wide difference between them and the ſavages of the new world; but the balance is in favor of the ſavage. He has virtues mixed with the vices of an unlettered mind; and virtues of a quality, that often ſerve as a vail for his crimes. But the Montagnegrines, after having gradually forfeited the principles of honor, and the ſentiments of humanity, retained and nurſed every dark and unbridled paſſion, that reduces men to the level of brutes. This ferocious tribe acknowledge no maſter; and being equally out of reach of the Venetians and Turks, ſerve as an impenetrable barrier to thoſe nations in this quarter. By the moſt accurate accounts I could obtain, they can bring 14,000 fighting men into the field; which is the only mode, by which their actual numbers can be gueſſed. Suppoſing that every male, capable of bearing

arms, is ranked as a ſoldier—and this is no unreaſonable concluſion among a barbarous race—we may reckon the women and children at triple the number. This calculation will bring the Montagnegrines to 50,000 ſouls and upwards; who ſubſiſt on the footing of primeval independance, and own no law, but the ſword. Like the Americans and Arabs, they elect a chief, to whom they pay obedience in public matters; but reſerve to themſelves the right of execution in private concerns. The murderer's life is not only anſwerable for that he has taken away, but ſhould he eſcape, the life of one of his family is the forfeit; a piece of juſtice, that nearly correſponds with the account, which I have had occaſion to give of the Arabs. With the Montagnegrines, however, the thirſt of revenge ſeems to be far more bloody and unquenchable. Should the deceaſed leave a ſon at his mother's breaſt, the ſatisfaction required, is but deferred for awhile. The diſconſolate widow preſerves the bloody ſhirt, in which her huſband was aſſaſſinated, as a memorial of the dead. With the ſight of this ſhe kindles, and keeps alive, the implacable flame in her offspring's breaſt, which breaks out when he arrives at early manhood, into an act of ſavage retribution. She exhorts him, in the language of the Spartan matrons, when they more nobly ſent their ſons againſt the public enemy——

"Return victorious — or return no more!"

Like a famiſhed pard, the young enthuſiaſt iſſues from his den; and the blood of a devoted and unſuſpecting victim gluts his revenge. What a dreadful atonement! How contrary to the dictates of reaſon and humanity! and yet, according to the records of nations, and our own experience, not repugnant to the principles of human nature. I feel myſelf mortified in being ſurprized out of a reflexion, that does no honor to our diſpoſitions; and ſhews, in the cleareſt light, the virtue of education, and the beauty of philoſophy!

Though the Venetian republic hold not theſe people in ſubjection, ſhe derives every advantage from their vicinity, which the cultivation of arts affords a political ſtate. She rebuilt the fortreſs of Catarro, on a ſteep and barren rock, as a bridle on their fierce and ungovernable tempers. Behind this rock is the only paſſage up to the mountain; and, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Montagnegrines preſume to make incurſions into the Venetian territories, when their retreat would be infallibly cut off, by the commanding ſituation of the caſtle-battery. Hence the inhabitants of the valley live ſecure; and thoſe of the mountain are conſtrained to bring down the produce of their region, to barter, for what neceſſaries they may ſtand in need of. Beef, mutton, poultry, game, eggs, and garden ſtuff, are exchanged by them for linen, woollens, beads, gunpowder, &c. All their meat is excellent in its kind, and very cheap. Sunday is their market-day, when the road is ſeen crouded with men and women, who are laden with eatables, or drive down their cattle for ſale. The women only are allowed to enter the gate, which opens to the paſs. While theſe are bartering their wares in the city, the men aſ-

ſemble

ſemble without the walls, to divert themſelves in drinking or ſmoaking; courſing round the plain, wreſtling, or hurling the quoit, as inclination leads them. There were two field-pieces, loaded with grape, on the draw-bridge, that were pointed on this tumultuous aſſembly; which, as I contemplated from the wall, recalled to my memory, the idea of the infernal groupe of fallen ſpirits, whom Milton ſo dreadfully deſcribes in their paſtimes,

"Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime,
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend—
Others, with vaſt Typhæan rage more fell,
Rend up both rocks and hills—
—— hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar."

Amid one of theſe aſſemblies my fellow travellers and I were tempted to venture ourſelves, accompanied by a Venetian officer, Comte le Zarawich, who is a native of Catarro, and has an eſtate bordering on the mountain. We were under the cannon of the fort; but, without ſuch a conductor, it would have been held imprudent here, even for ſtrangers to have truſted themſelves in ſuch hands; as no Venetian, in a public character, chuſes to ſleep out of the fort, or to expoſe himſelf to the enmity of theſe mountaineers. On our paſſing the draw-bridge, we were preſently ſurrounded by a croud, who obſerved, by our muſtaches and habits, that we were foreigners. When they underſtood we we were Engliſh, their ſatisfaction encreaſed; and one or two who ſpoke Italian, told us, they had gone to England during the laſt war in a Venetian frigate, where they ſerved as marines. When I looked around me, I fancied myſelf once more among my Arabian acquaintance. Their mien, their dreſs, their arms, their manners, were nearly the ſame; and I could not condemn the caution of the ſtate, which ſuffers not men with ſuch arms, and ſuch inclinations, to enter their walls. And yet, we had ſo little apprehenſion of danger from them, that we ſhould have eagerly followed the ſuggeſtions of curioſity, and cloſed with their propoſal, of viſiting their country for a few days, had our ſituation admitted of it. But the difference was wide between the Venetians and us. We had never offended them; nor were we the objects of their jealouſies or apprehenſions; and had we travelled in their domain, diveſted of finery or money to tempt injuſtice, there would have been no chance of meeting it, unprovoked, either in the deſarts of Arabia, or the mountains of Greece! On our return to the fort, we met the females of this tribe, who, either from hard labor—which from their ſubſerviency to their huſbands falls all to their ſhare—or from other cauſes, are uncommonly hideous and diſagreeable. Their lot, indeed, appears an hard one. Even gallantry, which reſpects the ſex in other places, is reverſed here; and the wife ſalutes her huſband by kiſſing his hand; of which I was an eye-witneſs.

We heard ſeveral anecdotes, that mark the genius of this extraordinary people; but the account of one, which was related at the governor's table, will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt. The preſent chief of the Montagnegrines having lately learnt, that his ſiſter was engaged in an intrigue during her huſband's abſence,

abſence, heſitated not a moment on the part he was to take. He went direct to the houſe of the unfortunate culprit; and, without betraying the leaſt ſigns of remorſe, after aſſuring himſelf of the fact, ſevered her head from her body with one ſtroke of his ſword. The ſentence, it is true, for ſuch a treſpaſs, was only anticipated; as the unrelenting huſband would have exacted her head at his return: but the cool, though cruel behavior of this chief, who, unſtimulated by jealouſy, and actuated by no other motives, than the honor of his family, and the rights of ſociety, could perpetrate ſuch a deed, fills the mind with a mixture of horror and admiration! We were ſhewn more than one of this tribe, who was known to have killed a dozen men with his own hand; but as their lives were ſuppoſed to have been forfeited by offences, or taken in fair fight, it did not derogate from the character of the warrior."

A particular Account of the Perſons, Character, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Natives of the Coaſt of Africa, *from the River* Rionomas *to the Cape* St. Ann: *from a Voyage to the River* Sierra-Leone, *on the Coaſt of* Africa, *by* John Matthews, *Lieutenant in the Royal Navy; in a Series of Letters during his Reſidence in that Country in the Years* 1785, 1786, *and* 1787, *&c. &c.*

IT is a general remark all along the coaſt of Africa, that thoſe nations bordering upon the ſea, or inhabiting iſlands, are a much ſtouter, better made, a braver, and more active people than thoſe who reſide in the interior parts of the country. This, perhaps, may be in ſome meaſure accounted for by the difference of food, thoſe upon the ſea-coaſt living a good deal upon fiſh, and breathing a more ſalubrious air.

The Bullams, Timmaneys, and Bagoes, are a ſtout, active, and perſonable race; of a good black, ſtraight limbs, and pleaſing features; and rather above the middle ſize. The Timmaneys, in particular, are remarkable for an open, ingenuous countenance; and many of their women are really handſome.

During my reſidence here I have only ſeen two deformed people, and their misfortunes were occaſioned by accidents in their infancy.

The Suzeés are of a yellow caſt; and in perſon much inferior to thoſe I have juſt mentioned; though they are generally ſtraight limbed, they have thick lips and flatter noſes.

The Mandingoes ſeem to be a diſtinct race from any of the others: they are tall and ſlender, of an indifferent black, and remarkably ſmall eyes: they wear their beards like the Jews in Europe.

The Suzeés, Bullams, &c. ſhave while they are young; but, when their hair begins to turn grey, they ſuffer their beards to grow; for the ſilver tokens of age with them denote wiſdom: and, indeed, ſome of their old men, with long white beards, ſeated in council, make a moſt venerable appearance.

The ſtriking difference between the free people I have deſcribed, and the appearance of the plantation ſlave, is ſo great, that I was never miſtaken in my opinion reſpecting their ſituation even at firſt ſight.

The

The free man, elated by his liberty, walks with dignity and conſcious pride, and looks with an eye of confidence on all around—while the ſlave, on the contrary, oppreſſed by the conſideration of his ſituation, moves on with humble ſtep and down-caſt eye.

The perſons of the ſlaves (except ſuch as were born on the ſea-coaſt) are generally leſs in ſtature, and not ſo robuſt or well made as the native free men, and come from the interior part of the country.

The Foolahs, who inhabit the country on the back of the nations I have deſcribed, appear to be an intermediate race between the Arab and the black, and very like the Eaſt Indian Laſcar, having long, ſtraight, black hair, yellow complexion, thin face, and long Roman noſes. They are ſtrict followers of the Alcoran; and, by their wars for the propagation of their religion, furniſh a great number of the ſlaves which are ſold in theſe parts.

Voltaire, in his preliminary diſcourſe, mentions a race of people inhabiting the interior parts of Africa, whom he calls Albinos, and repreſents them as being of a milky white colour, and diminutive ſtature. I have made the moſt diligent inquiry of the natives, and travelling black merchants, but never could gain the leaſt information that ſuch a people exiſted. But I have ſeen ſeveral white negroes in different parts of Africa of a milky, or chalky whiteneſs, and white wool; but theſe do not propagate their likeneſs, but have black children, and are only conſidered as *luſus naturæ*. I remember to have ſeen one of the ſame kind in Georgia, South Carolina, and one in England, they were both females.

The Suzeé language ſeems to be the root from which the Bagoe, Bullam, and Timmaney is ſprung; it is ſoft, and abounds with vowels and labial ſounds. The Mandingo language is, as the people are, perfectly different from any of the others, and appears to me to be a corrupt Arabic, though not the ſame as they teach in their ſchools, which they term the language of prayer.

The diſpoſition of the natives is nearly ſimilar every where, extremely indolent, unleſs excited by revenge, of implacable tempers, full of treachery and diſſimulation, where they conceive the leaſt reſentment; nor do they ever let ſlip an opportunity of gratifying their thirſt of vengeance when they can do it with impunity. To their particular friends indeed, they are hoſpitable and kind; but are addicted to pilfering, and are remarkable for the fickleneſs of their conduct on almoſt every occaſion.

The Mandingoes, from religious motives, hate a Chriſtian, and vilify thoſe Europeans who reſide among them, and whom they frequently ſee drinking and rioting, with the appellation of dog. But when I formerly reſided among them, by purſuing a contrary conduct, and by being enabled to converſe with them on the tenets of their religion, I received ſuch treatment from them in the time of the utmoſt diſtreſs, when I was dangerouſly ill, as I could have expected only from my beſt and deareſt friends.

Their methods of ſalutation are various; when a ſlave approaches his maſter to pay him obedience he bends the right knee almoſt to the ground, and ſtretches out his right arm, with the hand ſhut, which he ſupports with the left hand under the

the elbow. When two friends, or equals, meet, they put their right hand upon their breaſts and wiſh each other good day; and ſometimes embrace, or ſhake hands, and ſnap the finger and thumb. When a ſtranger comes upon a viſit to a friend, no notice is taken of him till he announces his viſit in form, which is often four or five days after his arrival, during which time he is provided with every thing neceſſary for himſelf and people, apart from the family: the ſame cuſtom is obſerved by their ambaſſadors, or public meſſengers, upon buſineſs of importance. When the women meet upon viſits, they join their right hands and curtſy; but the young and unmarried embrace with the moſt ſeeming affection. When a ſon viſits his mother after an abſence, and the firſt ſalutation is over, he lies at her feet, and, while ſhe carefully examines his head for the purpoſe of deſtroying vermin, he relates the adventures of his journey.

The women are exceedingly clean in their perſons, and are ſtrictly attentive to domeſtic duties; and none can be more fond or careful of their offspring, or make better nurſes. They never wean their children till they are able to walk, and to carry a calabaſh of water to their mother, which they inſtruct them to do as ſoon as poſſible; for, during the time a child is at the breaſt, the woman is not permitted to cohabit with her huſband, as they ſuppoſe it would be prejudicial to their milk. Barrenneſs they dread as the greateſt reproach; and Nature has exempted them from the pain and ſorrow our fair countrywomen experience in child birth, as they are ſeldom confined more than a few hours. In their domeſtic amuſements they in ſome reſpect imitate the good country houſewife in England. In the evening the head wife, ſurrounded by the reſt of her huſband's women, and her female attendants, is employed in ſpinning and carding cotton, while one of the company amuſes the reſt with telling ſtories upon the plan of Æſop's fables: to theſe tales I have often liſtened with infinite pleaſure. They have ſeveral games of chance, at which the men and women play ſeparate; but both ſexes are paſſionately fond of dancing, which they never fail to enjoy when they have a light moon and fair weather, from an hour after ſun-ſet, till midnight. Beſides this, the birth of a child, or the arrival of a friend or relation, furniſhes them with an opportunity of enjoying their favourite amuſement of ſinging and dancing, which they term a *cullunjee*. When a *cullunjee* is performed on any great occaſion, they introduce dancers dreſſed in a groteſque ſtyle; on their heads they wear a high cap made of ruſhes, ſtuck round with feathers, and their faces are painted about the eyes, noſe, and mouth, with chalk, or white clay, and they wear a pettycoat of ruſhes round their waiſt, which in dancing ſpreads in every direction. In their hands they have pieces of flat wood, which they clap together, and with which they keep time during the dance.

The death of a child, friend, or relation, adds no leſs to the enjoyment of this paſtime, by performing the wha', or cry: but, from the manner in which it is performed, a ſtranger to their ceremonies would rather term it a rejoicing.

On the evening of the day appointed the friends and relations of the

the deceaſed aſſemble together, and proceed, by a ſlow and ſolemn movement, to an open ſpace before their houſes. Here they begin ſinging the praiſes of the deceaſed, and dancing to the muſic of a drum. In the dance they frequently vary the figure; ſometimes forming one great circle round the muſic, and clapping hands at every period or repetition of their ſong. Sometimes one perſon performs the dance, the reſt ſitting or ſtanding round in a circle, joining chorus and clapping hands as before: at other times two, three, or four, will dance together till they are weary, and then are relieved by others; the reſt ſinging and clapping hands. This, with firing of guns, continues from evening till near daylight, without intermiſſion; but they frequently regale themſelves with liquor and tobacco. This ceremony is repeated three nights ſucceſſively.

For people of conſequence, whoſe friends can afford it, the cry is repeated once or twice a year for ſeveral years; but the poorer ſort are ſometimes two or three years before they can procure means to purchaſe rum and tobacco ſufficient for the purpoſe: but whatever time they may be before they are enabled to put it in execution, it is never omitted.

This may be termed the public mourning after the death of their friends or relations, in which both ſexes join; but there is alſo another kind, of a more private nature, practiſed by the women only, and is peculiar to the Bullams and Timmaneys only.

The mourners wear a white linen or cotton cap, which is drawn over their eyes in ſuch a manner as to prevent their ſeeing any thing, except on the ground, without turning their heads quite up, and ſeveral ſtrings of large country beads are faſtened round their neck and waiſt. —If married women, they are ſtripped of their cloth, and allowed to wear the *tutungeé* only.

They are not ſuffered to eat or drink with any other perſon, or cook their own victuals, but at meal times beat a drum and dance before the perſon's door who is to give it them; and nobody is allowed even to eat or drink out of the veſſels they make uſe of.

The time this kind of mourning continues is not fixed, but regulated by the whim and caprice of the perſon who orders it, who is generally the mother, aunt, or ſome elderly relation; and is commonly performed by girls approaching the age of marriage, in order to preſerve their chaſtity; for ſhould any intercourſe between the ſexes be diſcovered, during the continuance of this ceremony, the woman would become infamous, and the man be liable to a ſevere puniſhment.

A woman alſo, when ſhe ſuppoſes her huſband neglects her, has the privilege of putting his favourite miſtreſs into mourning. When this, however, happens, after a ſhort probation and a peace-offering, to the wife, of a goat or ſix fowls, a jar of liquor, and a little tobacco, to be uſed in a cullungeé, ſhe is reſtored to his arms.

Indeed this appears no bad policy on the part of the elderly wives, to preſerve ſome degree of conſequence with the men; for during the time the young woman is in this mourning, the huſband is deprived of her ſociety.

They have various kinds of national muſic; but the drum ſeems to be

be the principal inſtrument, of which they have three ſorts, but they are of different ſizes, according to the uſe for which they are intended; one is made of a hard wood, which is hollowed, the ends of it ſtopped cloſe, and a longitudinal opening made on the ſide: they beat upon them with two ſticks, and the loud and ſhrill noiſe theſe drums give are, in a ſtill evening, heard to a great diſtance, and are uſed to ſpread an alarm: the others are made of light wood, hollowed throughout, and the ends covered with dried goat or ſheep ſkin, laced tight over with cords. Some of theſe are very large, from ſix to eight feet long, and two or three feet diameter; in others the heads are only two or three inches apart, and ſhark's teeth or bits of copper are tied round the rim, which make a jingling noiſe.

The trombone and tamborine, uſed in England, appear to have been borrowed from the Africans. They have alſo two kinds of ſtring inſtruments; one is a ſort of guitar, and is the ſame as the bangou in the Weſt Indies; the other is in the form of a Welſh harp, but not above two feet long: the ſtrings are made of the fibres of a plant and the hair of an elephant's tail.

The women and children alſo have ſeveral ſorts of rattles made of gourds, into which they put ſmall hard berries; and in Sherbro' they have a kind of pipe made of reed, with four ſtops for the fingers; and a horn, or trumpet, made of an elephant's tooth.

The cuſtomary food of the natives is rice, which they always boil quite dry, and either eat it with palm-oil poured over it, or a ſtrong gravy made of fiſh, fleſh, or fowl, and vegetables boiled together, highly ſeaſoned with pepper and ſpices, and palm-oil. They uſe very little animal food, and in general prefer it ſmoke-dried rather than freſh; but are good cooks, and make many ſavoury diſhes.—The men and women always eat apart, and never drink any thing but water at their meals. They eat only twice in the day; the firſt time about ten in the morning, and the ſecond about ſunſet; but the principal men who can indulge, generally enjoy a ſlight repaſt early in the morning, which is prepared by the favourite of the preceding night.

The only trades in uſe amongſt them are thoſe of the carpenter, blackſmith, and griggory maker; and their workmanſhip, conſidering the tools they uſe, often diſplay neatneſs and ingenuity. Every family ſpin and weave their own cloth, and make their own clothes; the men weave and ſew; and the women ſpin and card the cotton. Their dreſs is very ſimple and eaſy. The boys and girls never wear any thing but a *tuntungeé*, which is a thin ſlip of cloth paſſed between the legs. The different manner of wearing it denotes the ſex. The girls have a ſtring tied round their waiſt, and the ends of the *tuntungeé* are tucked under it, and left to hang down before and behind, with a belt or girdle of beads, or looſe ſtrings of them tied round their waiſt; the boys have the ſhort end forward, the other part is brought round their loins, tucked under, and left to hang down behind only. After marriage the women lay aſide the *tuntungeé*, (except among the Nalloes, who never wear any thing elſe) and wear a cloth round their waiſt, which reaches down about the middle of

the leg; though they are very fond of wearing it over their breaſts, not in order to hide them, but to make them flat, which (as it is a ſign of womanhood) gives them additional conſequence. They are alſo very fond of ornaments, ſuch as beads formed into necklaces, bracelets, &c. ſilver rings, lockets and chains, manillas, (which are hoops of ſilver made flat or round to wear on the wriſts), ſtrings of coral, and uſe a variety of paints. An African lady, when full dreſt, makes no contemptible figure:—over her common country cloth, which we may term her under petticoat, ſhe wears one of red taffaty; a black ſilk handerchief tied by two corners round her neck, hangs down before like a child's bib, and covers her boſom; another of the ſame colour is tied round her head: ſhe has gold earrings in her ears; round her neck a ſtring of large coral; and a ſilver or gold locket and chain. On each wriſt two or three manillas, and five or ſix ſilver rings on each finger; her forehead is painted with various angles and triangles of white or red, and her hair neatly and curiouſly plaited; and ſometimes cloſe ſhaved in ſmall circular or creſcent-formed ſpots.—Behind her follows her waiting-maids, (who are generally the prettieſt girls ſhe can procure, from ten to fifteen years old), decorated with coral and beads, and a piece of taffaty or fine chintz thrown over their left ſhoulders like a highlander's plaid.

The dreſs of the men is a looſe ſhirt without a collar or wriſtbands, and very wide ſleeves, with drawers which reach about the middle of the leg, and a hat or ſmall cloſe cap made of country cloth; though they generally go bare-headed and bare-footed, except the head men, who imitate as much as they can the dreſs of the whites, and the Mandingoes, who are always diſtinguiſhed by wearing a red cap and ſandals, and who alſo ornament their ſhirts and drawers with worſted embroidery; in manufacturing of which they are very ingenious.—The men never go without their belmós, which are large ſtraight knives, hung in a ſheath on the right thigh, exactly like the patoupatou of the Sandwich Iſlands, deſcribed by Captain Cook; they have two of theſe, one ſmall for the purpoſe of eating, and the other as a weapon of defence.

The cuſtom of *tattowing*, or marking the body, which is called *ſoccalá*, is pretty general all over Africa, and I fancy was originally intended to diſtinguiſh the different tribes from each other: it is ſtill practiſed here on that account, but does not appear to be ſo neceſſary as it might have been formerly. The back, loins, belly, and breaſt, are the parts upon which they carve in this neighbourhood; and the manner in which it is done not only denotes the tribe, but the condition of the perſon, as a ſlave is not allowed to be marked in the ſame manner as a free man.—The operation of tattowing muſt be extremely painful, and is often dangerous; it is performed when the child is only a few months old. Some nations raiſe the ſkin in ſuch a manner as to make it appear like emboſſed work; others perform it by puncture, with a ſharp-pointed inſtrument dipped in a liquid, which leaves an indelible mark: but it muſt be obſerved, that thoſe who uſe this method are of a yellow complexion. In the more ſouthern and eaſtern

eaſtern parts of Africa, they mark the face as well as the body.

The ſituations which the natives chuſe for their towns, are generally on the bank of a creek or river, for the benefit of fiſhing, and are always diſtinguiſhed by large pullam trees; which kind of trees are a certain criterion of a dry ſoil. They never take the trouble to clear more ground than is ſufficient to build their houſes upon; as they cannot conceive that cutting down the wood, ſo as to admit a free circulation of air, would render it more healthy: neither do they obſerve any order in the diſpoſition of ſtreets; but every man chuſing a ſpot moſt convenient or agreeable, erects a number of ſmall houſes, according to the number of his wives and people (for every wife has a ſeparate houſe); the whole forming a circle, which are incloſed within a trapada, or fence, made by driving ſtakes into the ground; which, in a few months, (ſo quick is vegetation in this climate) become living trees, and produce a very pretty effect.

A number of theſe incloſed buildings erected near each other form a town, which is generally ſurrounded with a mud wall or a ſtrong paliſade, and often cover a conſiderable extent of ground.

When the natives are at war they have ſeveral barriers, which are always ſhut at ſun-ſet, and guarded, during the night, with a good watch; nor are they opened again, upon any occaſion, till the ſun riſes next morning.

Their houſes are only one ſtory, and are either round or an oblong ſquare; the ſides built with upright poſts, wattled and covered with a ſtiff clay. The floors are alſo clayed and beat hard; and the roofs are ſupported with long poles, and thatched with graſs. They have generally two doors, on oppoſite ſides, which cauſe a draught of air through; and, together with their height, make them very cool in the hotteſt weather: and they whitewaſh the outſide with white clay, which they get in ſome particular places from the bottom of the river, or a white ſaponaceous earth found in Sherbro'.

Though I have mentioned doors, they very ſeldom have any in the European manner, except thoſe who imitate the manners of the whites; but, inſtead of doors, have a mat faſtened to the upper end of the door frame; when that is dropped nobody preſumes to enter without a previous inquiry; when it is rolled up that ceremony is unneceſſary. The eaves of the roof project ſix or eight feet over the walls, and are ſupported with poſts; the ſpace between the walls and the poſts is raiſed a foot or eighteen inches, which form a kind of piazza, and makes an admirable lolling-place, as it ſcreens them from the ſun and rain.

In the interior parts of the country they build very large houſes of brick baked in the ſun, which ſtand many years, if the top of the walls are preſerved from the weather.

They never have chimnies to their houſes; yet the natives always keep fires in the morning and evening, to drive away the muſquetos.

The common people, ſlaves, and children, ſleep on mats or dried ſkins ſpread upon the ground before the fire; but people of conſequence have bed places, made by driving four ſtakes into the ground, with a bottom of ſplit cane or bamboo; and mats hung round ſupplies the

place of curtains. The men's apartments are furniſhed with a cheſt to contain their clothes and valuables, a mat or ſkin to ſit upon, and their arms. The women's contain all their domeſtic utenſils, mats, and ſtools, and never without a looking-glaſs.

Near the centre of every town there is a circular building, open at the ſides, which they term a burreé (i. e. court houſe); where all palavers are talked, and public buſineſs of every kind tranſacted.

In the Mandingo country, where they profeſs the Mahometan religion, there is in every town a public moſque, from the top of which the people are called to prayers, in the ſame manner as in Turkey.

There are alſo ſeveral ſmall burreés, which ſerve as public ſchools; where their youth are taught to read and write Arabic.

Polygamy is allowed and practiſed here in its utmoſt latitude; and women, as in more civilized countries, are frequently among the great the bond of peace and friendſhip. If two tribes have been at war, or wiſh to contract a more cloſe and intimate connexion with each other, a mutual exchange with the chiefs, of each other's daughters, is the baſis of every treaty: it is the ſame alſo with individuals, and from this cauſe is chiefly the reaſon of the head men having ſo many wives. In order to connect their families together, a female child is frequently given to a man as ſoon as ſhe is born; but among the Suzeés the child remains with the mother till of a proper age, which is judged of rather from the external appearance, than from the age of the party; they are then delivered in form. On the day appointed for the marriage, the bridegroom ſtations relays of people on the road the bride is to come, with liquor and refreſhments; for if theſe articles are not plentifully ſupplied, the bride's attendants will not proceed a ſtep, even though the ſupplies ſhould fail them in the midway. When they approach near the town, they halt, and are joined by the bridegroom's people, and friends, who make great rejoicing by ſhouting, drinking, firing guns, and other demonſtrations of joy.

The lady is then taken upon the back of an old woman, and covered over with a fine cloth, for from this time ſhe is not allowed to be ſeen by any male perſon, till after conſummation. Mats are ſpread on the ground, that the feet of the perſon who carries her may not touch the earth; in this manner ſhe is carried to the houſe of her intended huſband, attended by the friends of both parties, ſhouting, dancing, and firing guns. In the evening the bridegroom retires to his wife's apartment. If he finds room to ſuſpect ſhe has before admitted the embraces of a man, he immediately leaves her, which is no ſooner known by her friends than they inſtantly abſcond, ſhouting and howling with ſhame and confuſion; but if he is ſatisfied, he remains with her all night. Great rejoicings are then made by her friends, who carry the tokens of her virginity, according to the Moſaical inſtitution, in wild proceſſion through the ſtreets. In either caſe he is at liberty to retain her, but ſhould he ſend her back, he muſt ſend every thing ſhe brought with her.

Among the Bullams, Bagoes, and Timmaneys, they frequently receive their future wives when quite children, and bring them up in their own

own houſes. On theſe occaſions, when they receive the child, a preſent is made according to the receiver's ability, to the child's parents, which they term drawing wine for her; but if the child ſhould be ill-treated before conſummation takes place, her parents have a right to demand her on refunding the wine. On the other hand, if the man ſends back his intended bride to her parents, they muſt receive her, but keep the wine.

From theſe circumſtances one would naturally imagine chaſtity was highly valued, but in fact it is no longer the caſe than to the time of marriage; for it is reckoned extremely unpolite and ill-bred for a married woman to reject the offers of a lover; though ſhe is ſenſible ſhe is liable to a ſevere puniſhment if diſcovered, yet it does not at all affect her *reputation*. Almoſt every married woman has, according to the country cuſtom, her *yangeé tameé*, or ciciſbeo, whom ſhe firſt ſolicits. This connexion ſhe is at little or no pains to conceal, and her huſband is often obliged to be ſilent, as otherwiſe he would have reaſon to dread worſe conſequences; for although the laws of the country are ſevere againſt adultery, it requires the arm of power, even among themſelves, to put them in force. But it ſhould be obſerved that it is among the great who keep a number of wives, that this practice more particularly prevails. The common people are in general contented with one, or at moſt with two wives. Yet there is one ſingular circumſtance which ſhould not paſs unnoticed reſpecting their women's private amours.—They never attempt to impoſe on their huſbands by introducing a ſpurious offſpring into his family, but always declare before they are delivered who is the father. But if the huſband wiſhes to have children by a favourite woman, he obliges her, though it is ſometimes done voluntarily, to make a vow, that ſhe will not for a certain time go aſtray; and ſhould ſhe during that period be induced, either by force or perſuaſion, to break her vow, ſhe immediately tells her huſband, and both the offending parties undergo a moſt ſhameful puniſhment, and are ever after reckoned infamous, and held in contempt.

They depoſit their dead in the ground in the European manner, and generally either in the evening or morning; but the ceremony of interrogating the corpſe is curious, and deſerves a particular deſcription.

When the deceaſed is deſigned for interment, the corpſe is laid upon an open bier, decently wrapped in a white cloth, and borne upon the heads of ſix young people, either male or female; for that is a matter left entirely to the choice of the corpſe, who ſignifies his approbation or diſapprobation of the bearers, by his inclination or diſinclination to move (which they firmly believe it is capable of exerting) to the place of burial. This place is always in the buſh out of the town. When arrived there, a perſon, who is generally a relation or friend of the deceaſed, places himſelf five or ſix paces before the bier, with a green bough in his hand, and addreſſes the deceaſed in this manner—"You "are now a dead man—you know "you are no longer alive and as "one of us—you know you are "placed upon the ſticks (i. e. the "bier) of God Almighty, and that "you muſt anſwer truth."—And

then he aſks him what made him die—whether he knew of his own death, or whether it was cauſed by witchcraft or poiſon; for it is a firm and univerſal belief among them, that no perſon dies without having a previous knowledge of his death, except his death be cauſed by witchcraft or poiſon, or the more powerful charms of another perſon over thoſe he wears.

If the corpſe anſwers in the affirmative to any of the queſtions propoſed, it is ſignified by forcibly impelling the bearers ſeveral paces forward, by a power which they ſay they are unable to reſiſt—if, on the contrary, it is ſignified by a rolling motion, which they alſo ſay they cannot prevent.—If, by the ſign given, a ſuſpicion ariſes that the death of the party was occaſioned by poiſon or witchcraft, they proceed to queſtion him who was the perſon, and name ſeveral people to whom they ſuppoſe he was not attached in his life-time; but they firſt begin with his relations. If it ſhould happen to be any of them the corpſe remains ſilent for ſome time, as if aſhamed to accuſe his own kindred, but at laſt is obliged to anſwer. He is then more particularly queſtioned whether he is certain of the perſon; if he is, it is requeſted that he will ſtrike that hand which holds the bough, (the perſon before the corpſe holding the bough up in his hand). Upon this the corpſe immediately impels the bier forwards, and ſtrikes the bough. In order to convince the ſpectators, they repeat this two or three times.

The culprit is then ſeized, and if a witch ſold without further ceremony: and it frequently happens if the deceaſed were a great man, and the accuſed poor, not only he himſelf but his whole family are ſold together. But if the death of the deceaſed was cauſed by poiſon, the offender is reſerved for a further trial; from which, though it is in ſome meaſure voluntary, he ſeldom eſcapes with life.

After depoſiting the corpſe in the grave, which is hung round with mats, and his moſt valued clothes and neceſſaries put in with him—they confine the accuſed in ſuch a manner that he can releaſe himſelf; which ſignifies to him he has tranſgreſſed the laws of his country, and is no longer at liberty. As ſoon as it is dark he eſcapes to the next town, and there claims the protection of the head man, who is ſuppoſed to be an impartial perſon; informs him that the corpſe of ſuch a perſon has accuſed him of cauſing his death by poiſon; that he is innocent, and deſires that to prove it he may drink red water. This requeſt is always allowed, and the friends of the deceaſed are ſent for to be witneſſes.

At the time appointed the accuſed is placed upon a kind of high chair, ſtripped of his common apparel, and a quantity of plantain-leaves are wrapped round his waiſt. Then in preſence of the whole town, who are always aſſembled upon theſe occaſions, he firſt eats a little colá or rice, and then drinks the poiſoned water. If it kills him, which it is almoſt ſure to do, he is pronounced guilty; but if he eſcapes with life, after drinking five or ſix quarts, and throwing up the rice or colá unchanged by the digeſtive powers of the ſtomach, he is judged innocent, but yet not intirely ſo till the ſame hour next day. During the interval he is not allowed to eaſe nature by any evacuations; and

ſhould

ſhould he not be able to reſtrain them, it would be conſidered as ſtrong a proof of his guilt as if he had fallen a victim to the firſt draught. And to prevent the leaſt poſſibility of the medicine's not operating, ſhould any remain in the ſtomach, they oblige the accuſed to join in the rejoicings made for his eſcape, which conſiſts in ſinging and dancing all night.—After being fairly acquitted by this ordeal trial, he is held in higher eſtimation than formerly, and brings a palaver, or, to ſpeak in the profeſſional language of my friend, an action againſt the friends of the deceaſed, for defamation or falſe impriſonment, which is generally compromiſed by a payment adequate to the ſuppoſed injury.

But if the deceaſed ſays he knew of his death, and that it was premeditated; they aſk him what induced him to die and leave them, and propoſe ſeveral queſtions, ſuch as, Was any one poſſeſſed of a fine gun, or a fine cloth, that he could not acquire the ſame? or, Had any body offended him that he could not be revenged of? but on theſe accounts they cannot bring any palaver againſt the object of his reſentment.

It ſometimes happens that the corpſe will accuſe a perſon of cauſing his death by witchcraft, that they cannot ſell on account of their age, or dare not ſell on account of their family or connexions, as it leaves a ſtain upon the family; in that caſe, after the guilt of the perſon accuſed is proved, he is carried to a field out of the town and obliged to dig his own grave, the people who are with him as a guard frequently reviling him, ſaying "You "deal in death, and can make "other people die, you muſt now "taſte of it yourſelf." Notwithſtanding he goes on with his work with an appearance of the utmoſt unconcern, retorting, "'Tis true I "did kill ſuch a one, and many "others, and if I lived I would "kill many more," and often during his work meaſuring the length and width of the grave, by the dimenſions of his own body. When the grave is judged deep enough, they direct the priſoner to ſtand at the edge of the foot of it, with his face towards it, then a perſon behind ſtrikes him a violent blow upon the nape of the neck, which cauſes him to fall upon his face into the grave; a little looſe earth is then thrown upon him, and a ſharp ſtake of hard wood is drove through the expiring delinquent, which pins him to the earth; the grave is then filled up, and his or her name is never after mentioned.

Though the ceremonies above related are conſtantly practiſed, yet the different tribes have different methods of performing them. The Suzeés carry the whole body, but the Timmaneys and Bullams only the clothes the deceaſed had on at the time of his death, and the nails of his hands and feet, which they cut off immediately after he is expired, and which they hold to have the ſame power to anſwer the queſtions propoſed, as if the whole body was preſent, in which no doubt they are right."

"In the power and efficacy of charms, which they call griggories, they have an unlimited faith.—Theſe are made of goat's ſkin, either with the hair on, or dreſt like Morocco leather, into various ſhapes and ſizes, from the bigneſs of a ſhilling to the ſize and form of a ſheep's heart, and ſtuffed with

ſome kind of powder, and bits of paper, on which are written, in Arabic, ſentences from the Alcoran; theſe they wear tied round their neck, waiſt, legs, and arms, and in ſuch numbers that when a man is properly equipped for the field, the very weight of them with his gun is an exceeding heavy burthen.

Every griggory is aſſigned its particular office; one is to preſerve him from ſhot, one from poiſon, another from fire, others from being drowned; and when a man happens to be killed, burned, or drowned, they only ſay his griggory was not ſo good as the perſon's who occaſioned his death; but this muſt be underſtood when it happened from an enemy: but they pretend not to any griggory that can preſerve them from ſhot out of great guns and ſwivels."

"In the accounts of moſt uncivilized countries that we read of, we find the office of phyſician is generally annexed to that of prieſt or conjurer; but here it is carried on by old women, and the cures they perform are truly aſtoniſhing; particularly in external wounds, by the uſe of ſimples, which their woods and fields afford in abundance.

The diſeaſes they are moſt ſubject to are intermitting fevers and the hydrocele; the latter is ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the too frequent uſe of palm wine, and exceſs of venery. —The venereal diſeaſe is frequent, but never attended with thoſe dreadful ſymptoms which too often accompany it in Europe, and is always eaſily cured; neither can they be convinced that it proceeds from impure coition. The ſmall-pox is endemial, but is not ſo frequent on the ſea-coaſt as in the interior country."

The following Letter deſcribes, in a ſhort, but in ſo diſtinct and natural a Manner, the general Outlines of the Character, Habits, and Manners of the People whoſe Hiſtory is contained in the Work to which it is affixed, that it is with great Pleaſure we lay it before our Readers.

A Letter from a noble Hungarian *Lady, on the Subject of the Gipſies in* Hungary; *extracted from the Appendix to a Diſſertation on the Gipſies, &c. tranſlated from the* German *of* H. M. G. Grellman, *by* M. Raper, *Eſq*; *F. R. S.* and *A. S.*

"I READ the Paper called, News from all the Imperial, Royal Hereditary Dominions: for, as I live in the country, where, beſides my own domeſtic affairs, I have no employment but reading and writing, I receive particular ſatisfaction from theſe ſheets, as they ſupply matter for inveſtigation, for reflection, and alſo for practice. You know I have only one daughter, you are alſo not ignorant, that I educate other young ladies of quality, and keep them with me till they marry. In order that, in addition to domeſtic œconomy, they may acquire ſome general knowledge, it is my cuſtom to keep a ſort of ſchool, that they may not miſapply their capacity for improvement; but, as much as poſſible, turn it to the greateſt advantage. Among other things, we are now diſcuſſing the narrative in your paper, about the Gipſies. There are a great number of them, on my eſtates, but I have permitted two families in particular, to eſtabliſh themſelves at the place of my own reſidence, under the expreſs condition, that no others ſhall come here and join them. I took all poſſible

pains

pains to make them reasonable creatures. I set the elder ones to work; the younger ones tend the cattle. I observed that they were more fond of horses, than any thing else; for which reason I placed a Gipsey under each groom. I had their children cloathed, that none of them might be running about naked, according to their usual practice. It appeared, however, that custom was become nature with them. The old ones worked diligently, so long as any body stood over them; the moment their back was turned, they got all together in a circle, their legs across, facing the sun, and chattered. Thus they cannot possibly earn more, indeed hardly so much, as would find them bread, although very cheap with us; for the bread I give them does not stand me in half a kreutzer the pound. Even in winter they cannot bear a hat on their head, nor shoes on their feet. The boys run like wild things, wherever they are sent, either on foot or on horseback: but they spoil horses unmercifully, beat them on the head, jerk the bits in their mouths, so as to make them run down with blood. They cannot be brought, by any means whatever, to dress horses. Cloath them as you will, they always sell or lose their cloaths. In a word, one cannot but consider them as void of reason; it is really shocking to see even well-grown children, put whatever they find into their mouths, like infants before they can speak; wherefore they eat every thing, even carrion, let it stink never so much. Where a mortality happens among the cattle, there these wretched beings are to be found, in the greatest numbers. This winter, I was so unfortunate as to have an infection among my hogs; immediately, instead of my two families, I had ten, insomuch that I was forced to drive them away; fearing they would rob me, that being their chief occupation. I sometimes stand by them, for an hour together, and enquire concerning their religion. They profess to be Roman Catholicks, but know nothing of the matter. I asked them, if they knew there is a God? They said Yes. How they knew it? I perceived, by their confused answers, that according to the apostle Paul, in the first chapter of his epistle to the Romans, they know the Creator, from seeing the things created. I first asked if they love him? As their answer seemed to indicate, that they more fear than love him, I enquired, Whether they had not sufficient proofs of his goodness? They then answered, Because he killed them: for they are extremely afraid of death. It would take up much time, to convey to them an idea of a life to come, I therefore declined the attempt, and only endeavoured to convince them, that when, with advanced age, nature became weak, and the strength impaired, a good death was one of the greatest benefits God could confer upon mankind. They burst into a general laugh, saying, what they had was something, but when they died all was gone. From whence we may infer how ignorant they are. It would be a blessing to them, if they had human, rational principles. As they are, their great necessity makes them thieves, robbers, and liars. Their mode of life is downright brutish; their marriages are not holy, and in general, the accounts lately published, make it appear, that even the Hottentots possess more religion, than we find among

theſe poor people. It is true that orders come from the Royal Office, concerning them, but they paſs unobſerved. They are driven from one place to another, without being allowed a chance of getting a maintenance, or making proviſion for the better education of their children. This does not concern me; but excites compaſſion when I reflect on it.

I have compared their language with the Gazettes, but that ſpoken by my Gipſies is different, and bears more reſemblance to the Latin. They call God, Di . . . bread-pan . . . water-apa. This ſeems to be corrupt Latin, and they have many more ſuch words. They mix Sclavonian and Hungarian words with their own, but give them quite a different ſignification."

Particulars relative to the impriſonment and eſcape of Baron Trenck *from the fortreſs of* Glatz; *from Memoirs by himſelf, tranſlated from the* German original.

"I WAS now left to myſelf, ſurveyed my deſtiny on the dark ſide, and thought only of the means to fly or periſh; for the narrow priſon began at laſt to be inſupportable to my impatient temper. The garriſon was always on my ſide, conſequently it was impoſſible to deprive me of friends and ſupport; people knew that I had money, and I could do any thing with a poor Pruſſian garriſon regiment, where the officers lived diſcontented, and were moſtly ſent there by way of puniſhment from the other regiments; my firſt project was this! My window was in the alarm fort about fifteen fathoms high, and oppoſite the ſide of the town, therefore I could not eſcape from the citadel, without firſt ſeeking a refuge in the town; this was already aſſured me, by means of an officer in the houſe of an honeſt ſoap-maker. With my penknife, which was notched, I cut through three very thick iron bars: but as this took up too much time, and there were no leſs than eight of them that oppoſed my paſſage in front of the window, an officer conveyed a file to me, with which, I was obliged to work very cautiouſly for fear of being heard by the ſentry.

As ſoon as this was finiſhed, I ſlit my leather port-manteau into ſtrings, knotted them together, took my bed-cloaths to my aſſiſtance, and let myſelf fortunately down from this aſtoniſhing height.

It rained bitterly! The night being dark and gloomy, every thing was favorable; but I was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of wading through the ſink of the common ſewer before I could reach the town. This I had not foreſeen. Although I was not above my knees, it was impoſſible for me to proceed; I did all I could, but ſtuck ſo faſt, that at laſt I loſt all ſtrength, and called to the ſentry who was on the alarm fort—"Tell the command-"ant, that *Trenck* is ſticking in the "mud." To increaſe my misfortune, general *Fouquet* was, at that time, commandant at Glatz; he was a well known miſanthrope, who had duelled with my father when a captain, and been wounded by him. The Auſtrian *Trenck* had taken his baggage in 1744, and laid the county of Glatz under contribution; on theſe accounts, he was a bitter enemy to the name of *Trenck*, and took every opportunity of making me feel the effects of his animoſity.

He

He ſuffered me to remain, in this condition, as a public ſpectacle for the garriſon, till noon, then ordered me to be taken out, and ſhut in my priſon again, but would not allow me any water the whole day to waſh myſelf. The figure I made, was truly pitiable; my long hair had, in the ſtruggle, fallen into the mire, and nothing could be more obnoxious than my ſituation, till I was granted a couple of priſoners, who cleaned me.

My arreſt was now increaſed, with as much rigour as poſſible. I had, however, eighty louis d'ors in my pocket, which were not taken from me, and from thoſe I found eſſential ſervice afterwards.

But at once all my paſſions began to ſtorm, and my young blood mutined againſt every reaſonable reſolve; I ſaw all hopes vaniſh; looked upon myſelf as the moſt unfortunate creature upon earth, and my monarch, as an implacable judge, now further provoked by my unſucceſsful efforts to regain my liberty. The day was inſupportable, and the night ſleepleſs; a deſire of renown tortured my ſoul; and the conſciouſneſs of my innocence proved only an incitement to put an end to my miſerable exiſtence. The youth, unexperienced in the world, and unacquainted with the accidents of life, ſees every evil through a magnifying glaſs, and deſpairs in every difficulty, eſpecially when baulked in any attempt he has made to extricate himſelf. Death I was always taught to deſpiſe.

I was not deprived of books to divert my melancholy hours. I read a great deal during my confinement in Glatz, and extended my knowledge; the hours did not always appear tedious, but when the deſire of liberty awoke within me, when love, and longing called me to Berlin, and my ambition painted my diſagreeable ſituation in the moſt diſguſting colors; when I reflected, that my beloved ſovereign and country would look upon me as an abject traitor, and probably condemn me as ſuch, then I was every moment ready to ruſh upon the bayonets of my guards, whom I conſidered as my enemies, becauſe they barred my way to freedom.

Big with ſuch thoughts, ſcarce eight days were paſt, ſince my laſt unſucceſsful attempt to fly, when a circumſtance occurred, that would ſeem improbable in hiſtory, if I did not write it myſelf, and publicly make it known, at a time, when I, the chief actor, am ſtill living, and could call upon all Glatz, the whole Pruſſian garriſon, as eye, ear, and local witneſſes. This anecdote will however ſhow, that ſometimes a bold or raſh reſolution, and incredible undertakings, become poſſible, and that a deſperate reſolve, may eaſier prove fortunate to a commander, than a plan laid with all care and foreſight.

I attempted that, which the foolhardy *Charles* XII. enterpriſed in Turkey: but our views were different, he ſought fame, I on the contrary, liberty, or death.

The town-major, *Doo* *, came into my priſon, accompanied by the adjutant

* This is the *Doo* who commanded in Glatz during the ſeven years Pruſſian war, was ſurpriſed and taken by general *Loudon*, by which means Glatz was loſt. The king caſhiered him, *cum infamia*, and drove him as a villain out of the country: in the year 1764, he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms.—He was an Italian by birth, a baſe ſelfiſh man, who, when town-major in *Fouquet's* regiment,

adjutant and officer of the guard; he viſited every corner, and entered into converſation with me, in which he ſtiled my attempt to eſcape, a *double crime*, that would rouſe the monarch's wrath againſt me. The word crime, had already made my blood boil. He talked of patience. — I aſked — "How long "the king had ſentenced me?" He anſwered—"A traitor to his country "who correſponds with the enemy, "has no other appointed time than "the king's will." At that inſtant, I tore his ſword from his ſide, on which I had already fixed my eye; flew out of the door, threw the terrified ſentry down ſtairs, found the guard under arms at the door below, which had at that moment been called out for the relief, ran upon them ſword in hand—every one ſtarted with ſurpriſe, and made way. I laid about me, right and left, wounded four men, run through the middle of them, ſprang upon the breaſt-work of the principal rampart, and directly down from that aſtoniſhing height without the ſmalleſt damage, even kept my ſword in my hand. I got as luckily over the ſecond lower rampart, no pieces were loaded, nobody would leap after me, and there was no other way to purſue me, than by going through the town and out of the gate, ſo that I had near a mile and a half ſtart. In a narrow paſſage in one of the out-works, a ſentry ran towards me and oppoſed my flight; in an inſtant, his firelock and bayonet was parried, and he received a cut on the face; the other ſentries of the out-works attacked me in rear; I ſprang with all haſte over the paliſades, but unfortunately one of my feet remained ſticking betwixt them; I was wounded by a bayonet in the upper lip; and held faſt by the leg until the others came to help. They ſent me back to my priſon, bruiſed and beaten, for having defended myſelf like a deſperate man.

Certain it is, that if I had leapt with more caution over the paliſades, and ſent the ſentry who oppoſed me into the other world, ſo as to have gained the mountains, I ſhould have eſcaped from the fortification of Glatz, through ſentries and works, at eleven o'clock in the day, and arrived ſafe in Bohemia. Single purſuers I ſhould not have feared, ſword in hand, and at that age, I could have kept pace with any *courier*.

Fortune which had wonderfully aſſiſted me as far as the paliſades, was not favorable to me in the final execution of my deſperate attempt. My hopes had now an end; my confinement was more rigid, and a non-commiſſioned officer and two men were placed in my room, which was alſo ſtrictly guarded on the outſide. I was ſhockingly treated, my right ancle was disjointed, I ſpit blood, and my wound was not healed during a month *.

I ſoon

giment, ruined many people. He was a creature of *Fouquet*'s, without birth or merit; an artful handſome fellow, who got *Fouquet*'s daughter with child, and married her; this at laſt proved his ruin. He was not poſſeſſed of the ſmalleſt military abilities, and was eaſily corrupted, being naturally avaricious.

* I have ſince learnt, that the king had only ſent me to Glatz for one year, to prove if his ſuſpicions were juſtly grounded. My mother had interceded for me; and received for anſwer, "Your ſon muſt remain a year as a puniſhment for his "imprudent correſpondence." This I did not know; and it was reported in Glatz,

I ſoon found (for I was ever on the watch) new opportunity for a freſh enterpriſe. I ſtudied the diſpoſition of the men who guarded me; I did not want for money; with that, and excited compaſſion, any thing may be done with a diſcontented Pruſſian ſoldier. In a ſhort time, I had a party of thirty-two men on my ſide, who were ready, at a wink, to undertake every thing; none, except two or three, knew of each other's engagement, conſequently, they could not all be diſcovered; and the non-commiſſioned officer, *Nicholai*, was my choſen conductor.

The garriſon of the citadel conſiſted at that time, only of one hundred and twenty men from the different regiments that were divided in the county of Glatz. Four officers relieved each other alternately at the main guard, three of whom were in my ſecret; every thing was prepared: cartridges, piſtols, and a ſword, were concealed in a hole in my jail. We meant to releaſe all the other priſoners, and march with flying colours to Bohemia; but an Auſtrian deſerter, in whom *Nicholai* confided, diſcovered the whole affair, and the governor ſent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders for the officer of the guard immediately to confine *Nicholai*, and with his men to ſurround the barracks.

Nicholai was then upon the main guard, and the lieutenant, who was my friend and knew the plot, gave him a ſign that all was diſcovered; he alone knew the parties concerned, ſome of whom were upon guard with him. In a moment, this intrepid man's reſolution was made; he ran to the barracks, cried out, "Brothers, to arms!! we are betrayed;" they all followed him to the *ſtock-houſe* guard; the officer on duty there, had but eight men with him, whoſe pieces were not loaded. My adherents took their cartridges, threatened to ſhoot every one who oppoſed them, ſprang to my iron door, but that was too ſtrong, and the time too precious to allow them to do more. He called to me to endeavour to get out—It was impoſſible! and thus marched this brave man with nineteen more, who followed him with ſhouldered arms to the field-door; the non-commiſſioned officer and ſix men who had the guard, were forced to join him, and in this extraordinary manner he arrived ſafe at Braunau, in Bohemia; for before the alarm was given in the town, and a ſtrong party could be muſtered ready to follow him, he had got halfway undiſturbed. I diſcovered this brave fellow, with inexpreſſible joy, about two years afterwards, as a clerk in *Ofen*; he immediately entered into my ſervice, and at the ſame time was my confidential friend, but died, in a few months, of a violent fever, at my quarters in Hungary.—I ſhed a grateful tear at his death, and his memory will never ceaſe to be reſpectable and dear to me.

Glatz, that I was confined for life. I had only to wait three weeks to gain my liberty with honor, when I undertook this deſperate enterpriſe. What muſt the monarch think of me? Was he not forced to act as he did? And what reaſonable man can imagine, that for three weeks arreſt, which required ſo little patience, I would have riſked ſo much, and ſuffered my all to be confiſcated? But my ſingular fate turned every thing to my diſadvantage, and one probability connected itſelf in ſuch a manner with another, that I at laſt muſt have perfectly the appearance of a criminal.

The ſtorm which had been for ſome time gathering around me, began now to rage with violence. It was propoſed to carry on a criminal proceſs againſt me as a ſchemer and ſeducer of his majeſty's officers and ſoldiers; I was called to name thoſe concerned who ſtayed behind. I gave no anſwer to their queſtions, but boldly and firmly declared, "I am an innocent pri-" ſoner, condemned without a hear-" ing; a diſcarded officer, who can " never again be called upon to " ſerve his country; the law of " nature gave me a right to vindi-" cate my injured honor, and procure " my liberty at all riſks; this was the " object of all my deſperate reſolves; " I wiſhed, either to attain my no-" ble aim, or in the attempt to die " boldly, regardleſs of all dangers " or obſtacles."

All poſſible rigours of confinement enſued, excepting, that I was not put in irons; for, in Pruſſia, no gentleman, or officer, can be chained, unleſs he be delivered into the hands of the executioner for ſome infamous crime. The ſentries were taken from my chamber; but the worſt of all evils was that my money began to fail, and my female friend in Berlin, with whom I always carried on a ſecret correſpondence, wrote,

" *Je pleure avec vous, votre mal* " *eſt ſans remede; voici ma derniere;* " *je n'oſe plus riſquer—ſauvez vous* " *ſi vous pouvez; je ſuis pour vous* " *la méme en tout événement lorſqu'il* " *eſt poſſible de vous être utile. Adieu,* " *malheureux ami, vous méritez un* " *autre ſort.*"

This was the ſevereſt ſtroke that could have reached me; but it was a comfort for me to think, that the officers were not ſuſpected, and as they came every day, according to orders, to viſit me, and ſee if I was quiet, I did not loſe all hopes of freeing myſelf.

At a time when every expectation began to vaniſh, and all probability to eſcape ſeemed vain, the following wonderful circumſtances occurred:

Lieutenant Bach, by birth a Dane, who every four days mounted guard upon me, was the terror of the whole garriſon, a quarrelſome fellow, who had fought with, and marked all his comrades, on which account he had been changed into two different regiments, and at laſt, by way of puniſhment, put into one of the battalions garriſoned at Glatz; this man was ſitting upon my bed, and telling me, that the day before he had wounded lieutenant Schell in the arm. I ſaid to him, jeſtingly, " If I was free, I think you would " ſcarce wound me." Immediately his blood flew in his face, and in a hurry, we made a pair of foils from an old ſplit door, which ſerved me as a table; I touched him on the breaſt.—He ran in a paſſion out of door—but how was I aſtoniſhed to ſee him return with two muſqueteer's ſabres under his coat! He offered me one, and ſaid, " Now, boaſter, " ſhow what thou can'ſt do." I proteſted againſt it, wiſhed to convince him of the danger—it was in vain—he attacked me, and I wounded him in the right arm, He inſtantly flung down his ſword—threw himſelf round my neck—kiſſed me, and remained crying in that poſition—at length, with an odd kind of joy, viſible in his face, he ſaid, " Friend! " thou art my maſter, and thou ſhalt " obtain thy liberty through me, as " ſure as my name is Bach." We bound up the wound in his arm, which, though not mortal, was nevertheleſs

vertheleſs deep. He went away, ſent for a ſurgeon, who dreſſed him properly, and at night he came to me again.

Here he ſuggeſted, that there was no other way of eſcaping, unleſs the officer of the guard accompanied me, he himſelf would willingly lay down his life for me, but he could not perform any villainous deed, or deſert his guard; however he gave me his word of honour to find me a man, in a few days, and aſſiſt himſelf as much as poſſible. At night he returned again, and brought lieutenant Schell with him; the firſt word was, "Here's thy man." Schell embraced me, pledged his faith, the bargain was concluded, and I was aſſured of my liberty. We began now to think of preparations for our departure. Schell was juſt come to Glatz from the garriſon of Habelſchwert, and was in a couple of days to mount his firſt guard in the citadel. Every thing was deferred till then. But, as I have already mentioned, I received no more money from my female friend, and my private purſe conſiſted but of ſix piſtoles, it was agreed upon that Bach ſhould go to Schweidnitz, and there bring me a ſupply from a particular friend.

I muſt here inform the reader, that I was perfectly acquainted with every officer in garriſon. Roeder, the only captain, was ſevere and auſtere, and chicaned, whenever he had an opportunity. Major Quaadt was a relation of my mother's, a good, humane, friendly man, who wiſhed me but a lucky opportunity to eſcape, ſince matters had gone ſo great a length. The four lieutenants who watched me in turn, were Bach, Schroder, Lunitz, and Schell—the firſt laid plans and made preparations; Schell fled with me from the main guard, and Schroder and Lunitz followed us in about two or three days after.

It is not to be wondered, if officers of the garriſon regiments, are ſo eaſily ſeduced to deſert; they are generally clever lively fellows, involved in debt and ſcrapes, or entirely unfit for the ſervice, ſent there to ſuch regiments as are called the refuſe of the army; not content with their ſituation, having much leſs pay than the reſt, and deſpiſed by other troops, ſuch people are eaſily corrupted when they ſee an advantage; none of them can obtain a diſcharge, and they are poor and needy; they each thought to make their fortune with me, having always money. What was eaſier than to find friends among men diſſatisfied with their condition, and who only wiſhed for an opportunity to free themſelves from the yoke of ſlavery?

Schell was a man of uncommon abilities, ſpoke and wrote ſix different languages, and poſſeſſed the eſſence of all fine arts: he had been in Fouquet's regiment: his colonel, who was from Pomerania, had uſed him very unfairly; Fouquet could not bear a learned officer, had him put into a garriſon regiment; he had demanded his retreat, and the king threatened to confine him in a fort; on this account, he reſolved to deſert and revenge himſelf by procuring me my liberty in ſpite of Fouquet.

I will hereafter ſay more of this extraordinary man; that I may not at preſent interrupt this remarkable ſcene of my life. We agreed, that at his next guard every thing ſhould be ſettled, and our deſign put into execution the enſuing one. He mounted every

every fourth day, conſequently, in eight days every thing was to be effectuated.

But it now began to be ſuſpected that the officers were too familiar and intimate with me; and an order was given for my door to be always locked, and my victuals delivered to me through a window; the major kept the key, and it was forbid to eat with me on pain of being caſhiered. The officers, however, got a falſe key made, and generally ſpent the beſt part of the day and night with me.

Oppoſite to my room, in the priſon, was a captain Damnitz: this man had deſerted from the Pruſſian ſervice with the company's money, and was made a captain of his couſin's regiment, in Auſtria; but in the campaign of 1744, he acted as a ſpy, was taken in the dreſs of a peaſant by the Pruſſian army; known, and deſervedly condemned to be hanged, but received his pardon, at the interceſſion of the Swediſh volunteers, who were at that time with the army, and was ſentenced, *cum infamia*, to remain in Glatz the remainder of his life.

This worthleſs man, who through intereſt, not only obtained his freedom, after two years impriſonment, but was even made lieutenant-colonel of his couſin's regiment, was at that time, ſecretly employed by the town-major, as a ſpy over the other priſoners, and had given information that, notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders to the contrary, the officer of the guard paſſed moſt of his time with me.

On the 24th of December, Schell was upon guard; he came immediately to my room, and ſtayed ſome time with me; every thing was this day to be ſettled how we were to make our eſcape next time he mounted.

Lieutenant Schroder was that day invited to dine with the commanding officer, and heard accidentally from the adjutant, that he had orders to relieve lieutenant Schell, and immediately to put him in arreſt. Schroder, who was in the ſecret, inſtantly conjectured that we were betrayed; although, as I afterwards underſtood, it was owing to nothing elſe but the ſpy Damnitz having given notice that Schell was in my room.

Schroder ran terrified to Schell in the citadel, crying, "Friend! "ſave thyſelf, all is diſcovered, thou "wilt be immediately confined."

Schell himſelf might have eſcaped without the leaſt danger, for Schroder propoſed to take horſe directly and ride towards Bohemia. But the gallant man, inſtead of following this ſalutary advice, entered my priſon, drew a non-commiſſioned officer's ſabre from below his coat, and ſaid, "Friend, we are betray-"ed, follow me, and do not let me "fall alive into the hands of my "enemies." I wanted to ſpeak to him—he ſeized me haſtily by the hand, ſaying, "Follow—there is "not a moment to ſpare." I inſtantly threw my coat on my ſhoulders, pulled on my boots, but had not even time to take my little concealed caſh along with me.

We went out, and he ſaid to the ſentry, "Your priſoner is going "with me into the officer's room, "ſtay here." We actually did go in, but immediately retired unperceived, by a ſide door. My friend was willing to go with me under the arſenal to the covert-way, then get over the paliſades, and ſave ourſelves the beſt way we could.

We

We had ſcarce gone a hundred paces, when we were met by Major Quaadt and the adjutant.—Schell ſtarted! ſtepped upon the rampart, and leaped over the parapet, which at that part was not very high. I followed, and ſprung after him, without receiving any other injury but a ſlight hurt on my ſhoulder; my friend had the misfortune to diſlocate his ancle, which gave him the moſt excruciating pain; he immediately drew his ſword, intreated me to run him through the body, and endeavour to ſave myſelf.

He was a ſmall, weak man; I took him in my arms, helped him over the paliſades, aided him to get upon my back, and run with him without knowing where. It is worthy of remark, how fortune favoured us in ſo deſperate an enterpriſe; the ſun was then juſt ſetting, and the air exceedingly cold, raw, and cloudy; nobody durſt attempt to leap after us; the alarm was great —every one knew us—but before any body could come from the citadel into the town, and from thence through the gate to follow us, we had got at leaſt half a league.

The alarm cannons were fired, as in all caſes of deſertions, before we were one hundred paces diſtant; this terrified my friend ſtill more, as he very well knew, that there was ſeldom an inſtance of a deſerter eſcaping who had not at leaſt two hours ſtart before the guns were fired, becauſe all paſſages are immediately beſet by peaſants and huſſars, who are particularly ſtrict and watchful. As ſoon as a man is miſſed, the gunner of the main guard runs immediately to the fort, and fires the guns from three ſides of it, which are kept loaded day and night. We were not above five hundred yards diſtant from the fortifications, before every thing was in motion both behind and before us; we fled in day-light, and luckily eſcaped; for which I partly thank my preſence of mind, and the character I had eſtabliſhed. Add to this, that nobody imagined we had undertaken ſo weighty an enterpriſe in ſo deſperate a manner without being properly armed; no perſon knew that we had been ſo over-haſty, or that Schell had nothing but his ſword, and I but a poor non-commiſſioned officer's ſabre. Amongſt the officers ordered to follow us, was lieutenant Bart, my friend, and Captain Zerbſt, of Fouquet's regiment, who always loved me with fraternal affection, we met him not far from the borders of Bohemia, where he called to me, "Brother, "keep more to the left, and endea- "vour to gain yonder houſe which "ſtands by itſelf, that is the border "—the huſſars are gone to the "right!" He moved ſideways, as if he had not obſerved us; we had not much to fear from the officers, they always aſſiſted each other, where they had it in their power; for brotherly love, or the mutual affection of comrades was, at that time, ſo great in Pruſſia, and a word of honour had ſuch force, that even while priſoner in Glatz, I had been hunting with two officers at the baron Stilfried's, in Neurode, during thirty-ſix hours; lieutenant Lunitz remained in bed at the priſon, in my ſtead, and the major knew it. In thoſe days, they would always truſt to each other's word of honour; and ſo well was Trenck known in Glatz, that he was even taken out of jail, and ſuffered to amuſe himſelf at the chaſe on the borders of Bohemia. The governor was the deceived

perſon, in ſpite of all his command.

This anecdote will ſerve to ſhow the character of the nation at that time; and it was eaſy for the great Frederick to conquer his enemies with ſuch officers, who built ſo much upon a word of honour. At preſent deſpotic power has introduced the rod of ſlavery, and mechanical ſubordination has baniſhed thoſe noble ſentiments and concord; at the ſame time, has increaſed ſuſpicion, which has conſequently weakened the animated ſoul of the Brandenburg ſoldier. And it is to be lamented, that all other ſtates of Europe ſeem falling into the ſame decline.

Scarce had I carried my friend three hundred paces till I ſet him down, looked about me, but the air was ſo thick, that I could neither ſee the town, nor the citadel, of courſe we ourſelves were inviſible. My preſence of mind never left me a moment; death, or liberty, was my poſitive determination. I aſked my friend Schell, Where we were? Where lay Bohemia? Where flowed the Neiſſe? The good man had not yet recovered himſelf enough for recollection, but begged that I would not leave him behind me alive; and ſeemed to deſpair of all probability of eſcaping. After having ſolemnly promiſed, that in caſe there was no other reſource, I would deliver him from the ignominious death of a gibbet; I endeavoured to cheer up, and encourage him by my own example and high ſpirits; he then looked around, and recollected, he obſerved, that we were at no great diſtance from the field *porte*. I again aſked, Where is the Neiſſe? He pointed ſideways, "Friend," ſaid I, "we have been ſeen moving towards the Bohemian mountains, where it will be impoſſible "for us to paſs, for there the cordon is beſet, and the huſſars, and "all our purſuers have taken that "route." I took him again upon my back, and carried him towards the Neiſſe; we now heard a dreadful noiſe in all the neighbouring villages, and the boors who had ſurrounded the deſertion cordon, were running about, and giving the alarm on all ſides. The manner of acting in Pruſſia, on ſuch occaſion, may not be known to every reader. I will here give a ſhort account of it.

As ſoon as the alarm guns begin to thunder, the officers for purſuit, who are always named in daily orders, muſt be immediately ready. ——In each village, there are countrymen appointed to take poſſeſſion of all poſts round about the town. The officers immediately ſee if all theſe poſts are properly guarded, and if the peaſants do their duty; by theſe means it is ſcarcely poſſible for a ſoldier to eſcape, unleſs he has at leaſt been an hour upon his way before the three firſt cannons are fired.

The Neiſſe was but a little frozen; I took my friend and conducted him as far as I could wade. In the deepeſt part, which was not quite three fathoms broad, he was obliged to hold faſt by my hair, and in this manner we landed ſafe on the other ſide.

My father had us all taught to ſwim, and him I have to thank, that this art, which is ſo eaſily learnt in youth, has many a time ſaved my life, and made me more determined in great dangers. Every prince, who has occaſion for ſoldiers, ſhould be attentive to this advice, that children who ſhould not

ſear powder, ought not to be afraid of water; how uſeful would it often prove! if they could ſwim, a battalion, or at leaſt fifty volunteers, over a river, and neither want bridges for a ſurpriſe, nor a retreat.

Conceive how pleaſant it muſt have been to ſwim on the 24th of December, and then to remain eighteen hours without ſhade or ſhelter, under the canopy of heaven! About ſeven o'clock in the evening, every cloud diſappeared, and it grew moon-light and froſty. I had my friend to carry, therefore was warm, but fatigued; he, on the other hand, endured cold; the pain of a diſlocated ancle, which I endeavoured in vain to reduce; and thereby had danger and death before my eyes at every ſtep.

As ſoon as we had reached the oppoſite ſhore of the Neiſſe, we were out of danger of the purſuit, for nobody looked for us on the road to Sileſia. I walked a good mile and a half by the ſide of the river, but when we got to the firſt villages in our rear, which bounded the alarm cordon, and were by experience well known to Schell, we found, by accident, a ſmall fiſhing-boat, broke the lock, ferried over, and in a ſhort time gained the mountains. There we ſat ourſelves down upon the ſnow; our courage increaſed, and we held a council of what was further to be done. I cut a ſtick for Schell, with which he now and then helped himſelf forwards on one leg, and let me reſt a little; this was a work of much difficulty, the ſnow being very deep, and its ſurface exceeding hard.

Thus paſt the night, whilſt we tumbled about and over our knees in ſnow, without making much way; the lofty mountains were here and there inſurmountable; the day began to break, and we fancied ourſelves near the borders, which were four German miles diſtant from Glatz; but to our great terror and ſurpriſe, we heard the Glatz clock ſtrike. I now felt myſelf unable any longer to endure the extreme fatigue and cold; the pain of my friend's leg became almoſt inſupportable. In this ſituation, and tortured by craving hunger, we thought it impoſſible to ſurvive the day. After a long conſultation, we arrived, in about an hour and a half, at a village which lay at the foot of the mountain. About three hundred yards on this ſide of the village ſtood two ſeparate houſes, therefore we took the following reſolution, which we immediately put into execution.

We had both loſt our hats in getting over the ramparts of Glatz; Schell, as officer of the guard, had ſtill his gorget and ſaſh about him, which might procure us ſome reſpect from the country people. I cut my finger, and beſmeared my face, ſhirt, and coat, with blood, like a man ſhockingly wounded, at the ſame time bound up my head. In this condition, I carried Schell to the end of a thicket, not far from the houſes, where he tied my hands behind my back, but in ſuch a manner that I could eaſily diſengage them, pretended to be in a great paſſion, beat about with his ſtick, and called for help. Two old peaſants came running towards us—Schell immediately cried out—"Run to the "village, let the judge get a cart "and horſes ready in a moment— "I have got the raſcal—he has ſtab- "bed my horſe, by which I have "ſprained my leg—however I have "ſlaſhed him—make haſte—a cart

" —that he may be hanged before " he dies."

Thus I ſuffered myſelf to be dragged into a room; one of the boors ran into the village. An old woman, and a pretty young girl, took compaſſion upon me, and brought us ſome bread and milk. But how was I aſtoniſhed, when the old countryman called Schell by his name, and aſſured us, that he knew we were the two deſerters whom an officer came after the night before, had named in the public houſe, and deſcribed our dreſs, with the whole ſtory of our flight. This peaſant knew Schell perſonally, for his ſon ſerved in the ſame company, and he had often ſpoke to him at Habelſchwerd, when he was quartered there. Nothing now remained, but an immediate reſolution and preſence of mind; I ran quickly into the ſtable, and Schell kept the old boor in the room, who was a very honeſt man, and even told us the way towards Bohemia; we were not above a mile and a half from Glatz, and had wandered backwards and forwards near ſix miles in the mountains. The girl followed me; I found three horſes in the ſtable, but no bridles; I beſeeched her, in a piteous manner, to help me; ſhe was moved, and immediately gave me two. I took the horſes out—called to Schell—he appeared with his lame leg—I helped him to mount—the old countryman cried and begged for his horſes; but, fortunately, had neither the courage nor inclination to oppoſe us; for, defenceleſs as we were, he might at leaſt have detained us with a pitchfork till the village was alarmed. We rode off without either ſaddles or hats, Schell, in uniform, with his ſaſh and gorget, and I in my red garde du corps uniform; but our hopes were nearly fruſtrated, for my horſe would not ſtir from the place; as a good rider, however, I found means to make him go on. Schell rode firſt; but ſcarce were we a hundred paces diſtant, before we ſaw the inhabitants haſtening out of the village; fortunately for us, it was a holiday, every one was at church, and the peaſant, whom we had ſent, was obliged to call them out; it was about nine o' clock, and had they been at home, we muſt inevitably have been loſt. I was fatigued, and Schell lame, we could not poſſibly have eſcaped. The road led directly to Wunſchelburg; there was no way of getting through this town, Schell had been quartered there about a month before; every body knew him, and our equipage, without either ſaddle or hat, looked like nothing elſe but deſertion. The horſes, however, went tolerably well, and we eſcaped ſafe, although there were eighty infantry and twelve huſſars poſted to take up deſerters. We went round the town, through the ſuburbs, and as he knew the way to Bummorn, we arrived ſafe there about eleven o' clock. It was hereabouts, as I have already obſerved, we met captain Zerbſt; the joy we felt that day, is not to be deſcribed.

An honeſt man, who undeſervedly pined in a priſon, and by his own exertions eſcapes the chains of ſlavery, who has, in ſpite of the might of kings and of mankind conſpired againſt him, procured his own liberty, feels, on ſuch an occaſion, ſo great an abhorrence againſt all deſpotic power, that I cannot yet conceive how I ever could determine to live in a monarchial ſtate, where freedom, fortune, honour, and contentment, depend upon the will of a ruler.

In all the labours I ever undertook in

in this world, I never was overpowered with ſuch a heart-felt joy, or experienced ſuch glorious and pure delight, as at that time, when I ſaved the man, who, for my liberty, had riſqued an ignominious death, and carried him, upwards of twelve hours, upon my ſhoulders; alive, we never would have been brought back to Glatz."

Anecdotes of Lee Boo, *Second Son of* Abba Thulle, *King of the* Pelew Iſlands, *from the Time of his leaving* Canton *in the* Morſe East Indiaman *to the Time of his Death: from an Account of the* Pelew Iſlands, *ſituated in the Weſtern Part of the Pacific Ocean. Compoſed from the Journals and Communications of Captain* Henry Wilſon, *and ſome of his Officers, who, in* Auguſt 1783, *were there ſhipwrecked, in the* Antelope, *a Packet belonging to the Honourable* East India Company, *by* George Keate, *Eſq. F.R.S. and S.A.*

"I SHALL cloſe this work with ſuch anecdotes of Prince Lee Boo, as I have received from ſome of my particular friends who often ſaw him, added to thoſe I have *myſelf* been witneſs of:—inſignificant as the amount of the whole may be, yet I think them worth recording;—from a trifling ſketch, or a mere outline, enough may be gained of character, to convey to the mind no fallacious idea of the object aimed at.—In the preſent caſe, no more than an outline can be delineated. Had not this youth, who came here almoſt a ſtranger to our language, and who lived little more than five months with us, been ſnatched away ſo ſoon to fill an early grave, I might have been enabled to offer the public a more finiſhed picture of him."

"He was extremely deſirous of knowing the name and country of every ſhip he met at ſea, and would repeat what he was told over and over till he had fixed it well in his memory; and, as each inquiry was gratified, he made a knot on his *Line*; but theſe knots now having greatly multiplied, he was obliged to repeat them over every day to refreſh his memory, and often to recur to Captain Wilſon, or others, when he had forgot what any particular knot referred to. The officers in the Morſe, with whom only he aſſociated, when they ſaw him thus buſied with his *Line*, uſed to ſay he was reading his journal. He frequently aſked after all the people of the Oroolong, who had gone aboard different ſhips at China, particularly after the Captain's ſon and Mr. Sharp.

He had not been long on the voyage before he ſolicited Captain Wilſon to get him a book, and point out to him the letters, that he might, when he knew them, be inſtructed in reading; all convenient opportunities were allotted to gratify this wiſh of his young pupil, who diſcovered great readineſs in comprehending every information given him.

On arriving at Saint Helena, he was much ſtruck with the ſoldiers and cannon on the fortifications; and the coming in ſoon after of four Engliſh men of war, afforded him a ſight highly delighting, particularly thoſe which had two tier of guns. It was explained to him that theſe kind of ſhips were intended only for fighting, and that the other veſſels which he then ſaw in the

Bay were deſtined for commerce, to tranſport and exchange from one country to another its produce and manufactures.—Captain Buller, the Commander of his Majeſty's ſhip the Chaſer, had the goodneſs to take him on board his own, and another ſhip, to let him ſee the men exerciſed at the great guns and ſmall arms, which exceedingly impreſſed his imagination.

On being carried to ſee a ſchool, he expreſſed a wiſh that he could learn as the boys did, feeling his own deficiency in knowledge.

He deſired to ride on horſeback into the country, which he was permitted to do; he ſat well, and galloped, ſhewed no fear of falling, and appeared highly pleaſed both with the novelty and pleaſure of the exerciſe."

"Before the Morſe quitted Saint Helena, the Laſcelles arrived, by which occurrence Lee Boo had an interview with his firſt friend, Mr. Sharp; he had a ſight of him from a window, and ran out with the utmoſt impatience to take him by the hand; happy, after ſo long a ſeparation, to meet him again, and evincing by his ardour the grateful ſentiments he retained of the attention that gentleman had ſhewn him.

As he drew near the Britiſh Channel, the number of veſſels that he obſerved purſuing their different courſes, increaſing ſo much, he was obliged to give up the keeping of his journal; but was ſtill very inquiſitive to know whither they were ſailing.—When the Morſe got to the Iſle of Wight, Captain Wilſon, his brother, the Prince, with ſeveral other paſſengers, quitted her, and coming in a boat between the Needles, arrived ſafe at Portſmouth the *fourteenth* of July 1784.—On landing, the number and ſize of the men of war then in harbour, the variety of houſes, and the ramparts, were all objects of attraction; he ſeemed ſo totally abſorbed in ſilent ſurprize, that he had no leiſure to aſk any queſtions.—The officer of the Morſe charged with the diſpatches ſetting off immediately for London, Captain Wilſon, impatient to ſee his family, accompanied him, leaving his young traveller under the care of his brother, to follow him by a coach, which was to ſet off in the evening. As ſoon as he reached town, he was conveyed to the Captain's houſe at Rotherhithe, where he was not a little happy to rejoin his adopted father, and in being introduced to his family.

Though part of his journey had paſſed during the night, yet, with returning day, his eyes had full employment on every ſide; and when he had got to what was now to be, for ſome time, his deſtined home, he arrived in all the natural glow of his youthful ſpirits. Whatever he had obſerved in ſilence, was now eagerly diſcloſed. He deſcribed all the circumſtances of his journey; ſaid it was very pleaſant—that he had been put into a little houſe, which was run away with by horſes—that he ſlept, but ſtill was going on; and, whilſt he went one way, the fields, houſes, and trees, all went another—every thing, from the quickneſs of travelling, appearing to him to be in motion.

At the hour of reſt he was ſhewn by Mr. M. Wilſon up to his chamber, where, for the firſt time, he ſaw a four-poſt bed; he could ſcarce conceive what it meant—he jumped in, and jumped out again; felt and pulled aſide the curtains; got into bed,

bed, and then got out a ſecond time, to admire its exterior form. At length, having become acquainted with its uſe and convenience, he laid himſelf down to ſleep, ſaying, *that in England there was a houſe for every thing.*

It was not, I believe, more than a week after his arrival, when I was invited, by my late valued friend Robert Raſhleigh, Eſq. to dinner, where Captain Wilſon, and his young charge, were expected.—Lee Boo then poſſeſſed but very little Engliſh, yet, between words and action, made himſelf tolerably underſtood, and ſeemed to comprehend the greater part of what was ſaid to him, eſpecially, having the Captain by him to explain whatever he did not clearly comprehend.—He was dreſt as an Engliſhman, excepting that he wore his hair in the faſhion of his own country; appeared to be between nineteen and twenty years of age, was of a middling ſtature, and had a countenance ſo ſtrongly marked with ſenſibility and good-humour, that it inſtantly prejudiced every one in his favour; and this countenance was enlivened by eyes ſo quick and intelligent, that they might really be ſaid to announce his thoughts and conceptions without the aid of language.

Though the accounts I had previouſly received of this *new man* (as he was called at Macao) had greatly raiſed my expectations, yet when I had been a little time in his company, I was perfectly aſtoniſhed at the eaſe and gentleneſs of his manners; he was lively and pleaſant, and had a politeneſs without form, or reſtraint, which appeared to be the reſult of natural good-breeding.—As I chanced to ſit near him at table, I paid him a great deal of artention, which he ſeemed to be very ſenſible of.—Many queſtions were of courſe put to Captain Wilſon by the company, concerning this perſonage, and the country he had brought him from, which no European had ever viſited before; he obligingly entered on many particular circumſtances which were highly intereſting, ſpoke of the battles in which his people had aſſiſted the King of Pelew, and of the peculiar manner the natives had of tying up their hair when going to war; Lee Boo, who fully underſtood what his friend was explaining, very obligingly, and unaſked, untied his own, and threw it into the form Captain Wilſon had been deſcribing."

"I went to Rotherhithe, a few days after, to ſee Captain Wilſon; Lee Boo was reading at a window, he recollected me inſtantly, and flew with eagerneſs to the door to meet me, looked on me as a friend, and ever after attached himſelf to me, appearing to be happy whenever we met together.—In this viſit I had a good deal of converſation with him, and we mutually managed to be pretty well underſtood by each other; he ſeemed to be pleaſed with every thing about him, ſaid, *All fine country, fine ſtreet, fine coach, and houſe upon houſe up to ſky*, putting alternately one hand above another, by which I found (their own habitations being all on the ground) that every ſeparate ſtory of our buildings he at that time conſidered as a diſtinct houſe."

"After he had been awhile ſettled, and a little habituated to the manners of this country, he was ſent every day to an Academy at Rotherhithe, to be inſtructed in reading and writing, which he was him-

ſelf eager to attain, and moſt aſſiduous in learning; his whole deportment, whilſt there, was ſo engaging, that it not only gained him the eſteem of the gentleman under whoſe tuition he was placed, but alſo the affection of his young companions;—in the hours of receſs, when he returned to the Captain's houſe, he amuſed the whole family by his vivacity, noticing every particularity he ſaw in any of his ſchool-fellows, with great good-humour mimicking their different manners, ſometimes ſaying he would have a ſchool of his own when he returned to Pelew, and ſhould be thought very wiſe when he taught the great people their letters."

"Wherever this young man went, nothing eſcaped his obſervation; he had an ardent deſire of information, and thankfully received it, always expreſſing a wiſh to know by what means effects which he noticed, were produced. I was one day in company with him, where a young lady ſat down to the harpſichord, to ſee how he was affected with muſic; he appeared greatly ſurprized that the inſtrument could throw out ſo much ſound; it was opened, to let him ſee its interior conſtruction, he pored over it with great attention, watching how the jacks were moved, and ſeemed far more diſpoſed to puzzle out the means which produced the ſounds, than to attend to the muſic that was playing. He was afterwards requeſted to give us a Pelew ſong; he did not wait for thoſe repeated intreaties which ſingers uſually require, but obligingly began one as ſoon as aſked; the tones, however, were ſo harſh and diſcordant, and his breaſt ſeemed to labour with ſo much exertion, that his whole countenance was changed by it, and every one's ears ſtunned with the horrid notes. From this ſample of Pelew ſinging, it is not to be wondered, that a chorus of ſuch performers had the effect (as hath been related) of making our countrymen at Oroolong fly to their arms;—it might, in truth, have alarmed a whole garriſon.—Though when he had been ſome time here, he readily caught two or three Engliſh ſongs, in which his voice appeared by no means inharmonious.

Lee Boo's temper was very mild and compaſſionate, diſcovering, in various inſtances, that he had brought from his father's territories that ſpirit of philanthropy, which we have ſeen reigned there; yet he at all times governed it by diſcretion and judgment.—If he ſaw the *young* aſking relief, he would rebuke them with what little Engliſh he was maſter of, telling them, it was a ſhame to beg when they were able to work; but the intreaties of *old age* he could never withſtand, ſaying, *muſt give poor old man—old man no able to work*.

I am perfectly convinced, that Captain Wilſon, from the confidence which the King had repoſed in him, would have held himſelf inviolably bound to protect and ſerve this young creature to the utmoſt extent of his abilities; but, independant of what he felt was due to the noble character of Abba Thulle, there was ſo much gentleneſs, and ſo much gratitude lodged at Lee Boo's heart, that not only the Captain, but every part of his family, viewed him with the warmeſt ſentiments of diſintereſted affection.—Mr. H. Wilſon, the Captain's ſon, being a youth of a very amiable character, and a few years younger than

than Lee Boo, they had, during their voyage to, and ſtay in China, become mutually attached to each other, and meeting again under the father's roof, their friendſhip was ſtill more cemented; the young Prince looked on him as a brother, and, in his leiſure hours from the Academy, was happy to find in him a companion to converſe with, to exerciſe the throwing of the ſpear, or partake in any innocent recreation.

Boyam, the Malay, whom the King had ſent to attend on his ſon, proving an unprincipled, diſhoneſt fellow, Lee Boo was ſo diſguſted with his conduct, that he intreated Captain Wilſon to ſend him back to Sumatra (which he had learned was the Malay's own country); and Tom Roſe, a man of tried fidelity, and who had picked up a great deal of the Pelew language, being at this time in England, was engaged to ſupply his place; an exchange which gave great ſatisfaction to all parties.

Captain Wilſon being now and then incommoded with ſevere headachs, which were ſometimes relieved by lying down on the bed; on theſe occaſions the feelings of Lee Boo were ever alarmed. He appeared always unhappy, would creep up ſoftly to his protector's chamber, and ſit ſilent by his bedſide for a long time together, without moving, peeping gently from time to time between the curtains, to ſee if he ſlept, or lay eaſy.

As the anecdotes of this ſingular youth are but ſcanty, being all unfortunately limited to a very ſhort period, I would unwillingly, in this place, withhold one, where his own heart deſcribed itſelf. The captain having been all the morning in London, after dinner aſked his ſon if he had been at ſome place, he had, before he went to town, directed him to call at, with a particular meſſage? The fact was, the two young friends had been amuſing themſelves with throwing the ſpear, and the buſineſs had been totally forgotten.—Captain Wilſon was hurt at the neglect, and told his ſon it was very idle and careleſs; this being ſpoken in an impatient tone of voice, which Lee Boo conceiving was a mark of anger in the father, ſlipt unobſerved out of the parlour. The matter was inſtantly forgotten, and ſomething elſe talked of, when Lee Boo being miſſed, Harry Wilſon was ſent to look after him, who finding him in a back room quite dejected, deſired him to return to the family; Lee Boo took his young friend by the hand, and on entering the parlour went up to the father, and, laying hold of his hand joined it with that of his ſon, and preſſing them together, dropped over both thoſe tears of ſenſibility, which his affectionate heart could not on the occaſion ſuppreſs.

Captain Wilſon and the young Prince dining with me early after his arrival, I was aſking how he was affected by painting; on mentioning the ſubject, Dr. Carmichael Smyth, whom I had requeſted to meet this ſtranger, wiſhed me to bring a miniature of myſelf, that we might all thereby obſerve if it ſtruck him; he took it in his hand, and inſtantly darting his eyes toward me, called out, *Miſſer Keate —very nice, very good.*—The captain then aſking him, if he underſtood what it ſignified? he replied, *Lee Boo underſtand well—that Miſſer Keate die—this Miſſer Keate live.*—A treatiſe on the utility and intent

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of portrait-painting could not have better defined the art than this little ſentence.

Mrs. Wilſon deſiring Lee Boo, who was on the oppoſite ſide of the table, to ſend her ſome cherries, perceiving that he was going to take them up with his fingers, jocoſely noticed it to him, he inſtantly reſorted to a ſpoon; but, ſenſible that he had diſcovered a little unpoliteneſs, his countenance was in a moment ſuffuſed with a bluſh, that viſibly forced itſelf through his dark complexion."

"He was fond of riding in a coach beyond any other conveyance, becauſe, he ſaid, people could be carried where they wanted to go, and at the ſame time ſit and converſe together. He ſeemed particularly pleaſed at going to church, and, though he could not comprehend the ſervice, yet he perfectly underſtood the intent of it, and always behaved there with remarkable propriety and attention.

Captain Wilſon kept him from going abroad, except to viſit friends, for the reaſon already aſſigned *, as as alſo from another prudential conſideration, that his mind might be tranquil, nor too much drawn off from the great object in view, the attaining the language, which would enable him to comprehend fully every purpoſed information, and to enjoy better whatever he ſhould then be ſhewn. The river, the ſhipping, and the bridges he was forcibly ſtruck with; and he was ſeveral times taken to ſee the guards exerciſed and march in St. James's park, a ſight which gratified him much, every thing that was military greatly engaging his attention. To a young creature, ſituated as he was, and whoſe eye and mind were ever in queſt of information, circumſtances perpetually occurred, that *at the time* intereſted thoſe who were about him, but which *at preſent* would be treſpaſſing too much on the reader to mention.

I went to ſee him the morning after Lunardi's firſt aſcent in the balloon, not doubting but that I ſhould have found him to the greateſt degree aſtoniſhed at an exhibition which had excited ſo much curioſity even amongſt ourſelves; but, to my great ſurprize, it did not appear to have engaged him in the leaſt. He ſaid, *he thought it a very fooliſh thing to ride in the air like a bird, when a man could travel ſo much more pleaſantly on horſeback, or in a coach.*—He was either not aware of the difficulty, or hazard of the enterprize, or it is not improbable that a man flying up through the clouds, ſuſpended at a balloon, might have been ranked by him as a common occurrence, in a country which was perpetually ſpreading before him ſo many ſubjects of ſurprize."

"He was now proceeding with haſty ſtrides in gaining the Engliſh language, and advancing ſo rapidly with his pen, that he would probably in a ſhort time have written a very fine hand, when he was overtaken with that very diſeaſe, which with ſo much caution had been guarded againſt. On the 16th of December he felt himſelf much indiſpoſed, and in a day or two after an eruption appeared all over him.—Captain Wilſon called to inform

* Leſt he ſhould accidentally catch the ſmall-pox, for which it was intended that he ſhould be inoculated.

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me of his uneaſineſs, and was then going to Dr. Carmichael Smyth, to requeſt he would ſee him, apprehending that it might be the ſmall-pox.

Dr. Smyth, with whoſe profeſſional abilities are united every accompliſhment of the ſcholar and the gentleman, and whoſe friendſhip I feel a pride in acknowledging myſelf long poſſeſſed of, deſired me to go with him to Rotherhithe. When he deſcended from Lee Boo's chamber (where he rather wiſhed me not to go) he told the family that there was not a doubt with reſpect to the diſeaſe, and was ſorry to add (what he thought it right to prepare them for) that the appearances were ſuch as almoſt totally precluded the hope of a favourable termination; but that he had ordered whatever the preſent moment required. Captain Wilſon earneſtly ſolicited the continuance, if poſſible, of his viſits, and was aſſured, that, however inconvenient the diſtance, he would daily attend the iſſue of the diſtemper.

When I went the ſecond day, I found Mr. Sharp there, a gentleman ſo often mentioned in the foregoing narrative, who, hearing of his young friend's illneſs, had come to aſſiſt Captain Wilſon, nor ever ſtirred from the houſe, till poor Lee Boo had yielded to his fate.

The Captain having never had the ſmall-pox himſelf, was now precluded going into Lee Boo's room, who, informed of the cauſe, acquieſced in being deprived of ſeeing him, ſtill continuing to be full of inquiries after his health, fearing he might catch the diſeaſe; but though Captain Wilſon complied with the requeſt of his family in not going into the chamber, yet he never abſented himſelf from the houſe; and Mr. Sharp conſtantly took care that every direction was duly attended to, and from him I received the account of our unfortunate young ſtranger during his illneſs, which he bore with great firmneſs of mind, never refuſing to take any thing that was ordered for him, when told that Dr. Smyth, (to whoſe opinion he paid the greateſt deference) deſired it.—Mrs. Wilſon happening to have ſome indiſpoſition at this time, which confined her to her bed, Lee Boo, on hearing of it, became impatient, ſaying, *What, Mother ill! Lee Boo get up to ſee her*: which he did, and would go to her apartment, to be ſatisfied how ſhe really was.

On the Thurſday before his death, walking acroſs the room, he looked at himſelf in the glaſs (his face being then much ſwelled and diſfigured); he ſhook his head, and turned away, as if diſguſted at his own appearance, and told Mr. Sharp, that *his father and mother much grieve, for they knew he was very ſick*; this he repeated ſeveral times.—At night, growing worſe, he appeared to think himſelf in danger; he took Mr. Sharp by the hand, and, fixing his eyes ſtedfaſtly on him, with earneſtneſs ſaid, *Good friend, when you go to Pelew, tell Abba Thulle that Lee Boo take much drink to make ſmall-pox go away, but he die*;—*that the Captain and Mother* (meaning Mrs. Wilſon) *very kind—all Engliſh very good men*;—*was much ſorry he could not ſpeak to the king the number of fine things the Engliſh had got*.—Then he reckoned what had been given him as preſents, which he wiſhed Mr. Sharp would diſtribute, when he went back, among the Chiefs; and requeſted

queſted that very particular care might be taken of the blue glaſs barrels on pedeſtals, which he directed ſhould be given to the King.

Poor Tom Roſe, who ſtood at the foot of his young maſter's bed, was ſhedding tears at hearing all this, which Lee Boo obſerving, rebuked him for his weakneſs, aſking, *Why ſhould he be crying ſo becauſe Lee Boo die?*

Whatever he felt, his ſpirit was above complaining; and Mrs. Wilſon's chamber being adjoining to his own, he often called out to inquire if ſhe was better, always adding, leſt ſhe might ſuffer any diſquietude on his account, *Lee Boo do well, Mother.* The ſmall-pox, which had been out eight or nine days, not riſing, he began to feel himſelf ſink, and told Mr. Sharp *he was going away.* His mind, however, remained perfectly clear and calm to the laſt, though what he ſuffered in the latter part of his exiſtence was ſevere indeed; the ſtrength of his conſtitution ſtruggled long and hard againſt the venom of his diſtemper, till exhauſted nature yielded in the conteſt."

"Captain Wilſon notified to the India Houſe the unfortunate death of this young man; and received orders to conduct every thing with proper decency reſpecting his funeral. He was interred in Rotherhithe church-yard, the Captain and his brother attending. All the young people of the Academy joined in this teſtimony of regard; and the concourſe of people at the church was ſo great, that it appeared as if the whole pariſh had aſſembled to join in ſeeing the laſt ceremonies paid to one who was ſo much beloved by all who had known him in it.

The India Company, ſoon after, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave, with the following inſcription, which I have tranſcribed from it:

To the Memory
of Prince LEE BOO,
A native of the PELEW, or PALOS Iſlands;
and Son to ABBA THULLE, Rupack
or King
of the Iſland COOROORAA;
who departed this Life on the 27th of December 1784,
aged 20 Years;
This Stone is inſcribed,
by the Honourable United EAST INDIA COMPANY,
as a Teſtimony of Eſteem,
for the humane and kind Treatment afforded
by HIS FATHER to the Crew of their Ship
the ANTELOPE, Captain WILSON,
which was wrecked off that Iſland
in the Night of the 9th of Auguſt 1783.

Stop, Reader, ſtop!—let NATURE claim a Tear—
A Prince of *Mine*, LEE BOO, lies bury'd here."

Some Remarks and Anecdotes relative to the late Ducheſs of Kingſton; *from An Authentic Detail of Particulars relative to her Grace, during her Connection with the Duke, her Reſidence at* Dreſden, Vienna, St. Peterſburgh, Paris, *&c.*

"SHE was a woman, the leading features of whoſe character are more diſcoverable from a review of her conduct, than from any delineation in the power of the pen to give. If ſhe might be allowed to know herſelf, her own deſcription of the mutability of her nature ſhould paſs for the truth. Her words were theſe: "I ſhould "deteſt myſelf, if I were *two hours* "*in the ſame temper.*" What ſhe ſaid, ſhe verified; for ſhe was alter-

nately changing from humour to humour. This inſtability it was which, in the early part of life, occaſioned her to be ſurrounded more with admirers, than friends; and from the hour of her conviction, to the moment of her death, ſhe had not one friend attached to her from a principle of cordial eſteem. The Empreſs of Ruſſia was much diſpoſed to favour her; but, after the novelty of the meeting was over, there was even too much of fameneſs in the interviews with her Majeſty, to be endured. Thoſe to whom the Ducheſs ſhewed any thing like ſteadineſs, were companions of her own ſelection, and ſhe was ever ſure to err moſt groſsly in her choice. Her benefits, and her friendſhips, were beſtowed on the unworthy. Of the latter aſſertion, the following anecdote is a proof:

In one of her peregrinations, the Ducheſs met with a perſon, habited as a pilgrim. His figure was a good one. In his eye there was penetration, and in the whole of his countenance there was marked expreſſion. He was much inclined to cultivate an intimacy with the Ducheſs; but he rather choſe to correſpond, than converſe with her. This aroſe from a conſciouſneſs of a brilliancy of ſtyle of which he was maſter; and, inſtantly perceiving how open to flattery the lady was, he thought it could be more delicately conveyed in an epiſtolary way. He carried his point—left her Grace, when ſhe ſtrongly ſolicited him to remain with her. The correſpondence commenced. The letters teemed with profeſſions of admiration of ſo illuſtrious a character as the Ducheſs. She was more than woman! The wonder of the age! and deſerving celebrity to the end of time! This incenſe was the more acceptable, becauſe offered by a total ſtranger. Her Grace became enamoured with the *pilgrim*, and, as there was ſomething of myſtery in his manner and garb, ſhe was ſolicitous to have the whole explained. This favour, however, was denied, and the only thing which ſhe could obtain was, an appointment to meet her at a future time. The correſpondence, in the interim, continued; and the letters were in the ſame adulatory vein. The appointed time arrived; and the Ducheſs, inſtead of a *pilgrim*, met an *abbé*. It then became neceſſary to throw the veil a little aſide. The ſtranger gave an account of himſelf, and thus ran his ſtory:—That he was by birth an *Albanian Prince*. That he had travelled through Europe, under different diſguiſes, and had only formed attachments with the moſt exalted perſonages. At Berlin, Prince Henry of Pruſſia had honoured him with his intimacy; at Rome, moſt of the cardinals were his familiars; their Neapolitan majeſties particularly eſteemed him; and with the Emperor of Germany, he was moſt intimate! This ſtyle was the very thing. It operated like a charm. The name of the ſtranger was required; and he announced his travelling one to be "Worta." Who Worta really was, the Ducheſs never inquired. She took it on truſt that he was a very great man; and as for his honeſty, it was a quality entirely out of the queſtion. The diamond box was exhibited to Worta, and he admired as the Ducheſs directed. A ring of value was preſented him; and he being a *prince*, it was deemed very gracious in him to accept it. At laſt, the object in view was diſcloſed.

diſcloſed. Worta having ſatisfied himſelf with the viſits he made to the different courts of the reigning powers, propoſed returning to his own country; and could his bed be honoured with a partner like the Ducheſs, a ſcene of connubial felicity would be completed. To this language the Ducheſs liſtened with infinite pleaſure; and, had there not been an inſurmountable obſtacle, ſhe actually would have given her hand and fortune to an adventurer. This Worta very lately committed ſeveral forgeries in Holland, and being apprehended, he diſpatched himſelf by a doſe of poiſon *.

As a contraſt to this inſtance of impoſture and credulity, there was a *real* prince, who made the Ducheſs an offer of his hand, and that after an attachment which had ſubſiſted twenty years. On a viſit to the court of Saxony, the Ducheſs firſt met Prince Radzivil, an illuſtrious perſonage, who had pretenſions to the crown of Poland †. This high character lived in a ſtyle of dignified ſplendor, which excited the admiration of thoſe who knew not the amount of his immenſe revenues. The Ducheſs, ſtruck with the grandeur of his ſtate, practiſed every ingratiating art which might attract eſteem. In this, ſhe proved ſo ſucceſsful as to engage the heart of the Prince in her favour. This was all ſhe wanted; for, the conſequences of the engagement were, magnificent preſents, and a correſpondence carried on, during a ſucceſſion of years. When the Ducheſs was about to make a ſecond viſit to Peterſburgh, propoſing to travel thither by land, ſhe ſignified, in a letter to Prince Radzivil, her intention of taking his dominions in her route. The Prince, the force of whoſe affection had not been abated by time, received the determination as an announcement of his approaching happineſs. The place of meeting was fixed, and, as there was ſomething ſingularly romantic in the ſtyle in which the interview was conducted, a deſcription of it, as detailed by a foreign gentleman, who was of the party, may not prove unentertaining to the reader.

Berge, a village in a duchy belonging to Prince Radzivil, was aſſigned for the rendezvous. It is ſituated about forty miles from *Riga*. The Ducheſs being there arrived, was waited on by an officer in the retinue of the Prince, who was commiſſioned to inform her Grace, that his maſter propoſed to diſpenſe with the ceremonials of rank, and viſit

* Worta, whoever he might be, was entitled to praiſe, as a man of talents. During the conteſt between Great Britain and America, he wrote ſeveral little pieces, in ſupport of what he termed "The honourable cauſe of *les pauvres Ame-* "*ricains.*" Beſide this ſubject, there is a ſmall tract by Worta, intitled, "*L'Ho-* "*roſcope Politique.*" In this he extols the character of Prince Henry of Pruſſia, whom he ſtyles his dear and intimate friend. There is alſo another ſmall production, containing a ſelection of Poetic Pieces, profeſſedly tranſlated from a Turkiſh author, but really written by Worta. His language, in proſe, is energetic in the extreme; in poetry, it is mellifluous, and full of tenderneſs. He had certainly ſtrong feelings, and a very ſuperior underſtanding. To each of his publications, there is an engraving of himſelf prefixed, which is encircled by ſtars, and rays, from a ſmall repreſented ſun, darting on the top of his head. He was, altogether, a moſt extraordinary character.

† This illuſtrious Pole is now living, and about ſixty-five years of age.

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her as a friend. The next morning was the time ſpecified for this viſit taking place. In the interim, the Ducheſs was entreated to permit herſelf to be eſcorted to an hotel, ten miles diſtant, whither the Prince had diſpatched his own cooks, and other attendants, to wait on her Grace. The next morning, the *viſit, without ceremony*, took place, and thus was it conducted. Prince Radzivil came with forty carriages, each drawn by ſix horſes; and the different vehicles contained his nieces, the ladies of his principality, and other illuſtrious characters. In addition to theſe, there were ſix hundred horſes led in train, a thouſand dogs, and ſeveral boars; a guard of huſſars completed the ſuite. Such an aſſemblage, in a country ſurrounded by wood, gave an air of romance to the interview, which was ſtill more heightened by the manner in which the Prince contrived to amuſe his female gueſt. He made two feaſts, and they were ordered in the following ſtyle. The Prince had cauſed a village to be erected, conſiſting of forty houſes, all of wood, and fancifully decorated with leaves and branches. Theſe houſes formed a circle; in the middle of which, three ſpacious rooms were erected, one for the Prince, a ſecond for his ſuite, and the third for the repaſt. Entering the village, in the way to the rooms, all the houſes were ſhut, and the inhabitants appeared to have retired to reſt. The entertainment, at the rooms, opened with ſplendid fire-works, on an adjoining piece of water, and two veſſels encountered each other in a mock engagement. The feaſt ſucceeded.—Every thing was ſerved on plate, and ſumptuous were the diſhes. The Ducheſs, who was faſcinated by a reception ſo ſuperb, entered with all the exhilaration of ſpirits into the feſtivity of the evening; and amuſed the company with the following ſong:

" Dans mon petit reduit,
" Je vis a mon aiſe,
" Je n'ai qu'une table, et un lit,
" Un verre, et une chaiſe.

" Mais je m'en ſert chaque jour,
" Pour careſſer tour à tour,
" Ma peinte et ma mie au guet,
" Ma peinte et ma mie."

The feaſt being ended, Prince Radzivil conducted the Ducheſs to the village, the houſes of which were ſhut before, and on a ſudden they were converted into forty open ſhops, brilliantly decorated, and containing the richeſt commodities of different kinds. From theſe ſhops the Prince ſelected a variety of articles, and preſented them to the Ducheſs. A magnificent topaz, rings, boxes, trinkets of all deſcriptions, compoſed the gifts *. The company then returned to the rooms, which were thrown into one, and a ball was opened by Prince Radzivil and the Ducheſs. The minuets and dances being concluded, the company quitted the ball-room, and in an inſtant it was in a blaze; combuſtible matter having been previouſly diſpoſed throughout every part of the building. The people of the village were ſeen dancing round the fire. This entertainment, which is unexaggerated in the deſcription, was ſuppoſed to have coſt

* The Ducheſs, through life, had been accuſtomed to receive preſents; and a great part of her perſonal property was acquired in this manner.

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Prince Radzivil, at a moderate computation, *five thouſand pounds.*"

His Highneſs ended not here. At a country ſeat, ten miles from *Niceiffuis*, his favourite town, he gave a ſecond feaſt to the Ducheſs. This feaſt was followed by a boar hunt; for the purpoſe of which, his dogs had been brought. The hunt was in a wood, at night. A regiment of huſſars, with lighted torches in their hands, formed a circle; within which were huntſmen alſo with torches. The boar, thus ſurrounded by fire, was intimidated, and, after the uſual ſport, he fell a victim to his purſuers. At this hunt attended a numerous party of the Poliſh nobility. During fourteen days, the time of the Ducheſs's continuance with Prince Radzivil, ſhe dined and ſlept in different houſes belonging to the Prince. As the retinue moved from place to place, they, on every third or fourth day, met a camp, formed of the Prince's own guard. Travelling at night from *Niceiffuis*, the roads were illuminated; guards accompanied as eſcorts, and, on the arrival of the Ducheſs at the different towns belonging to the duchy of the Prince, the magiſtrates waited on her with their gratulations, and the cannon were fired. Here was tranſporting ſatisfaction! and yet, ſuch was the oddity of the Ducheſs, ſo unique was ſhe in character, mind, and feeling, that, at the moment of her being complimented with a *feu de joye*, ſhe only thus expreſſed her ſentiments of the princely treatment: "He may fire as much as "he pleaſes, but he ſhall not hit "my mark!" Theſe were her own words; the commentary on them is obvious.

Beſide this extraordinary diſplay of magnificence, the Ducheſs, during her reſidence in Poland, had alſo the honour to be entertained by one of the firſt characters in the theatre of the world. This was Count Oginſki*; of whom the late king of Pruſſia had ſo exalted an opinion, that he diſpatched a letter to him, with the following ſuperſcribed orders: "This is to be "forwarded to the *Ornament of* "*Human Nature!*" Such a compliment, from a Sovereign who was not eaſily miſtaken in characters, muſt have been highly flattering. But it did not exceed the merits of the Count; he was great, in every ſenſe of the word. Beſide being the munificent rewarder of talents, and the univerſal ſuccourer of the diſtreſſed, his accompliſhments were of the moſt endearing kind. At a concert which he gave the Ducheſs, he performed on ſix different inſtruments. His eſtabliſhment for muſical entertainments coſt him *fifty thouſand ducats a year*; about twenty-five thouſand pounds of our money. He had a theatre, in which plays, in the French, German, and Poliſh languages, were acted. Horſes he had from the remoteſt countries; one, which he ſhewed the Ducheſs, was brought him from Jeruſalem. With Louis the XVth he had lived on terms of intimacy, reſiding nine years at the court of France. He painted inimitably; and, among other articles, the Ducheſs ſaw a piece of his execution, which originated from the following incident: Louis the XVth and the Count were

* *Count Oginſki* is now alive, and univerſally revered.

walking

walking in a garden, and the French monarch broke off a branch of an apple-tree, in high bloſſom, and throwing it at the count, he ſaid, "Oginſki, you muſt paint that for me." The count obeyed; and the demiſe of the king happening before the picture was finiſhed, it remained in the poſſeſſion of the count. At the manſion of this nobleman, the Ducheſs continued a few days; and Prince Radzivil accompanying her there, an emulation ſeemed to prevail who moſt ſhould ſhew her a marked attention. She was, however, ſhackled, as it were, in mind. There was ſameneſs even in princely ſplendor; and ſameneſs to her was ever diſguſting. An *aventurier*, like Worta, could have ſucceeded, where a prince, like Radzivil, failed of his point*. The one was a fixed, the other an eccentric character; and eccentricity, in every variation of form or action, accorded moſt forcibly with her feelings.

* In ſo heterogeneous a character as that of the lady who is the ſubject of this detail, it is difficult to diſcriminate the propenſities, and pronounce how far they are influenced by any genuine motive, or paſſion. The Ducheſs had an apparent attachment to a Poliſh Biſhop, the *Biſhop of Wilna*. She alſo, when at Rome, diſcovered ſomething more than friendſhip for the *Patriarch of Jeruſalem*. The Biſhop of *Wilna* firſt ſaw the Ducheſs at *Rome*. He is a moſt amiable character; but perhaps it was more the vanity of inconſiſtency, than any real affection, which actuated the Ducheſs in her apparent tenderneſs. To contemn the offers of *Prince Radzivil*, whom ſhe actually might have married, and have had the loſs of her fortune abundantly compenſated, and to deſire an union where it could not be obtained, was that ſpecies of contrariety, which diſtinguiſhed this lady through life.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Some Obſervations on the Heat of Wells and Springs in the Iſland of Jamaica, *and on the Temperature of the Earth below the Surface in different Climates. By* John Hunter, *M.D. F.R.S.; communicated by the Hon.* Henry Cavendiſh, *F.R.S. From Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* London, *Vol.* lxxviii. *Part* i.

To the Hon. Mr. CAVENDISH.

SIR,

THE following obſervations on the heat of ſprings and wells, and their application towards determining the mean temperature of the earth in different climates, were ſuggeſted by you in ſome converſation on that ſubject, previous to my going to Jamaica in 1780. If you think them deſerving the attention of the Royal Society, I muſt beg the favour of you to lay them before that learned body.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN HUNTER.

THE great difference between the temperature of the open air, and that of deep caverns or mines, has long been taken notice of, both as matter of curioſity and ſurprize. After thermometers were brought to a tolerable degree of perfection, and meteorological regiſters were kept with accuracy, it became a problem, to determine what the cauſe was of this difference between the heat of the air, and the heat of the earth; for it was ſoon found, that the temperature of mines and caverns did not depend upon any thing peculiar to them; but that a certain depth under ground, whether in a cave, a mine, or a well, was ſufficient to produce a very ſenſible difference in the heat. In obſervations of this kind, there was perhaps nothing more ſtriking, than that the heat in ſuch caves was nearly the ſame in ſummer and winter; and this even in changeable climates, that admitted of great variation between the extremes of heat in ſummer, and cold in winter. There is an example of this in the cave of the Royal Obſervatory at Paris. The explanations, which have been attempted of this phænomenon, have turned chiefly upon a ſuppoſition, that there was an internal ſource of heat in the earth itſelf, totally independent of the influence of the ſun*. M. de Mairan has beſtowed much labour on this ſubject, and by obſervation and calculation is led to con-

* Vid. Martine's Eſſays, p. 319.

clude

clude, that of the 1026° of heat (by Reaumur's ſcale), which he finds to be the heat of ſummer at Paris, 34°,02 only proceed from the ſun, and the remaining 991°,98 from the earth, by emanations of heat from the center *. The proportion therefore of heat derived from this latter ſource is to that of the ſun, as 29,16 to 1. It muſt be evident, that an hypotheſis of this kind, which renders the influence of the ſun of ſmall account, is directly contrary to the general experience and conviction of mankind. Without entering, however, into any diſcuſſion of the *data* from whence M. de Mairan draws his concluſions, it will be more ſatisfactory to conſider what the effect of the operation of thoſe laws of heat, with which we are acquainted, would be.

And firſt, it is well known, that heat in all bodies has a tendency to diffuſe itſelf equally through every part of them, till they become of the ſame temperature. Again, bodies of a large maſs are both cooled and heated ſlowly. Beſides the maſs of matter, there are two other conſiderations of much importance in the ſlow or quick tranſmiſſion of heat through bodies; theſe are their different conducting powers, and their being in a ſtate of ſolidity or fluidity. The conducting powers of heat are well known to be very various in different bodies; nor are they hitherto reducible to any law, depending either upon the denſity, or chemical properties of matter. Metals of all kinds are good conductors of heat, while glaſs, an heavy, ſolid, homogeneous body, is an extremely bad conductor, even when a metallic calx enters largely into its compoſition, as in flint-glaſs. A ſtate of fluidity greatly promotes the diffuſion of heat; for a body in a fluid ſtate, by the particles moving readily among each other from their different denſities or other cauſes, mixes the warm and cold parts together, which occaſions a quick communication of heat. To apply theſe obſervations to the preſent ſubject; the ſurface of the earth being expoſed to the great heats of ſummer, and the colds of winter, or more properly the low degree of heat of winter, will receive a larger proportion of heat in the former ſeaſon, and a ſmaller in the latter; and being further of a large maſs, and of a porous and ſpongy ſubſtance, and therefore not quickly ſenſible to ſmall variations of heat, it will become of a mean temperature at a certain depth, between the heat of ſummer, and the cold of winter, provided it contain no internal ſource of heat within itſelf. This concluſion is ſtrictly agreeable to the experiments and obſervations hitherto made, in heating and cooling bodies, or in mixing portions of matter of the ſame kind of different temperatures †. Water, though in a large maſs, follows in ſome degree the heat and cold of our ſummer and winter, from the mobility of its parts occaſioning a more ſpeedy diffuſion of heat. Air is quickly ſuſceptible of heat, and from the expanſions produced in it, and conſequent motions in the whole maſs, the temperature is ſoon rendered uniform.

The changes in the heat of the air are what we have meaſured, and

* Memoir. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1719 et 1765.
† Vid. De Luc Modifications de l'Atmoſphere, Vol. I. p. 285.

we are to be underſtood to ſpeak of them, when we talk of the temperature of ſummer and winter. It may be aſked then, Is the heat of the ſun firſt communicated to the air, and thereby to the earth? No, the air is ſuſceptible of a very ſmall degree of heat from the rays of the ſun paſſing through it; for it is well known, they produce no heat in a tranſparent medium, and conſequently, that the air is only ſo far heated as it differs from a medium that is perfectly tranſparent. The heat produced by the rays of the ſun bears a proportion to their number, their duration, and their falling more or leſs perpendicularly; and it takes place at the points where they ſtrike an opaque and non-reflecting ſurface. The ſurface of the earth may therefore be conſidered as the place, from whence the heat proceeds, which is communicated to the air above, and the earth below. That this is really the caſe is evident from the ſuperior degree of heat, produced by the action of the rays of the ſun upon an opaque body, which will often be heated to 150° (Fahrenheit), while the temperature of the air is not above 90° *. It may ſeem, therefore, that to meaſure the heat communicated to the earth, it ſhould be done at the ſurface, where the action of the rays immediately takes place. But though the heat be produced at the ſurface, it is communicated freely to the air as well as the earth; and though the apparent intenſity of heat be greater in the earth, from the rays of light acting for a longer time upon the ſame parts of matter, yet there is little doubt that much the greater part is carried off by the air, which as it is heated flies off, and allows a freſh portion of cold air to come in contact with the heated ſurface. But ſtill it is immaterial, whether the heat of the ſun be excited more in the earth or in the air; for whichever has the larger proportion will in the end communicate a part to the other, and ſo reſtore the balance. The ſame obſervation applies to ſuch cauſes of cold as may operate at the ſurface of the earth, as evaporation, and that taken notice of by Mr. Wilſon †. The air, therefore, near the ſurface of the earth will ſhew by a thermometer in the ſhade nearly, if not exactly, the ſame degree of heat that the ſun communicates to our terreſtrial globe; and if a mean of the heats thus ſhewn be taken for the year round, and we penetrate into the earth to that depth, that it is no longer affected either by the daily, monthly, or annual variations of heat, the temperature at ſuch depth ſhould be equal to the annual mean above mentioned. To aſcertain this with the utmoſt preciſion, it muſt be obvious, that numerous obſervations ſhould be made every day, correſponding to the frequent changes of temperature, which are known to happen in the courſe of the twenty-four hours in all climates; and upon theſe a daily mean ſhould be taken, and the annual mean deduced therefrom. This has not yet been done, but where we have obſervations from which a mean temperature can be deduced with any degree of certainty, it will be found not to differ greatly from the heat

* Martine's Eſſays, p. 309.

† Vid. Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LXX. p. 451. and Vol. LXXI. p. 386.

of deep caves, or wells in the ſame climate. If further experience and obſervation ſhould confirm the above opinions, it will be attended with this advantage, that we ſhall be poſſeſſed of an eaſy and ready method of aſcertaining the mean temperature of any climate; which, with a few obſervations of the extremes of heat and cold at particular ſeaſons, will teach us as much of the country, with regard to heat and cold, as the meteorological obſervations of ſeveral years.

For obtaining the temperature of the earth the beſt obſervations are probably to be collected from wells of a conſiderable depth, and in which there is not much water. Springs iſſuing from the earth, although indicating the temperature of the ground from whence they proceed, are not ſo much to be depended upon as wells; for the courſe of the ſpring may be derived from high grounds in the neighbourhood, and it will thence be colder; it may run ſo near the ſurface as to be liable to variations of heat and cold from ſummer and winter; or it may be expoſed to local cauſes of heat in the bowels of the earth. Wells ſeem alſo better than deep caverns, for the apertures to ſuch are often large, and may admit enough of the external air to occaſion ſome change in their temperature. Wells are not, however, to be met with in all places, and in that caſe we muſt remain ſatisfied with the temperature of the ſprings.

The following obſervations were made in the iſland of Jamaica, where there are flat lands in many parts towards the coaſt, but all the interior part of the country is mountainous. The heat is greateſt in the low lands, and decreaſes as you aſcend the mountains. The town of Kingſton is ſupplied with water from wells. The ground on which it ſtands riſes with a gentle aſcent as you recede from the ſea. In the low part of the town the wells are but a few feet deep, and many of them brackiſh. The heat of the water in ſome of them I have found as high as 82°; but they were evidently too near the ſurface not to be affected by the heat of the ſeaſons. As you aſcend, the wells are deeper, and the temperature is nearly 80° in all of them. What variations there are, come within one degree, that is, half a degree leſs than 80°, or half a degree more. They are of different depths, and ſome not leſs than 100 feet; though, after they are of half that depth, the temperature is nearly uniform. At the Governor's Pen, which is alſo in the low part of the country, a well, which is above 60 feet deep, is 79½°. There is a well at Half-way-Tree, 243 feet deep, which is 79°. Half-way-Tree is two miles from Kingſton, with a very gentle aſcent. Near Rock-Fort is a ſpring, immediately at the foot of the long mountain, which throws out a great body of water; the heat of it is 79°. All the places mentioned are but very little above the level of the ſea, probably not more than the depth of the wells at the reſpective places; for near Kingſton there are ſprings that appear juſt below the water-mark of the ſea, and thoſe that ſupply the wells are probably upon the ſame level.

The temperature of the air at Kingſton admits but of ſmall variation. The thermometer, at the hotteſt time of the day, and during the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, ranges from 85° to 90°; in the cooleſt ſea-

ſon, and obſerved about ſun-riſe, which is the coldeſt time in the twenty-four hours, it ranges from 70° to 77°. I have ſeen it once as low as 69°, and two different times as high at 91°. The annual mean temperature cannot, therefore, either much exceed, or fall much ſhort of, 80°, as indicated by the wells.

The following ſprings were examined with much accuracy by the Hon. Mr. Sewell, Attorney General of the iſland.

Ayſcough's ſpring, on the road from Spaniſh Town to Puſey's, in St. John's pariſh, 75°.

Puſey's ſpring, ſtill higher in the mountains. 72°¼.

A ſpring near the barracks at Points Hill in St. John's pariſh, 70°.

The thermometer in the ſhade at Puſey's, during part of the month of June, was found to range from 69°½ to 79°½. It was obſerved both late at night, and early in the morning before ſun-riſe.

The ſpring in Brailsford Valley, about ten miles above Spaniſh Town, is 75°. The ſpring at Stoney Hill is 71°. Theſe were examined by Mr. Home.

Mr. Wallen's houſe, at Cold Spring, ſtands the higheſt of any in the iſland. By a meaſurement, ſaid to have been made by Mr. Mc Farlane, it is reported to be 1400 yards above the level of the ſea. On the road to it, and about a mile below Mr. Wallen's houſe, there is a ſpring that iſſues from the ſide of the hill, of the temperature of 65°. Cold Spring, which gives a name to the place, is about fifty feet below the houſe, and the heat of it is 61°¾. The thermometer in the ſhade at Mr. Wallen's houſe, for ſome days in the month of April, ranged from 57° to 67°. It may be remarked, that the higher the ſprings the colder they are; and, as far as a conjecture can be formed from ſo few obſervations, they would appear not to differ much from the mean temperature of their reſpective places*.

It will not be out of place to add ſome obſervations made in England, relative to the ſame ſubject. The wells in and about London are either of no great depth, or are full of water, which are both conſiderable objections to their giving a mean temperature. The want of depth will make them ſubject to the variations of the ſeaſons; and a large quantity of water, even in a deep well, will take the temperature of the air more or leſs: for any change of temperature communicated at the ſurface will, from the fluidity of the water, be readily diffuſed through the whole. I ſuſpect it is owing to this cauſe, that the wells in the neighbourhood of Brighthelmſtone vary from 50° to 52°, for thoſe were the higheſt that had moſt water in them. My obſervations were made in ſummer. Theſe wells are of various depths, from 15 to 150 feet. That which I always found the coldeſt is not more than 22 feet deep; I never found its heat greater than 50°. It is near the beach, and is a tide well, that is, the water in it riſes and falls, and in ſo doing does not correſpond exactly with the tides, but follows them with an interval of about three hours. At the loweſt there is not more than a foot of water in it; and it may be conſidered as a ſubterraneous ſpring running through the

* The thermometers made uſe of were all made by Mr. Ramſden

bottom

bottom of the well. There are in fact numerous ſprings that break out upon the ſand, a few feet above the low-water mark, which are doubtleſs the ſame that ſupply the wells. As we are not acquainted with any cauſe that produces cold in the bowels of the earth, we muſt neceſſarily in every climate, conſider the loweſt degree of heat as approaching neareſt to the mean temperature; and therefore we cannot conclude the mean temperature at Brighthelmſtone to be more than 50°. The mean temperature of London is computed about 52°*; but Brighthelmſtone is nearly fifty miles farther ſouth than London, and is immediately upon the ſea, and muſt therefore be at leaſt as warm as London. It is evident, that the obſervations from which the mean is taken, muſt generally contain more of the extremes of heat than of cold, as the former happen in the day-time, and the latter in the night, in conſequence of which they will often eſcape notice. There is a table conſtructed by Dr. Heberden †, expreſſing the heat in London for every month in the year, from a mean of ten years beginning with 1763, and ending with 1772. The mean temperature is given both at 8 A. M. and 2 P. M. There is further in the table, a column of the mean of the greateſt monthly colds in the night, obſerved during the ſame ten years by Lord Charles Cavendiſh, in Marlborough-ſtreet. There will not probably be any great error in conſidering the heat obſerved at 2 P. M. as the greateſt daily heat; and taking a mean between the greateſt heats of the day, and greateſt colds of the night, they give 49°,196 for an annual mean, which is much lower than is commonly ſuppoſed. At the houſe of George Glenny, Eſq; near Bromley, there is a well ſeventy-five feet deep, which I found in November 49°½. M. de Mairan has given a table of the greateſt heats and greateſt colds obſerved at Paris for fifty-ſix years, beginning from 1701; and a mean of them is 10° above freezing, or 1010°, of Reaumur's ſcale ‡. The temperature of the cave of the Obſervatory where thoſe obſervations were made, is 10°¼ above freezing, by the ſame ſcale of Reaumur. There appears not therefore any neceſſity for an internal heat; on the contrary, it is matter of demonſtration, that were there any ſource of heat in the earth which was not equally in the air, the heat of the interior parts ought to be higher than a mean: and did the *central heat* bear as high a proportion to that of the ſun as M. de Mairan alledges, the heat of the earth itſelf ought to be a great deal above the mean temperature of the air, which from obſervation there is no ground for believing. It is eaſy to ſee the ſource of M. de Mairan's error; he has founded his calculations upon the ſcale of Reaumur, and conſiders the degrees of his thermometer as marking the real proportions, and abſolute quantity of heat §. It is a matter that cannot be denied, that we know nothing of the abſolute

* Kirwan's Temperature of different Latitudes, p. 73.
† The Table alluded to follows this Paper.
‡ Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1765, p. 202.
§ Vid. Memoir. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1765, p. 143.

quantities of heat; and that the degrees of our thermometers are only to be conſidered as a few of the middle links of a chain, the length of which we are totally ignorant of, and therefore in no condition to compare its proportional parts. It deſerves, however, to be remarked, that obſervations of a late date have ſhewn, that the notions of cold upon which Reaumur's ſcale was conſtructed, and upon which M. de Mairan's calculations are founded, are imaginary and without foundation *.

Hot ſprings and volcanos may be produced as proofs of the exiſtence of an internal ſource of heat in the earth; but their operation appears to be limited to a very ſmall extent, and ſcarcely deſerving of notice in the preſent diſcuſſion. It is no uncommon thing to find ſprings of the uſual temperature cloſe by hot ſprings; and no volcano, with which we are yet acquainted, appears to have raiſed the temperature of the country immediately adjoining to it.

The ſea admits of change of temperature more quickly than the earth, particularly near the ſhore. The mean heat of the ſea at Brighthelmſtone, during the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October, was as follows:

July	63°$\frac{1}{7}$
Auguſt	63°$\frac{1}{2}$
September	58°
October	53°

The obſervations were made with a view to aſcertain the temperature of the ſea as a bath, and therefore theheat was taken about nine in the morning, and near the ſhore, the uſual time and place of bathing. The water gets hotter towards three o'clock in the afternoon, ſo that it not only follows the monthly, but even the daily changes of the temperature of the air. In the four months juſt mentioned, the extremes of heat and cold are conſiderable: I have ſeen it as hot as 71°, and as cold as 49°. In the month of Auguſt laſt, Sir Henry Engleſield examined the heat of the ſea at the ſame time that I did, and we both found it 71°: it was about 4 P. M. of a very hot day. I may be allowed to remark, that ſea-bathing is a very different thing at different ſeaſons of the year, and requires an acquaintance with the variations of the temperature, to adapt it to particular caſes.

It were to be wiſhed, that the heat of wells and ſprings were examined at different ſeaſons of the year, in order to aſcertain the effect of ſummer and of winter upon them. The wells at New York are from 32 to 40 feet in depth, and Dr. Nooth found them to have an annual variation of two degrees from 54° to 56°. There are few countries, in which the annual range of the thermometer is greater than at New York, and the neighbouring parts of America. In the ſummer it is often as high as 96°, and in winter it has been obſerved ſeveral degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's ſcale.

We may, I think, from all the obſervations we are yet in poſſeſſion of, conclude, that there is at preſent no ſource of heat in the earth, capable of affecting the temperature of a country, which is not

* Vid. Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LXXIII. p. *303. 303. and 329.

derived

derived from the ſun; and that the earth, whatever changes of temperature it may be conjectured to have undergone in former periods, is now reduced to a mean of the heat produced by the ſun in different ſeaſons, and in different climates.

A Table of the mean Heat of every Month, for Ten Years, in London, *from* 1763 *to* 1772 *inclusively. By* William Heberden, *M. D. F. R. S. and A. S. From the ſame Work.*

		At 8 A.M.	At 2 P.M.	Mean.	Night.
		°	°	°	°
12	January	35	39	37	34·7
10	February	38	43	40·5	36·6
9	March	39	45	42	37·1
7	April	44	52	48	41·3
5	May	51	59	55	46·4
3	June	57	65	61	52·4
2	July	59	68	63·5	55·6
1	Auguſt	60	68	64	55·1
4	September	55	63	59	51·7
6	October	48	55	51·5	45·5
8	November	43	48	45·5	40
11	December	39	42	40·5	37·3

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE.

The firſt column of figures denotes the order of the months according to their degrees of heat, beginning with Auguſt, in which the heat is greateſt.

The ſecond and third are the heats marked at the hour expreſſed at the top of each column, and the fourth is the mean between theſe two.

The laſt column is the mean of the greateſt cold at night, obſerved in Marlborough Street for twenty years, by the late Right honourable Lord Charles Cavendiſh.

Obſervations

Obſervations on the Natural Hiſtory of the Cuckoo. By Mr. Edward Jenner. *From Part* ii. *of the ſame Volume.*

To JOHN HUNTER, Esq.

Dear Sir,

HAVING, at your requeſt, employed ſome of my leiſure hours in attending to the natural hiſtory of the cuckoo, I beg leave to lay before you the reſult of my obſervations, with a hope that they may tend to illuſtrate a ſubject hitherto not ſufficiently inveſtigated; and ſhould what is here offered prove, in your opinion, deſerving the attention of the Royal Society, you will do me the honour of preſenting it to that learned body.

The firſt appearance of cuckoos in Glouceſterſhire (the part of England where theſe obſervations were made) is about the 17th of April. The ſong of the male, which is well known, ſoon proclaims its arrival. The ſong of the female (if the peculiar notes of which it is compoſed may be ſo called) is widely different, and has been ſo little attended to, that I believe few are acquainted with it. I know not how to convey to you a proper idea of it by a compariſon with the notes of any other bird; but the cry of the dab-chick bears the neareſt reſemblance to it.

Unlike the generality of birds, cuckoos do not pair. When a female appears on the wing, ſhe is often attended by two or three males, who ſeem earneſtly contending for her favours. From the time of her appearance, till after the middle of ſummer, the neſts of the birds ſelected to receive her eggs are to be found in great abundance; but, like the other migrating birds, ſhe does not begin to lay till ſome weeks after her arrival. I never could procure an egg till after the middle of May, though probably an early-coming cuckoo may produce one ſooner*.

The cuckoo makes choice of the neſts of a variety of ſmall birds. I have known its egg intruſted to the care of the hedge ſparrow, the water-wagtail, the titlark, the yellow-hammer, the green-linnet, and the whinchat. Among theſe it generally ſelects the three former; but ſhews a much greater partiality to the hedge-ſparrow than to any of the reſt: therefore, for the purpoſe of avoiding confuſion, this bird only, in the following account, will be conſidered as the foſter-parent of the cuckoo, except in inſtances which are particularly ſpecified.

The hedge-ſparrow commonly takes up four or five days in laying her eggs. During this time (generally after ſhe has laid one or two) the cuckoo contrives to depoſit her egg among the reſt, leaving the future care of it entirely to the hedge-ſparrow. This intruſion often occaſions ſome diſcompoſure; for the old hedge-ſparrow at intervals, whilſt ſhe is ſitting, not unfrequently throws out ſome of her own eggs, and ſometimes injures them in ſuch a way that they become addle; ſo that it more frequently happens, that only two or three hedge-ſparrow's eggs are

* What is meant by an *early-coming* cuckoo, I ſhall more fully explain in a paper I intend to lay before you on the Migration of birds; but it may be neceſſary to mention here, that Migrating birds of the ſame ſpecies arrive and depart in ſucceſſion. Cuckoos, for example, appear in greater numbers on the ſecond than on the firſt week of their arrival, and they diſappear in the ſame gradual manner.

hatched

hatched with the cuckoo's than otherwiſe: but whether this be the caſe or not, ſhe ſits the ſame length of time as if no foreign egg had been introduced, the cuckoo's egg requiring no longer incubation than her own. However, I have never ſeen an inſtance where the hedge-ſparrow has either thrown out or injured the egg of the cuckoo.

When the hedge-ſparrow has ſat her uſual time, and diſengaged the young cuckoo and ſome of her own offspring from the ſhell *, her own young ones, and any of her eggs that remain unhatched, are ſoon turned out, the young cuckoo remaining poſſeſſor of the neſt, and ſole object of her future care. The young birds are not previouſly killed, nor are the eggs demoliſhed, but all are left to periſh together, either entangled about the buſh which contains the neſt, or lying on the ground under it.

The early fate of the young hedge-ſparrows is a circumſtance that has been noticed by others, but attributed to wrong cauſes. A variety of conjectures have been formed upon it. Some have ſuppoſed the parent cuckoo the author of their deſtruction; while others, as erroneouſly, have pronounced them ſmothered by the diſproportionate ſize of their fellow neſtling. Now the cuckoo's egg being not much larger than the hedge-ſparrow's (as I ſhall more fully point out hereafter) it neceſſarily follows, that at firſt there can be no great difference in the ſize of the birds juſt burſt from the ſhell. Of the fallacy of the former aſſertion alſo I was ſome years ago convinced, by having found that many cuckoos eggs were hatched in the neſts of other birds after the old cuckoo had diſappeared; and by ſeeing the ſame fate then attend the neſtling ſparrows as during the appearance of old cuckoos in this country. But, before I proceed to the facts relating to the death of the young ſparrows, it will be proper to lay before you ſome examples of the incubation of the egg, and the rearing of the young cuckoo; ſince even the well-known fact, that this buſineſs is intruſted to the care of other birds, has been controverted by an author who has lately written on this ſubject †; and ſince, as it is a fact ſo much out of the ordinary courſe of nature, it may ſtill probably be diſbelieved by others.

Example I.

The Titlark is frequently ſelected by the cuckoo to take charge of its young one; but as it is a bird leſs familiar than many that I have mentioned, its neſt is not ſo often diſcovered. I have, nevertheleſs, had ſeveral cuckoos eggs brought to me that were found in titlarks neſts; and had one opportunity of ſeeing the young cuckoo in the neſt of this bird: I ſaw the old birds feed it repeatedly, and, to ſatisfy myſelf that they were really titlarks, ſhot them both, and found them to be ſo.

Example II.

A cuckoo laid her egg in a water-wagtail's neſt, in the thatch of an old cottage. The wagtail ſat her

* The young cuckoo is commonly hatched firſt.

† The honourable Daines Barrington.

uſual

uſual time, and then hatched all the eggs but one; which, with all the young ones, except the cuckoo, was turned out of the neſt. The young birds, conſiſting of five, were found upon a rafter, that projected from under the thatch, and with them was the egg, not in the leaſt injured. On examining the egg, I found the young wagtail it contained quite perfect, and juſt in ſuch a ſtate as birds are when ready to be diſengaged from the ſhell. The cuckoo was reared by the wagtails till it was nearly capable of flying, when it was killed by an accident.

Example III.

A hedge-ſparrow built her neſt in a hawthorn buſh in a timber-yard: after ſhe had laid two eggs, a cuckoo dropped in a third. The ſparrow continued laying, as if nothing had happened, till ſhe had laid five, her uſual number, and then ſat.

June 20, 1786. On inſpecting the neſt I found, that the bird had hatched this morning, and that every thing but the young cuckoo was thrown out. Under the neſt I found one of the young hedge-ſparrows dead, and one egg by the ſide of the neſt entangled with the coarſe woody materials that formed its outſide covering. On examining the egg, I found one end of the ſhell a little cracked, and could ſee that the ſparrow it contained was yet alive. It was then reſtored to the neſt, but in a few minutes was thrown out. The egg being again ſuſpended by the outſide of the neſt, was ſaved a ſecond time from breaking. To ſee what would happen if the cuckoo was removed, I took out the cuckoo, and placed the egg containing the hedge-ſparrow in the neſt in its ſtead. The old birds, during this time, flew about the ſpot, ſhewing ſigns of great anxiety; but when I withdrew, they quickly came to the neſt again. On looking into it in a quarter of an hour afterward, I found the young one completely hatched, warm, and lively. The hedge-ſparrows were ſuffered to remain undiſturbed with their new charge for three hours (during which time they paid every attention to it) when the cuckoo was again put into the neſt. The old ſparrows had been ſo much diſturbed by theſe intruſions, that for ſome time they ſhowed an unwillingneſs to come to it: however, at length they came, and on examining the neſt again in a few minutes, I found the young ſparrow was tumbled out. It was a ſecond time reſtored, but again experienced the ſame fate.

From theſe experiments, and ſuppoſing, from the feeble appearance of the young cuckoo juſt diſengaged from the ſhell, that it was utterly incapable of diſplacing either the egg or the young ſparrows, I was induced to believe, that the old ſparrows were the only agents in this ſeeming unnatural buſineſs; but I afterwards clearly perceived the cauſe of this ſtrange phenomenon, by diſcovering the young cuckoo in the act of diſplacing its fellow-neſtlings, as the following relation will fully evince.

June 18, 1787, I examined the neſt of a hedge-ſparrow, which then contained a cuckoo's and three hedge ſparrow's eggs. On inſpecting it the day following, I found the bird had hatched, but that the neſt now contained only a young cuckoo and one young hedge-ſparrow. The neſt was placed ſo near the extremity of a hedge, that I could diſtinctly ſee what was going forward in it; and,

to

to my aſtoniſhment, ſaw the young cuckoo, though ſo newly hatched, in the act of turning out the young hedge-ſparrow.

The mode of accompliſhing this was very curious. The little animal, with the aſſiſtance of its rump and wings, contrived to get the bird upon its back, and making a lodgment for the burden by elevating its elbows, clambered backward with it up the ſide of the neſt till it reached the top, where reſting for a moment, it threw off its load with a jerk, and quite diſengaged it from the neſt. It remained in this ſituation a ſhort time, feeling about with the extremities of its wings, as if to be convinced whether the buſineſs was properly executed, and then dropped into the neſt again. With theſe (the extremities of its wings) I have often ſeen it examine, as it were, an egg and neſtling before it began its operations; and the nice ſenſibility which theſe parts appeared to poſſeſs ſeemed ſufficiently to compenſate the want of ſight, which as yet it was deſtitute of. I afterwards put in an egg, and this, by a ſimilar proceſs, was conveyed to the edge of the neſt, and thrown out. Theſe experiments I have ſince repeated ſeveral times in different neſts, and have always found the young cuckoo diſpoſed to act in the ſame manner. In climbing up the neſt, it ſometimes drops its burden, and thus is foiled in its endeavours; but after a little reſpite, the work is reſumed, and goes on almoſt inceſſantly till it is effected. It is wonderful to ſee the extraordinary exertions of the young cuckoo, when it is two or three days old, if a bird be put into the neſt with it, that is too weighty for it to lift out. In this ſtate it ſeems ever reſtleſs and uneaſy. But this diſpoſition for turning out its companions begins to decline from the time it is two or three till it is about twelve days old, when, as far as I have hitherto ſeen, it ceaſes. Indeed, the diſpoſition for throwing out the egg appears to ceaſe a few days ſooner; for I have frequently ſeen the young cuckoo, after it had been hatched nine or ten days, remove a neſtling that had been placed in the neſt with it, when it ſuffered an egg, put there at the ſame time, to remain unmoleſted. The ſingularity of its ſhape is well adapted to theſe purpoſes; for, different from other newly-hatched birds, its back from the *ſcapulæ* downwards is very broad, with a conſiderable depreſſion in the middle. This depreſſion ſeems formed by nature for the deſign of giving a more ſecure lodgment to the egg of the hedge-ſparrow, or its young one, when the young cuckoo is employed in removing either of them from the neſt. When it is above twelve days old, this cavity is quite filled up, and then the back aſſumes the ſhape of neſtling birds in general.

Having found that the hedge-ſparrow commonly throws out ſome of her own eggs after her neſt has received the cuckoo's, and not knowing how ſhe might treat her young ones, if the young cuckoo was deprived of the power of diſpoſſeſſing them of the neſt, I made the following experiment.

July 9. A young cuckoo, that had been hatched by a hedge-ſparrow about four hours, was confined in the neſt in ſuch a manner that it could not poſſibly turn out the young hedge-ſparrows which were hatched at the ſame time, though it was almoſt inceſſantly making attempts to effect it. The conſequence was, the old birds fed the whole alike, and appeared

appeared in every reſpect to pay the ſame attention to their own young as to the young cuckoo, until the 13th, when the neſt was unfortunately plundered.

The ſmallneſs of the cuckoo's egg in proportion to the ſize of the bird is a circumſtance that hitherto, I believe, has eſcaped the notice of the ornithologiſt. So great is the diſproportion, that it is in general ſmaller than that of the houſe ſparrow; whereas the difference in the ſize of the birds is nearly as five to one. I have uſed the term in general, becauſe eggs produced at different times by the ſame bird vary very much in ſize. I have found a cuckoo's egg ſo light that it weighed only forty-three grains, and one ſo heavy that it weighed fifty-five grains. The colour of the cuckoo's eggs is extremely variable. Some, both in ground and pencilling, very much reſemble the houſe-ſparrow's; ſome are indiſtinctly covered with bran-coloured ſpots; and others are marked with lines of black, reſembling, in ſome meaſure, the eggs of the yellow-hammer.

The circumſtance of the young cuckoo's being deſtined by nature to throw out the young hedge-ſparrows, ſeems to account for the parent cuckoo's dropping her egg in the neſts of birds ſo ſmall as thoſe I have particulariſed. If ſhe were to do this in the neſt of a bird which produced a large egg, and conſequently a large neſtling, the young cuckoo would probably find an inſurmountable difficulty in ſolely poſſeſſing the neſt, as its exertions would be unequal to the labour of turning out the young birds *. Beſides, though many of the larger birds might have fed the neſtling cuckoo very properly, had it been committed to their charge, yet they could not have ſuffered their own young to have been ſacrificed, for the accommodation of the cuckoo, in ſuch great number as the ſmaller ones, which are ſo much more abundant; for though it would be a vain attempt to calculate the numbers of neſtlings deſtroyed by means of the cuckoo, yet the ſlighteſt obſervation would be ſufficient to convince us that they muſt be very large.

Here it may be remarked, that though nature permits the young cuckoo to make this great waſte, yet the animals thus deſtroyed are not thrown away or rendered uſeleſs. At the ſeaſon when this happens, great numbers of tender quadrupeds and reptiles are ſeeking proviſion; and if they find the callow neſtlings which have fallen victims to the young cuckoo, they are furniſhed with food well adapted to their peculiar ſtate.

It appears a little extraordinary, that two cuckoo's eggs ſhould ever be depoſited in the ſame neſt, as the young one produced from one of them muſt inevitably periſh; yet I have known two inſtances of this kind, one of which I ſhall relate.

* I have known an inſtance in which a hedge-ſparrow ſat upon a cuckoo's egg and one of her own. Her own egg was hatched five days before the cuckoo's, when the young hedge-ſparrow had gained ſuch a ſuperiority in ſize that the young cuckoo had not powers ſufficient to lift it out of the neſt till it was two days old, by which time it was grown very conſiderably. This egg was probably laid by the cuckoo ſeveral days after the hedge-ſparrow had begun to ſit; and even in this caſe it appears, that its preſence had created the diſturbance before alluded to, as all the hedge-ſparrow's eggs were gone except one.

June 27, 1787. Two cuckoos and a hedge-ſparrow were hatched in the ſame neſt this morning; one hedge-ſparrow's egg remained unhatched. In a few hours after, a conteſt began between the cuckoos for the poſſeſſion of the neſt, which continued undetermined till the next afternoon; when one of them, which was ſomewhat ſuperior in ſize, turned out the other, together with the young hedge ſparrow and the unhatched egg. This conteſt was very remarkable. The combatants alternately appeared to have the advantage, as each carried the other ſeveral times nearly to the top of the neſt, and then ſunk down again, oppreſſed by the weight of its burden; till at length, after various efforts, the ſtrongeſt prevailed, and was afterwards brought up by the hedge-ſparrows.

I come now, Sir, to conſider the principal matter that has agitated the mind of the naturaliſt reſpecting the cuckoo—Why, like other birds, it ſhould not build a neſt, incubate its eggs, and rear its own young.

There is certainly no reaſon to be aſſigned from the formation of this bird why, in common with others, it ſhould not perform all theſe ſeveral offices; for it is in every reſpect perfectly formed for collecting materials and building a neſt. Neither its external ſhape nor internal ſtructure prevent it from incubation; nor is it by any means incapacitated from bringing food to its young. It would be needleſs to enumerate the various opinions of authors on this ſubject, from Ariſtotle to the preſent time. Thoſe of the ancients appear to be either viſionary, or erroneous; and the attempts of the moderns towards its inveſtigation have been confined within very narrow limits; for they have gone but little farther in their reſearches than to examine the conſtitution and ſtructure of the bird, and having found it poſſeſſed of a capacious ſtomach with a thin external covering, concluded that the preſſure upon this part, in a ſitting poſture, prevented incubation. They have not conſidered that many of the birds which incubate have ſtomachs analogous to thoſe of cuckoos: the ſtomach of the owl, for example, is proportionably capacious, and is almoſt as thinly covered with external integuments. Nor have they conſidered, that the ſtomachs of neſtlings are always much diſtended with food; and that this very part, during the whole time of their confinement to the neſt, ſupports, in a great degree, the weight of the whole body; whereas, in a ſitting bird, it is not nearly ſo much preſſed upon; for the breaſt in that caſe fills up chiefly the cavity of the neſt, for which purpoſe, from its natural convexity, it is admirably well fitted.

Theſe obſervations, I preſume, may be ſufficient to ſhew that the cuckoo is not rendered incapable of ſitting through a peculiarity either in the ſituation or formation of the ſtomach; yet, as a proof ſtill more deciſive, I ſhall lay before you the following fact.

In the ſummer of the year 1786, I ſaw, in the neſt of a hedge-ſparrow, a cuckoo, which, from its ſize and plumage, appeared to be nearly a fortnight old. On lifting it up in the neſt, I obſerved two hedge-ſparrow's eggs under it. At firſt I ſuppoſed them part of the number which had been ſat upon by the hedge-ſparrow with the cuckoo's egg, and that they had become addle, as birds frequently ſuffer ſuch eggs to remain in their neſts with their young;

young; but on breaking one of them, I found it contained a living fœtus; ſo that of courſe theſe eggs muſt have been laid ſeveral days after the cuckoo was hatched, as the latter now completely filled up the neſt, and was by this peculiar incident performing the part of a ſitting bird *.

Having under my inſpection, in another hedge-ſparrow's neſt, a young cuckoo, about the ſame ſize as the former, I procured two wagtail's eggs, which had been ſat upon a few days, and had them immediately conveyed to the ſpot, and placed under the cuckoo. On the ninth day after the eggs had been in this ſituation, the perſon appointed to ſuperintend the neſt (as it was ſome diſtance from the place of my reſidence) came to inform me, that the wagtails were hatched. On going to the place, and examining the neſt, I found nothing in it but the cuckoo and the ſhells of the wagtail's eggs. The fact, therefore, of the birds being hatched, I do not give you as coming immediately under my own eye; but the teſtimony of the perſon appointed to watch the neſt was corroborated by that of another witneſs.

To what cauſe then may we attribute the ſingularities of the cuckoo? May they not be owing to the following circumſtances?—"The ſhort reſidence this bird is "allowed to make in the country "where it is deſtined to propagate "its ſpecies, and the call that na"ture has upon it, during that "ſhort reſidence, to produce a nu"merous progeny." The cuckoo's firſt appearance here is about the middle of April, commonly on the 17th. Its egg is not ready for incubation till ſome weeks after its arrival, ſeldom before the middle of May. A fortnight is taken up by the ſitting bird in hatching the egg. The young bird generally continues three weeks in the neſt before it flies, and the foſter-parents feed it more than five weeks after this period; ſo that, if a cuckoo ſhould be ready with an egg much ſooner than the time pointed out, not a ſingle neſtling, even one of the earlieſt, would be fit to provide for itſelf before its parent would be inſtinctively directed to ſeek a new reſidence, and be thus compelled to abandon its young one; for old cuckoos take their final leave of this country the firſt week in July.

Had nature allowed the cuckoo to have ſtaid here as long as ſome other migrating birds, which produce a ſingle ſet of young ones (as the Swift or Nightingale, for example), and had allowed her to have reared as large a number as any bird is capable of bringing up at one time, theſe might not have been ſufficient to have anſwered her purpoſe; but by ſending the cuckoo from one neſt to another, ſhe is reduced to the ſame ſtate as the bird whoſe neſt we daily rob of an egg, in which caſe the ſtimulus for incubation is ſuſpended. Of this we have a familiar example in the common domeſtic fowl. That the cuckoo actually lays a great number of eggs, diſſection ſeems to prove very deciſively. Upon a compariſon I had an opportunity of making

* At this time I was unacquainted with the fact, that the young cuckoo turned out the eggs of the hedge-ſparrow; but it is reaſonable to conclude, that it had loſt the diſpoſition for doing this when theſe eggs were depoſited in the neſt.

between the ovarium, or racemus vitellorum, of a female cuckoo, killed juſt as ſhe had begun to lay, and of a pullet killed in the ſame ſtate, no eſſential difference appeared. The uterus of each contained an egg perfectly formed, and ready for excluſion; and the ovarium exhibited a large cluſter of eggs gradually advanced from a very diminutive ſize, to the greateſt the yolk acquires before it is received into the oviduct. The appearance of one killed on the third of July was very different. In this I could diſtinctly trace a great number of the membranes which had diſcharged yolks into the oviduct; and one of them appeared as if it had parted with a yolk the preceding day. The ovarium ſtill exhibited a cluſter of enlarged eggs; but the moſt forward of them was ſcarcely larger than a muſtard-ſeed.

I would not be underſtood, Sir, to advance that every egg which ſwells in the ovarium at the approach or commencement of the propagating ſeaſon is brought to perfection; but it appears clearly, that a bird, in obedience to the dictates of her own will, or to ſome hidden cauſe in the animal œconomy, can either retard or bring forward her eggs. Beſides the example of the common fowl above alluded to, many others occur. If you deſtroy the neſt of a blackbird, a robin, or almoſt any ſmall bird, in the ſpring, when ſhe has laid her uſual number of eggs, it is well known to every one, who has paid any attention to enquiries of this kind, in how very ſhort a ſpace of time ſhe will produce a freſh ſet. Now, had the bird been ſuffered to have proceeded without interruption in her natural courſe, the eggs would have been hatched, and the young ones brought to a ſtate capable of providing for themſelves, before ſhe would have been induced to make another neſt, and excited to produce another ſet of eggs from the ovarium. If the bird had been deſtroyed at the time ſhe was ſitting on her firſt laying of eggs, diſſection would have ſhewn the ovarium containing a great number in an enlarged ſtate, and advancing in the uſual progreſſive order. Hence it plainly appears, that birds can keep back, or bring forward, under certain limitations, their eggs at any time during the ſeaſon appointed for them to lay; but the cuckoo, not being ſubject to the common interruptions, goes on laying from the time ſhe begins, till the eve of her departure from this country: for although old cuckoos in general take their leave the firſt week in July, (and I never could ſee one after the 5th day of that month *), yet I have known an inſtance of an egg's being hatched in the neſt of a hedge-ſparrow ſo late as the 15th. And a farther proof of their continuing to lay till the time of their leaving us, may, I think, be fairly deduced from the appearances on diſſection of the female cuckoo above mentioned, killed on the 3d of July.

Among the many peculiarities of the young cuckoo, there is one that ſhews itſelf very early. Long before it leaves the neſt, it frequently, when irritated, aſſumes the manner of a bird of prey, looks ferocious,

* Though I am unacquainted with an inſtance, yet I conceive it poſſible, that here and there a ſtraggling cuckoo may be ſeen after this time.

throws itſelf back, and pecks at any thing preſented to it with great vehemence, often at the ſame time making a chuckling noiſe like a young hawk. Sometimes, when diſturbed in a ſmaller degree, it makes a kind of hiſſing noiſe, accompanied with a heaving motion of the whole body *. The growth of the young cuckoo is uncommonly rapid.

The chirp is plaintive, like that of the hedge-ſparrow; but the ſound is not acquired from the foſter-parent, as it is the ſame whether it be reared by the hedge-ſparrow, or any other bird.

It never acquires the adult note during its ſtay in this country.

The ſtomachs of young cuckoos contain a great variety of food. On diſſecting one that was brought up by wagtails, and fed by them at the time it was ſhot, though it was nearly of the ſize and fullneſs of plumage of the parent bird, I found in its ſtomach the following ſubſtances:

Flies and beetles of various kinds.

Small ſnails, with their ſhells unbroken.

Graſhoppers.

Caterpillars

Part of a horſe-bean.

A vegetable ſubſtance reſembling bits of tough graſs, rolled into a ball.

The ſeeds of a vegetable that reſembled thoſe of the gooſegraſs.

In the ſtomach of one fed by hedge-ſparrows, the contents were almoſt entirely vegetable; ſuch as wheat, ſmall vetches, &c. But this was the only inſtance of the kind I had ever ſeen, as theſe birds, in general, feed the young cuckoo with ſcarcely any thing but animal food. However, it ſerved to clear up a point which before had ſomewhat puzzled me; for having found the cuckoo's egg in the neſt of a green linnet, which begins very early to feed its young with vegetable food, I was apprehenſive, till I ſaw this fact, that this bird would have been an unfit foſter-parent for the young cuckoo.

The titlark, I obſerve, feeds it principally with graſhoppers.

But the moſt ſingular ſubſtance, ſo often met with in the ſtomachs of young cuckoos, is a ball of hair curiouſly wound up. I have found it of various ſizes, from that of a pea to that of a ſmall nutmeg. It ſeems to be compoſed chiefly of horſe-hairs, and from the reſemblance it bears to the inſide covering of the neſt, I conceive the bird ſwallows it while a neſtling. In the ſtomachs of old cuckoos I have often ſeen maſſes of hair; but theſe had evidently once formed a part of the hairy caterpillar, which the cuckoo often takes for its food.

There ſeems to be no preciſe time fixed for the departure of young cuckoos. I believe they go off in ſucceſſion, probably as ſoon as they are capable of taking care of themſelves; for although they ſtay here till they become nearly equal in ſize and growth of plumage to the old cuckoo, yet in this very ſtate the foſtering care of the hedge-ſparrow is not withdrawn from them. I have

* Young animals, being deprived of other modes of defence, are probably endowed with the powers of exciting fear in their common enemies. If you but ſlightly touch the young hedge-hog, for inſtance, before it becomes fully armed with its prickly coat, the little animal jumps up with a ſudden ſpring, and imitates very cloſely the ſound of the word *huſh!* as we pronounce it in a loud whiſper. This diſpoſition is apparent in many other animals.

frequently

frequently ſeen the young cuckoo of ſuch a ſize that the hedge-ſparrow has perched on its back, or half-expanded wing, in order to gain ſufficient elevation to put the food into its mouth. At this advanced ſtage, I believe that young cuckoos procure ſome food for themſelves; like the young rook, for inſtance, which in part feeds itſelf, and is partly fed by the old ones till the approach of the pairing ſeaſon. If they did not go off in ſucceſſion, it is probable we ſhould ſee them in large numbers by the middle of Auguſt; for as they are to be found in great plenty *, when in a neſtling ſtate, they muſt now appear very numerous, ſince all of them muſt have quitted the neſt before this time. But this is not the caſe; for they are not more numerous at any ſeaſon than the parent birds are in the months of May and June.

The ſame inſtinctive impulſe which directs the cuckoo to depoſit her eggs in the neſts of other birds, directs her young one to throw out the eggs and young of the owner of the neſt. The ſcheme of nature would be incomplete without it; for it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, for the little birds, deſtined to find ſuccour for the cuckoo, to find it alſo for their own young ones, after a certain period; nor would there be room for the whole to inhabit the neſt.

Thus, Sir, I have, with much pleaſure, complied with your requeſt; and here lay before you ſuch obſervations as I have hitherto been capable of making on the natural hiſtory of the cuckoo; and, ſhould they throw ſome light on a ſubject that has long lain hid in obſcurity, I ſhall not think my time has been ill employed.

With a grateful ſenſe of the many obligations I owe to the friendſhip with which you have ſo long honoured me,

I remain, &c.

Berkeley, EDW. JENNER.
Dec. 27, 1787.

An Abſtract of Mr. William Smellie's *Eſſay on Inſtinct. From Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh, *Vol. I.*

"MANY theories have been invented with a view to explain the inſtinctive actions of animals, but none of them have received the general approbation of philoſophers. This want of ſucceſs may be referred to different cauſes; to want of attention to the general œconomy and manners of animals; to miſtaken notions concerning the dignity of human nature; and, above all, to the uniform endeavour of philoſophers to diſtinguiſh inſtinctive from rational motives. Mr. Smellie endeavours to ſhew that no ſuch diſtinction exiſts, and that the reaſoning faculty itſelf is a neceſſary reſult of inſtinct.

He obſerves, that the proper method of inveſtigating ſubjects of this kind, is to collect and arrange the facts which have been diſcovered, and to conſider whether theſe lead to any general concluſions. According to this method, he exhibits examples, *Firſt*, of pure inſtincts: *Secondly*, of ſuch inſtincts as can accommodate themſelves to particular

* I have known four young cuckoos in the neſts of hedge-ſparrows in a ſmall paddock at the ſame time.

circumſtances and ſituations: *Thirdly*, of ſuch as are improveable by experience or obſervation: And, *laſtly*, he draws ſome concluſions.

By pure inſtincts are meant ſuch as, independently of all inſtruction or experience, inſtantaneouſly produce certain actions, when particular objects are preſented to animals, or when they are influenced by peculiar feelings. Such are, in the human ſpecies, the inſtinct of ſucking, which is exerted by the infant immediately after birth, the voiding of fæces, the retraction of the muſcles upon the application of any painful ſtimulus. The love of light is exhibited by infants, even ſo early as the third day after birth. The paſſion of fear is diſcoverable in a child at the age of two months.

Among the inferior animals, there are numberleſs pure inſtincts. Caterpillars ſhaken off a tree in every direction, turn immediately to the trunk, and climb up. Young birds open their mouths on hearing any noiſe, as well as that of their mother's voice. Every ſpecies of inſect depoſits its eggs in the ſituation moſt proper for hatching and affording nouriſhment to its future progeny. Some ſpecies of animals look not to future wants; others, as the bee and the beaver, are endowed with an inſtinct which has the appearance of foreſight. They conſtruct magazines, and fill them with proviſions. Bees diſplay various remarkable inſtincts. They attend and feed the female or queen. When deprived of her, all their labours ceaſe till a new one is obtained. They conſtruct cells of three different dimenſions; for working bees, for drones, and for females; and the queen in depoſiting her eggs, puts each ſpecies into its appropriated cells. They deſtroy all the females but one, leſt the hive ſhould be overſtocked. The different inſtincts of the common bee, of the wood-piercing bee, and of that ſpecies which builds cylindrical neſts with roſe leaves, are very remarkable.

Equally ſingular are the inſtincts of waſps, and ichneumon flies, which though they feed not themſelves upon worms, lay up ſtores of theſe animals for the nouriſhment of their young.

Birds build their neſts of the ſame materials, and in the ſame form and ſituation, though they inhabit very different climates. They turn and ſhift their eggs, that they may be equally heated. Geeſe and ducks cover up their eggs till they return to the neſt. The ſwallow ſolicits her young to void their excrement over the neſt, and aſſiſts them in the operation. The ſpiders, and many inſects of the beetle-kind, when put in terror, counterfeit death. This is not, as has been ſuppoſed, a convulſion or ſtupor, but an artifice; for when the object of terror is removed, they recover immediately.

Of inſtincts which can accommodate themſelves to peculiar circumſtances and ſituations, many inſtances may be given from the human ſpecies; but theſe being improveable, fall more properly under the third claſs.

Thoſe animals are moſt perfect, whoſe ſphere of knowledge extends to the greateſt number of objects. When interrupted in their operations, they know how to reſume their labours, and to accompliſh their purpoſes by different means. Some animals have no other power but that of contracting or extending their bodies. But the falcon, the dog,

dog, and the fox, purſue their prey with intelligence and addreſs.

In Senegal, the oſtrich ſits upon her eggs only during the night, leaving them in the day to the heat of the ſun. At the Cape of Good Hope, where the heat is not ſo great, ſhe ſits upon them day and night. Rabbits, when domeſticated, are not inclined to burrow. Bees augment the depth of their cells, and increaſe their number, as occaſion requires. A waſp carrying out a dead companion from the neſt, if he finds it too heavy, cuts off the head, and carries out the load in two portions. In countries infeſted with monkeys, birds, which in other countries build in buſhes or clefts of trees, ſuſpend their neſts at the end of ſlender twigs. The nymphæ of water-moths, which cover themſelves with caſes of ſtraw, gravel, or ſhells, contrive to make their caſes nearly in equilibrium with the water: When too heavy, they add a bit of wood or ſtraw; when too light, a bit of gravel. A cat, when ſhut into a cloſet, has been known to open the latch with its paws.

The third claſs of inſtincts comprehends all thoſe that are improveable by experience and obſervation.

The ſuperiority of man over the other animals, ſeems to depend chiefly on the great number of inſtincts with which he is endowed. Traces of every inſtinct which he poſſeſſes are diſcoverable in the brute-creation, but no particular ſpecies enjoys the whole. On the contrary, moſt animals are limited to a ſmall number. This appears to be the reaſon why the inſtincts of brutes are ſtronger, and more ſteady in their operation than thoſe of man, and their actions more uniform.

Moſt human inſtincts receive improvement from experience and obſervation, and are capable of a thouſand modifications. One inſtinct counteracts and modifies another, and often extinguiſhes the original motive to action. The inſtinct of fear is often counteracted by ambition and by reſentment: The inſtinct of anger, by fear, by ſhame, by contempt, by compaſſion. Of modified, compounded, and extended inſtincts, there are many examples. Devotion is an extenſion of the inſtinct of love, to the firſt Cauſe or Author of the univerſe. Superſtition is the inſtinct of fear extended to imaginary objects of terror. Hope is the inſtinct of love directed to future good. Avarice is the inſtinct of love directed to an improper object. Fear is likewiſe an ingredient of this attachment. Envy is compounded of love, avarice, ambition, and fear. Sympathy is the inſtinct of fear transferred to another perſon, and reflected back upon ourſelves. In this manner all the modified, compounded, or extended paſſions of the human mind, may be traced back to their original inſtincts.

The inſtincts of brutes are likewiſe improved by obſervation and experience. Of ſuch improvement, the dog, the elephant, the horſe, the camel, afford numerous and ſtrong inſtances.

From theſe and other examples, given of the different claſſes of inſtincts, Mr. Smellie argues, that inſtinct is an original quality of mind, which, in man, as well as in other animals, may be improved, modified, and extended, by experience.

Senſation implies a ſentient principle or mind. Whatever feels, therefore, is mind. Of courſe, the

loweſt ſpecies of animals is endowed with mind. But the minds of animals have very different powers; and theſe powers are expreſſed by peculiar actions. The ſtructure of their bodies is uniformly adapted to the powers of their minds; and no mature animal attempts actions which nature has not enabled it to perform: The inſtincts, however, of animals, appear often previouſly to the expanſion of thoſe inſtruments which nature intended they ſhould employ. This view of inſtinct is ſimple: It removes every objection to the exiſtence of mind in brutes, and unfolds all their actions by referring them to motives perfectly ſimilar to thoſe by which man is actuated. There is perhaps a greater difference between the mental powers of ſome animals, than between thoſe of man and the moſt ſagacious brutes. Inſtincts may be conſidered as ſo many internal ſenſes, of which ſome animals have a greater, and others a ſmaller number. Theſe ſenſes, in different ſpecies, are likewiſe more or leſs ductile; and the animals poſſeſſing them are, of courſe, more or leſs ſuſceptible of improving, and of acquiring knowledge.

The notion that animals are machines, is therefore too abſurd to merit refutation. Though not endowed with mental powers equal to thoſe of man, they poſſeſs, in ſome degree, every faculty of the human mind. Senſation, memory, imagination, the principle of imitation, curioſity, cunning, ingenuity, devotion, or reſpect for ſuperiors, gratitude, are all diſcoverable in the brute creation. Every ſpecies too has a language, either of ſounds or geſtures, ſufficient for the individuals to communicate their wants to each other; and ſome animals underſtand in part the language of man. The language of infants is nearly on a par with that of brutes. Brutes, without ſome portion of reaſon, could never make a proper uſe of their ſenſes. But many animals are capable of balancing motives, which is a pretty high degree of reaſon. Young animals examine all objects they meet with, and in this inveſtigation they employ all their organs. The firſt periods of their life are dedicated to ſtudy. When they run about and make frolicſome gambols, it is nature ſporting with them for their inſtruction. Thus they gradually improve their faculties, and acquire an intimate knowledge of the objects that ſurround them. Men who, from peculiar circumſtances, have been prevented from mingling with companions, and engaging in the different amuſements and exerciſes of youth, are always awkward in their movements, cannot uſe their organs with eaſe or dexterity, and often continue, during life, ignorant of the moſt common objects."

Obſervations on Pemphigus, *by* Stephen Dickſon, *M. D. Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and one of the King's Profeſſors of Phyſic in the City of Dublin, M. R. I. A. &c.—From the Tranſactions of the Royal* Iriſh *Academy for* 1787.

Vera Experientia naſcitur e compluribus obſervationibus, magna diligentia, attentione & cura notatis, quæ integram morbi hiſtoriam, cum omnibus ad rem pertinentibus circumſtantiis complectuntur. *Hoffman.*

"PEMPHIGUS is a diſeaſe of very rare occurrence, and many phyſicians in extenſive practice have never met with an inſtance of

of it. However, ſix have fallen within my obſervation, three in Scotland, one in England, and two in this kingdom. I mention this circumſtance as an apology for writing on this ſubject: had the ſame opportunities occurred to men of more enlarged experience, I ſhould have been ſilent. I am alſo aware that uncommon caſes are not the beſt ſubjects for medical inquiry; but they often ſerve to reflect light on thoſe which are more uſual; and beſides, whatever affects human nature muſt naturally conciliate our attention.

Our beſt noſologiſt, Dr. Cullen (to whom, by the by, no inſtance of this diſeaſe ever occurred) has claſſed Pemphigus in the order of Exanthemata. This claſſification will certainly appear ſufficiently proper to thoſe who grant this Noſologiſt the latitude he allows himſelf in the arrangement of his genera. When the plague and petechial fever are allowed to be claſſed under different heads, and the thruſh and ſcarlet fever under the ſame head, we need not contend about the place of Pemphigus, even though we ſhould find it not to be contagious, ſometimes commencing and continuing without fever, and affecting perſons more than once in the courſe of their lives. Dr. Cullen deſcribes this diſorder as follows: "A contagious fever, veſi-" cles about the ſize of an almond " appearing on the firſt, ſecond, or " third day of the diſeaſe, remain-" ing for many days, and at length " pouring out a thin ichor." I propoſe to amend his deſcription in the following manner: *A fever, accompanied with the ſucceſſive eruption, from different parts of the body, internal as well as external, of veſicles about the ſize of an almond, which become turgid with a faintly yellowiſh ſerum, and in three or four days ſubſide.* I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that I am by no means convinced of this diſorder being contagious; that new veſicles ariſe, not only on the firſt, ſecond, or third, but on every day of the diſeaſe; that I have never known them remain for many days; that the fluid they contain does not appear in general to be an ichor or ſanies, but a bland, inodorous, inſipid ſerum; and that inſtead of being poured out, it is moſt commonly abſorbed into the ſyſtem.

No traces of this diſeaſe are diſcoverable in the writings either of the Greeks, Romans, or Arabians.

Bontius, in his account of the medicine of the Egyptians, mentions the caſe of his friend Cavallerius, who was ſeized with the epidemic dyſentery that prevailed during the ſiege in Java, by Tommagon Bauraxa, in 1628. His diſorder was accompanied with the eruption of cuticular veſicles, which were filled with a greeniſh pus, that eroded the ſkin underneath, even to the fleſh. The patient died. It is evident that little can be concluded from this brief account.

Carolus Piſo, in his 149th obſervation, accurately depicts the genuine Pemphigus, as it appeared in the caſe of Egmont de Rinach, about 150 years ago, at Nantz. He terms it hydatids, and ſays it occurred to him frequently. But I have reaſon to ſuſpect that he confounds under the ſame name the chicken-pox, a ſlight diſorder, in which the ſkin is affected, not with ſpreading veſicles, but with ſmall puſtules. He ſeems alſo to confound with Pemphigus ſome other erythematous af-

fections; for he ſays that theſe watery puſtules frequently precede the eruption of the itch; that they ſometimes occur without fever, ſometimes accompany continued fever, and ſometimes appear in the beginning of intermittents. The truth is that Piſo, though an induſtrious obſerver and a candid man, was by no means an acute noſologiſt. His account, however, of the caſe of Egmont de Rinach deſerves attention, not only as being the firſt accurate and authentic deſcription of this diſeaſe on record, but as pointing out a diverſity in the habit of body then accompanying this diſeaſe from what has been ſince met with; for though Piſo declares that the veſicles in this caſe ſupervened on a putrid ſynochus, yet he ſays that he let blood in the beginning with great advantage, and earneſtly recommends the ſame practice in ſimilar caſes. In every inſtance, however, that I have ſeen of this diſorder, ſuch a practice would have been plainly improper, if not pernicious.

The next author who mentions Pemphigus is Morton. Speaking of the diſeaſes which prevailed in London between 1632 and 1692, he mentions, among other fevers of a malignant type, ſome in which watery veſicles were ſcattered over the head and cheſt. Theſe fevers however, he ſays, were merely ſporadic, and not propagated by contagion, as in the peſtilential conſtitution.

For the next *authentic* * account of Pemphigus we are indebted to the obſervations of Sauvages. He firſt obſerved it in the hoſpital at Montpellier in 1725, in a ſoldier who fell a victim to it. Afterwards he ſaw five other caſes, chiefly of beggars, or other poor people, in all of which acute febrile ſymptoms were preſent. Twice, however, he ſaw it unattended with fever.

Laſtly, Dr. Stewart, of Aberdeen (in a letter to Dr. Duncan, which is inſerted in the Medical Commentaries for 1778) mentions a caſe of Pemphigus, which occurred to him in the hoſpital in that town. A ſoldier had been ordered to march ſoon after he had been ſeized with the meaſles; the eruption was driven in by the cold, and in ten days afterwards the Pemphigus appeared. The veſicles (the largeſt of which were ſnipped) poured out, at firſt, a ſemipellucid ſerum, but in the courſe of the diſeaſe diſcharged a bloody ichor. In this caſe the tendency to putrefaction was very ſtrong, but the patient recovered by the liberal adminiſtration of bark and wine. From this caſe I think we are juſtified in inferring that the nature of the fluid contained in the veſicles (however accurately it may be aſcertained to be a pure ſerum in the beginning) may be ſo altered in the courſe of the diſeaſe, by its own fermentation, or by admixture with other fluids of the body, from their veſſels being broken down, that it may at length ceaſe to be a diagnoſtic ſymptom of this diſorder.

But no author who has written on the ſubject of Pemphigus has mentioned an extraordinary peculiarity of this diſorder, which I have obſerved in two inſtances; namely, that the veſicles have taken poſſeſſion of the internal parts of the body, and proceeded in ſucceſſion

* See Culleni Noſol. tom. ii. c. xxxiv.

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(ſome riſing while others decayed) from the mouth downwards through the whole ſurface of the alimentary canal.

The firſt caſe in which I had the opportunity of obſerving this ſingular and diſtreſſing ſymptom, was that of a woman under the care of Dr. Gregory, at the infirmary of Edinburgh, in 1783. This woman's menſes had been obſtructed for two years and an half. During that period ſhe had been thrice before attacked with the ſame diſorder, which had each time ſupervened upon a vomiting of blood. Her ſkin was generally cool; and her pulſe (though weak) never much increaſed in frequency. Peruvian bark and wine were adminiſtered to her liberally. By theſe and other occaſional remedies ſhe recovered.

The other caſe, in which veſicles appeared to have been formed internally, occurred to me lately in this town. I ſhall relate the particulars of it, as I think it worthy of obſervation.

———, aged twenty-three, of a delicate form and ſanguine temperament, the wife of a man in tolerably good circumſtances, and who had been about a fortnight ill of a low fever, was ſeized (after having ſuffered much fatigue in attending her huſband) with pains in her back, head-ach, and tendency to vomit.—As I was attending her huſband I ſaw the firſt approaches of her diſorder, and on the evening of the day ſhe was firſt attacked directed her to take an emetic, and to bathe her feet in warm water.

The next morning her ſkin was very hot; pulſe frequent; head-ach not better; ſhe had not ſlept, and complained of a ſore-throat; on inſpection the uvula and tonſils appeared inflamed, and ſome mucus was collected in the back of the fauces; ſhe had no ſtool for two days. I ordered a clyſter immediately; afterwards a gentle purgative; tincture of roſes for a gargle.—In the evening all the ſymptoms were milder. The phyſic had operated twice. I ordered the pediluvium to be repeated.

Third day. She complained of a ſmarting, itching, and (as ſhe expreſſed herſelf) tingling pain in her tongue, and through the whole inſide of her mouth. Her tongue was of a bright red colour and dry, but clean. She was thirſty, but complained that her drink was unpalatable, though acidulated with lemon-juice. She had no moiſture on her ſkin. Had gone to ſtool once. Slept tolerably well the night before. The febrile ſymptoms were mitigated, but the cynanche unabated. I ordered nothing but the ſaline julep.

Fourth day. There appeared on her tongue a pellucid veſicle of about an inch long, and near half an inch broad, turgid with a faintly yellowiſh ſerous fluid. A ſmaller one of the ſame kind appeared on the inſide of the left cheek. The ſenſation which they occaſioned ſhe deſcribed as being ſimilar to that which ſhe had experienced before their eruption, but greater in degree, and ſomewhat as if they were full of ſcalding water. This day her ſkin was cooler, but her pulſe very weak, irregular, and about ninety in a minute. She had had two looſe ſtools. I preſcribed half a drachm of the red Peruvian bark, very finely powdered, to be taken every two hours in a goblet of wine and water. Imperial for common

common drink. The tincture of roſes to be changed for an emollient gargle.

Fifth day. Three veſicles ſimilar to the former appeared on her cheſt and right arm. Other ſymptoms nearly as before. Pulſe not ſo feeble. Medicines were continued.

Sixth day. Her ſtomach rejected the bark. Two new veſicles appeared on her neck and cheek. Her breath was fœtid. She had had ſome low delirium in the night. Pulſe eighty-eight, and very weak. No ſenſe of taſte. I preſcribed a decoction of bark, one ounce, in which ſhould be diſſolved half a drachm of vegetable alkali, to be taken every two hours; and immediately after each doſe half an ounce of the ſame decoction mixed with ſix drachms of lemon-juice. Cyder or porter for common drink.

Seventh day. There was little change. The medicines were continued.

Eighth day. The veſicles on the inſide of the mouth and on the tongue diſappeared, and the cuticle which had been elevated was ſhrivelled, and of a browniſh colour. Deglutition was difficult, and, as ſhe ſaid, painful through the whole inſide of her throat. Pulſe eighty, and rather ſtronger. Bowels regular. Medicines were continued.

Ninth day. The cuticle on the parts formerly occupied by veſicles in the inſide of the cheek and on the tongue had cracked, and was peeling off: the parts underneath appeared raw and ſore. Deglutition had now become ſo painful, that ſhe refuſed medicine, food, and even drink. She could not bear the ſlighteſt preſſure on the neck. A new veſicle appeared under her right ear. Some purulent matter appeared on the back of the pharynx, the origin of which however was not diſcernible. Pulſe eighty ſix, and of nearly the ſame ſtrength. I preſcribed a clyſter of warm water: after its operation another of new milk and decoction of bark, equal parts: the ſame to be repeated four hours afterwards. At night an anodyne clyſter, with fifty drops of thebaic tincture. White liniment for the ſores.

Tenth day. The veſicles on the cheſt and right arm had diſappeared. The ſores of the tongue and cheek were of a darker colour, and ſeemed to be healing. Some new veſicles appeared on the abdomen. Pulſe not ſo weak. She reſted well the former part of the preceding night, but was diſturbed by an accident, and afterwards was much inclined to rove in her diſcourſe till morning. Medicines were continued.

Eleventh day. The ſymptoms were nearly the ſame as the day before. The veſicles on the neck and cheek had diſappeared, and the cuticle in thoſe parts was ſhrivelled and cracked. The epigaſtric region was extremely ſore, and this ſoreneſs much increaſed by preſſure. The laſt clyſter of decoction of bark and milk, adminiſtered the day before, was not retained. I ordered ſalep to be ſubſtituted for milk: other medicines to be continued.

Twelfth day. She could ſwallow, though ſtill not without pain. I directed the medicines which had been preſcribed the fourth day to be repeated: the others to be omitted.

Thirteenth

Thirteenth day. She vomited ſome blood along with the firſt doſe of the bark. Pulſe eighty, and ſtronger. The veſicles under the ear and on the abdomen had diſappeared. Several ſmall veſicles (not above the ſize of a pea) aroſe on the hypogaſtric region of the abdomen, one on the labia pudendorum, and two on the left thigh. As ſhe had taken ſome bark which remained on her ſtomach, I directed this medicine to be continued, and an anodyne draught to be adminiſtered at night.

Fourteenth day. She had two looſe ſtools, much intermixed with blood, and complained of great ſoreneſs of her belly, increaſed by preſſure. I preſcribed a little caſtor oil. Other medicines as before, except the draught.

Fifteenth day. She had had two ſtools ſomewhat bloody the night before, and one almoſt natural in the morning. Pulſe ſeventy-ſeven, and of pretty good ſtrength. Skin quite cool. Spirits better. And ſome little appetite. Menſes had appeared in the morning. I directed the medicines to be continued as before.

From this time ſhe recovered apace, and in about a week had no complaint but weakneſs. Exerciſe, however, and the country air, ſoon completely re-eſtabliſhed her health.

After this full ſtatement of a caſe very diſtinctly marked, it would be ſuperfluous to add any thing by way of comment. I have only to obſerve, that whether this diſorder be contagious or not, is a queſtion which may poſſibly ſtill admit of ſome doubt; though from what I have ſeen, or been able to collect, I am inclined to think that it is not. Almoſt all the inſtances of this diſorder which are preciſe or well atteſted I have enumerated; and they are all ſolitary examples, no two of them having happened at the ſame time or place. I ſuſpect, therefore, that ſome other diſorders have been oftentimes miſtaken for Pemphigus; and that from thence, or from ſome preconceived theory, the notion has ariſen. When I was aſſiſtant to Dr. Home, in the clinical ward of the infirmary at Edinburgh, a patient was ſent to us by Dr. Gregory, whoſe caſe he "ſuppoſed * to be a beginning "Pemphigus," and which he ſaid "was plainly contagious." In a note which he ſent with this woman, he ſays, "I ſaw a boy, five "months ago, in the ſame cloſe, "very ill of the ſame diſeaſe; and "I am told by the people that ſe-"veral others, chiefly children, "have had the ſame diſeaſe ſince "in the ſame cloſe." This appeared extremely forcible, and accordingly had its due weight with the ſtudents. But in a day or two it appeared very evidently, that the diſeaſe of the woman whom Dr. Gregory had ſent us, was merely topical. She had no fever. The veſicles (which were ſituated under the eye and upon the eye-lid) were of a pale red colour; ſome puſtules filled with yellow matter appeared upon the brow at the ſame time;

* Though the diſorder of this patient appeared eventually to be of a different nature, yet it muſt be remembered that the approaches of moſt diſeaſes are ambiguous, and that this ſuppoſition by no means tends to impeach the judgment of a gentleman who is equally diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and veracity.

and

and both of theſe vaniſhed almoſt immediately after ſhe came into the infirmary; ſo that ſhe left it in three or four days perfectly well, having taken no medicine but the ſaline julep. This woman denied to us that ſhe had ever ſeen any one affected with veſicles; and upon enquiring more particularly among different people in the ſame cloſe, I found that they were in general very unqualified to give a diſtinct account of the epidemic diſeaſe (whatever it was) with which the children had been affected: they ſeemed, however, to think it neither novel nor alarming; and by their deſcription I ſhould rather take it to have been the chicken-pox, or ſome ſuch ſlight complaint, than the Pemphigus. I can have no doubt that the boy Dr. Gregory mentioned he had ſeen was really affected with Pemphigus; but I think that the vague teſtimony of the ignorant, indiſcriminating people of the cloſe is to be allowed no weight in deciding this nice queſtion.

The nature of this diſorder, as to its mildneſs or malignity, appears to vary conſiderably. In ſome inſtances it is extremely mild, as in three of the caſes I have ſeen, one of them in this town with Dr. Fleury. In other inſtances life is in the greateſt danger; thus in ſeveral of the caſes I have enumerated ſtrong ſymptoms of putreſcency were manifeſted.

With reſpect to the method of cure of this diſorder, the general ſymptoms of weakneſs and tendency to putrefaction obviouſly point out the proper treatment. When the veſicles ſeize on the internal parts, irritation muſt be guarded againſt by opiates, demulcents, and gentle laxatives; nouriſhment muſt be ſupplied; and the grand remedies, bark and wine (eſpecially the latter) muſt be ſedulouſly adminiſtered.

An Account of ſeveral Strata of Earth and Shells on the Banks of York River, *in* Virginia; *of a ſubterraneous Paſſage, and the ſudden Deſcent of a very large Current of Water from a Mountain, near* Carliſle, *of a remarkably large Spring near* Reading, *in* Pennſylvania; *and alſo of ſeveral remarkable Springs in the States of* Pennſylvania *and* Virginia. *In a Letter from the Hon.* Benjamin Lincoln, *Eſq; F. A. A. to the Rev.* Joſeph Willard, *V. Preſ. A. A. and Preſident of the Univerſity at* Cambridge.—*From Memoirs of the* American *Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I.*

"THAT this earth, ſince its formation, has met with great changes, and that the ſhores, now covered with the talleſt cedars and moſt luxuriant plants, were once waſhed by the ocean, none can deny. The land between James River and York River, in Virginia, is very level; its ſurface being about forty feet above high-water mark. It appears to have arrived to its preſent height at different periods, far diſtant each from the other, by means of the ocean: for near York Town, where the banks are perpendicular, you firſt ſee a ſtratum of earth, about five feet high, intermixed with ſmall ſhells, which has the appearance of a mixture of clay and ſand. On that lies, horizontally, a ſtratum of white ſhells, the cockle, the clam, and others, an inch

inch or two thick; then a body of earth, similar to that first mentioned, eighteen inches thick: and on that lies another thin body of small shells, then a third body of earth, about the same thickness as the last; and on that lies another body of white shells, of various kinds, about three feet thick, with very little sand, or earth, mixed with them. On these lies a body of oyster-shells, about six feet thick; then a body of earth to the surface. The oyster-shells are so united by a very strong cement, that they fall only when undermined, and then in large bodies, from one to twenty tons weight. They have the appearance of large rocks on the shores, and are wasted by the frequent washing of the sea. All these different strata seem to be perfectly horizontal.

After riding about seven miles from York Town, near the center between the two rivers, I discovered, at a place from which a large body of earth had been removed to a mill-dam, nearly the same appearance as in the bank first mentioned.

What they call their stone, with which they build in York Town, is nothing more than shells, united by a strong cement, which seems to be petrified in a degree, but is apparently affected by the weather.

ON the 2d of August, being at Carlisle, in the state of Pennsylvania, I went to view a subterraneous passage, which had its entrance near a river into a rock. I followed it about two hundred and fifty feet: to this distance it was, in general, from six to seven feet high, and about the same in width. At the end of two hundred and fifty feet it divided into three branches.—As they were smaller, and more difficult to follow, and finding myself exceedingly chilled, (which cost me one of the sickest nights I ever suffered) I gave up the pursuit, though I had proceeded but about half the distance, as I was informed by Col. Butler, who had been near the end. It appeared to me that it was a water-course, as the rocks were worn smooth, and indented in the manner they usually are by a long running of water over them. The appearance overhead was curious; some parts were smooth like the sides; other parts represented various figures, formed by the water which had penetrated through the pores of the rock, and was now petrified and petrifying on its surface. The bottom was apparently earth and small stones.

About three years since, the people in the vicinity of this town, who lived near the mountain, which is about ten miles from the village, were alarmed by a current of water overflowing the banks of the river. The cause they could not investigate, as there had been, the night before, but a small rain: however, they soon found the first effects of the water appeared within about twenty feet of the top of the mountain. Whether it burst forth from the mountain, or was a column of water from the clouds, has not yet been ascertained. The course in which it ran down the mountain was dry the next morning. It was confined to the width of twenty feet, perhaps less. It appeared to be about thirty feet deep, as could be discovered by its effects on those trees which were not carried away by the water. It cut a passage in the side of the mountain, of about seven or eight feet wide, and near that depth.

The

The traces of it are ſeen from the town, though, as I ſaid before, it is ten miles diſtant. One rock, of a very conſiderable weight, was thrown into the crotch of a tree, twelve feet from the ground, in which it remained for ſome time. When the water came into the valley, its impetuoſity was ſo great that it was not immediately diverted, but reached a ſmall riſing ground, through which it cut a paſſage; then followed the valley, and ſo on to the river, which was at ſome conſiderable diſtance. In its courſe, it carried off all the fences, and came upon the floors of ſome of the houſes. I have had ſome converſation with Mr. Rittenhouſe on the ſubject, who has been twice to ſee the effects of the water. It is his opinion, that it was not a column of water which burſted forth from the mountain, as it was near the top of one of the higheſt.

ON my return to Philadelphia, in the neighbourhood of Reading, I came to the greateſt ſpring of water I had ever ſeen.—It is about fourteen feet deep, and about one hundred feet ſquare. A full mill-ſtream iſſues from it. The water is clear and full of fiſhes. To account for this body of water, was my enquiry. I ſoon found, that it was probably the riſing and burſting forth of a very conſiderable river, which ſunk into the ground and totally diſappeared, one mile and an half or two miles diſtant from this place.

In the northern parts of Pennſylvania, there is a creek, called Oil Creek, which empties itſelf into the Alleghana River, iſſuing from a ſpring, on the top of which floats an oil, ſimilar to what is called Barbadoes tar, and from which may be collected, by one man, ſeveral gallons in a day. The troops, in marching that way, halted at the ſpring, collected the oil, and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief, and freed them immediately from the rheumatic complaints with which many of them were affected. The troops drank freely of the waters:—they operated as a gentle purge.

There is another ſpring in the weſtern parts of Virginia, as extraordinary in its kind as the one juſt mentioned, called the Burning Spring. It was known a long time to the hunters. They frequently encamped by it for the ſake of obtaining good water. Some of them arrived late one night, and, after making a fire, they took a brand to light them to the ſpring. On their coming to it, ſome fire dropped from the brand, and in an inſtant the water was in a flame, and ſo continued, over which they could roaſt their meat as ſoon as by the greateſt fire. It was left in this ſituation, and continued burning for three months without intermiſſion. The fire was extinguiſhed by excluding the air from it, or ſmothering it. The water taken from it into a veſſel will not burn. This ſhews, that the fire is occaſioned by nothing more than a vapour that aſcends from the waters.

There are two ſprings high up on the Powtomack; one of which has about the ſame degree of heat as blood running from the veins. It is much frequented by people who have loſt their health. The waters are drank with freedom, and alſo ſerve as a hot bath, by which much good has been experienced. The other ſpring, iſſuing from the ſame mountain, a little further up, is as remarkable

remarkable for its coldneſs, as the other for its heat, and differs from common ſprings in as many degrees.

Theſe accounts I have from the beſt authority. General Waſhington, from whom I had my information, as well as from others, owns the land around the Burning Spring, which he bought for the ſake of it.

The accounts of the other ſprings I received from a gentleman of undoubted veracity, and of great obſervation, who lately viſited them. He commanded the troops who experienced the benefit of the Oil Spring. He mentioned to me another ſpring in the ſouth-weſterly part of Virginia, which he had not ſeen, but of which he had received a particular account from gentlemen of character. It is called the Sweet Spring, from the ſweetneſs of the waters, which have been found efficacious in many diſorders, and have given relief when every other attempt has proved ineffectual.

To theſe I may add the great number of ſalt ſprings in America, eſpecially on the Ohio, and the rivers which empty into it. There is one ſpring on the Miſſiſſippi, from which ſalt is made ſufficient to ſupply the whole Illinois country with that article."

An Account of a ſingular Apple-Tree, producing Fruit of oppoſite Qualities; a Part of the ſame Apple being frequently ſour, and the other ſweet. In a Letter from the Reverend Peter Whitney *to the Reverend* Joſeph Willard, *V. Preſ. A. A. and Preſident of the Univerſity in* Cambridge.—*From the ſame Work.*

Northborough, July 15, 1782.

Reverend Sir,

"THERE is now growing in an orchard, lately belonging to my honoured father, the Reverend Aaron Whitney, of Peterſham, deceaſed, an apple-tree, very ſingular with reſpect to its fruit. The apples are fair, and, when fully ripe, of a yellow colour, but, evidently, of different taſtes—ſour and ſweet. The part which is ſour is not very tart, nor the other very ſweet. Two apples growing ſide by ſide, on the ſame limb, will be often of theſe different taſtes, the one all ſour, and the other all ſweet. And, which is more remarkable, the ſame apple will frequently be ſour on one ſide, end, or part, and the other ſweet, and that not in any order or uniformity; nor is there any difference in the appearance of the one part from the other. And as to the quantity, ſome have more of the acid and leſs of the ſweet, and ſo *vice verſa*. Neither are the apples, ſo different in their taſtes, peculiar to any particular branches, but are found, promiſcuouſly, on every branch of the tree. The tree ſtands almoſt in the midſt of a large orchard, in a rich and ſtrong ſoil, and was tranſplanted there about forty years ago. There is no appearance of the trunk or any of the branches having been ingrafted or inoculated. It was a number of years, after it had borne fruit, before theſe different taſtes were noticed; but ſince they were firſt diſcovered, which is about twenty years, there has been conſtantly the ſame variety in the apples.

For the truth of what I have aſſerted, I can appeal to many perſons

ſons of diſtinction, and of nice taſtes, who have travelled a great diſtance to view the tree, and taſte the fruit; but to inveſtigate the cauſe of an effect ſo much out of the common courſe of nature, muſt, I think, be attended with difficulty. The only ſolution I can conceive is, that the *corcula*, or hearts of two ſeeds, the one from a ſour, the other from a ſweet apple, might ſo incorporate, in the ground, as to produce but one plant: or that farina, from bloſſoms of thoſe oppoſite qualities, might paſs into, and impregnate the ſame ſeed. If you ſhould think the account I have given you, of this ſingular apple-tree, will be acceptable to the American Academy, pleaſe to communicate it.

I am, &c.

PETER WHITNEY.

Reverend Preſident Willard.

A remarkable Caſe of Gun Shot Wound. Communicated in a Letter from Barnabas Binney, *Hoſpital Phyſician, and Surgeon in the* American *Army, in* 1782, *to the Honourable* Benjamin Lincoln, *Eſq; F. A. A.—From the ſame Work.*

"ON April 9, 1782, David Beveridge, a ſeaman, belonging to the ſloop of war General Monk, was brought into the military hoſpital at this place, having been wounded the day before. He was a lad of about nineteen years of age, and in a good ſtate of health, at the time of the action between the ſaid ſhip and the Hyder-Ally. In that action he was in the main-top of the Monk, when he received a muſket-ball in his belly from one of the marines on the quarter-deck of the Hyder-Ally, then within fifteen yards of the Monk. The ball entered his belly about two inches above his left groin, and within an inch of the anterior edge of the left *ilium*, paſſing out two inches on the right of the ſpine between the two inferior true ribs, juſt touching the cartilage of the inferior angle of the right *ſcapula*. When he came into the hoſpital he had bled much, was very weak and cold, had a faultering voice, a cadaverous countenance, and a conſtant hiccup, while his fæces paſſed freely out of the wound in his belly. In this deplorable condition, where neither art nor nature could promiſe any permanent relief, the only dictate of humanity was to ſmooth the path of death. Being alſo in great pain, I adviſed him to take a glaſs of Madeira wine, with twenty or thirty drops of *liquid. landan.* in it, as often as neceſſary. He accordingly began, and continued this practice till the thirteenth, finding conſtant relief from it. He took no kind of ſuſtenance all this time excepting wine whey, never having any kind of diſcharge *ab ano* from the moment he was wounded, but conſtantly ſquirting with conſiderable force what fæces he had, through the wound in his belly. On the fourteenth he had a common glyſter adminiſtered, the greateſt part of which alſo came out at the wound, the remainder coming as it went, *ab ano*, without bringing any fæces. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth he took conſiderable quantities of gruel and whey, with a little wine occaſionally, having no inteſtinal diſcharge whatever but what was made through the wound in his belly. On the eighteenth, as his ſtrength was much increaſed, and

and as the wounds were considerably contracted, and looked well, I ordered another injection to be administered gently, when, for the first time in eleven days, he had a natural stool. From this time he had no further discharge of fæces through his wound; his excretions became as regular and as natural as ever they were; his wounds suppurated and healed kindly; his strength returned; and he was exchanged nearly as well as ever, on the thirtieth.

That the ball had passed through the colon is obvious, from the discharge of perfect fæces, and of the injection administered, *ab ano*. That his life depended upon our not meddling with the wound, and upon keeping him quiet and easy, is also plain; as the least removal of the orifice in the intestine from the orifice through the abdomen, which were so happily opposed to each other, must have been attended with a fatal discharge of the fæces into the abdomen. That the diaphragm and lungs were perforated is plain, from the course of the ball, and his profuse hæmoptoe. That surgeons may be too officious, as well as too tardy; and that where they are not certain of the utility of their operations, they had better leave even the most desperate disorders to the management of nature, ever provident, and generally adequate, are points remarkably enforced in this particular case.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

An Account of a new Method invented by the Earl of Dundonald, *for purifying* Sea Salt.—*From Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh, *Vol. I.*

THE Earl of Dundonald's proceſs for purifying ſea-ſalt proceeded upon this obſervation, That the common ſea-ſalt poſſeſſes a conſiderable mixture of ingredients, which render it, in a great degree, unfit for preſerving victuals. Theſe ingredients appear, by experiment, to be nauſeous, bitter and carthartic ſalts, having an earthy baſis, (magneſia ſalita and magneſia vitriolata or Epſom ſalt) which are intimately mixed with the proper ſea-ſalt.

To purify common ſalt, by diſſolving it in water, decompounding the bitter ſalts, and precipitating their earthy baſis, by adding a fixed alkali, whether foſſil or vegetable, is a tedious proceſs, and by far too expenſive to be employed for œconomical or mercantile purpoſes. It is even imperfect; as it is almoſt impoſſible, after that proceſs, to ſeparate from the ſea-ſalt the Glauber ſalt, or vitriolated tartar, or ſalt of Sylvius, which are produced according as the foſſil or vegetable alkali is uſed.

Lord Dundonald obſerved, That hot water ſaturated with ſea-ſalt, will ſtill diſſolve a great part of the bitter earthy ſalts. His method, therefore, of purifying the common ſalt from theſe bitter ſalts is, To take a conical veſſel, having a hole in the ſmall end of it, which is to be undermoſt; to place it, filled with common ſalt, in a moderate heat; to take one twentieth part of the ſalt contained in it, and putting it in an iron pan, to diſſolve it in its proper proportion of water, ſo that the water ſhall be completely ſaturated with the ſalt; and then to pour this ſolution boiling hot on the ſalt in the conical veſſel, which is to be purified. The boiling water being already ſaturated with ſea-ſalt, will diſſolve no more of it, but will diſſolve much of the bitter earthy ſalts; and this ſolution will gradually drop out at the hole in the bottom of the cone. When it ceaſes to drop, the ſame proceſs is to be repeated by means of freſh portions of the ſame parcel of ſalt, already partly purified, till it be brought to the required degree of purity. Lord Dundonald reckons, that three ſuch waſhings make the common ſalt of this country purer than any foreign ſalt; that each waſhing makes it 4½ times purer than before; ſo that (diſregarding fractions) after the ſecond waſhing it will be 20 times, after the third 91 times, after the fourth 410 times, and after the fifth 1845 times purer than at firſt.

The ſuperiority of ſalt thus purified to common ſalt, is equally obvious to the taſte, and by its effect in preſerving fiſh, fleſh, and butter; for it hath been often and carefully tried. Lord Dundonald conceives that the ſimplicity, facility, and cheapneſs of this method of purifying

ing ſalt ſhould recommend it to common practice, as it is an object of great public importance. He adds, that as all ſalt made by boiling has a portion of uncombined magneſia mixed with it, it is proper to add a little muriatic acid to the firſt brine poured on the ſalt, in order to diſſolve the magneſia, and carry it off.

TABLE.

Salt employed.		contained of	Purified Salt.		and of	Magneſia ſalita. Magn. vitriol.		which is equal nearly to	$\frac{1}{9}$ of ſalt employed.
	lb. oz.		lb. oz.			lb. oz.			
Salt hot from the pan firſt drawn - -	56 00		49 00			6 05		$\frac{1}{9}$	Ditto.
Salt hot from the pan laſt drawn - -	56 00		33 09			22 06		$\frac{2}{3}$	Ditto.
Medium of the above	56 00		41 04			14 05		$\frac{1}{3}$	Ditto.
Salt 6 weeks old - -	56 00		47 00			7 00		$\frac{1}{8}$	Ditto.
Salt firſt drawn, dripped 24 hours - -	56 00		52 12			3 00		$\frac{1}{18}$	Ditto.
Salt laſt drawn, dripped 24 hours - -	56 00		44 08			11 00		$\frac{1}{5}$	Ditto.
Medium of the two laſt - - - -	56 00		48 10			7 00		$\frac{1}{8}$	Ditto.
Spaniſh great Salt -	10 00		9 15½			00 00½		$\frac{1}{64}$	Ditto.
Baker fine Salt - -	3 00		3 00			00 00			

Each Portion of Salt in the foregoing Table was purified by his Lordſhip by Four Waſhings, according to the Method above deſcribed.

An Account of the Method of making a Wine, called by the Tartars *Koumiſs; with Obſervations on its Uſe in Medicine. By* John Grieve, *M. D. F. R. S. Edin. and late Phyſician to the Ruſſian Army. —From the ſame Work.*

"IN an age like the preſent, when few things in nature ſeem to have eluded the reſearches of philoſophy, when the communications of learning are as well eſtabliſhed as thoſe of commerce, it may appear ſomewhat ſurprizing, that one of the moſt important productions of milk ſhould ſtill remain, in a great meaſure, unknown to the moſt enlightened parts of Europe.

The production I mean is the vinous liquor which is procured by fermentation from mares milk. And it was ſcarcely to be expected, that, after it had eſcaped the obſervation of men the moſt ſkilled in chemiſtry, it ſhould be taught us by a horde of Tartars, whoſe rank in ſociety is not above that of Barbarians.

Even in Ruſſia itſelf, it was with difficulty I could learn the particulars of the preparation; and though it has been uſed, for ſome ages, by ſeveral tribes of people who belong to that empire, yet, in the year 1781, when I firſt began to think of employing it in medicine, it was as little known in what may be called Ruſſia proper, as it is now in Great Britain. If the academicians of St. Peterſburgh gave ſome accounts of it, theſe accounts have never excited the attention of the phyſicians of Ruſſia.

This neglect is moſt probably to be aſcribed, partly to the obſcure relations of travellers, and partly to the pride of ſyſtem, which men of learning are too often apt to indulge, in rejecting as incredible whatever does not coincide with their own preconceived opinions.

On conſulting the authors who have made mention of this ſubject, I find, that they give little ſatisfactory information concerning it. They all agree, that a vinous liquor, from mares milk, was uſed by ſome of the Tartar nations, under the name of Koumiſs; but none of them enter into a detail of the proceſs by which that wine was prepared, much leſs does any one of them point out the purpoſes, either in œconomy or medicine, to which it may be applied.

Marcus Paulus Venetus gives ſome account of it in his Hiſtory of the Eaſtern Nations *, which was publiſhed as long ago as the thirteenth century. He ſays, it was uſed by the Tartars as their common beverage, but makes no mention of the method of preparing it.

Strahlenberg, in his deſcription of the Ruſſian empire †, relates ſome circumſtances of the preparation; but his method, if followed, could not be attended with ſucceſs; for he mentions, that the Kalmucks take off the thick ſubſtance, which, in conſequence of ſouring, riſes to the top of the milk, and employ this in their food, while they uſe the remaining liquor either for

* De Region. Oriental. lib. 1. cap. 57.

† Beſchreibung des Ruſſichen Reichs, p. 319.

drink

drink or diſtillation. Now, this is not only contrary to the uſage of that people, when they wiſh to obtain a fermented liquor of any ſtrength; but experience proves, that no perfect fermentation can be produced, unleſs all the parts of the milk be left united in their natural portion.

Gmelin, in his hiſtory of a tour which he made through Siberia *, pays more attention to the Tartar method of diſtilling a ſpirit from the wine of milk, than to the fermenting proceſs by which that wine is procured.

The lateſt writer that I find mentioning Koumiſs, is the celebrated profeſſor of natural hiſtory in St. Peterſburgh, Dr. Pallas †. His account is as circumſtantial as could well be expected from a traveller, whoſe object was natural hiſtory in general; yet the principles on which the fermentation depends, as well as the mode of conducting the proceſs, are not ſufficiently explained in his work.

Theſe accounts, however imperfect, might have led philoſophers, long before this time, to a diſcovery of the true method of fermenting milk, had not the writings of Newman ‡, an eminent German chemiſt, contributed to deceive them. He was himſelf impoſed upon by one Lucas, a Dominican monk, who aſcribed its fermentation to the flour of millet and the grains of barley, which, he ſaid, the Tartars added to it, and to the wine caſk in which the operation was performed. Newman, it would ſeem, was unwilling to admit of the fermentability of milk, becauſe it was contrary to the ideas he had entertained of an animal liquor; and, therefore, adopting the oppoſite opinion, he ſeems glad to have an authority, however weak, to ſupport it.

Voltelen § too, a chemiſt of Holland, affords a ſtriking example, how eaſily men are miſled, even in matters of ſcience, by their own prejudices. He had no doubt of the exiſtence of a fermentable principle in milk, inaſmuch as it contained a certain quantity of a ſaccharine ſubſtance. He knew alſo, that the whey contained the ſugar in ſolution; it was on it, therefore, that he inſtituted his experiments; he added even more ſugar to the whey than the natural proportion; but no vinous fermentation could, by any means, be produced in it. Nor did even his want of ſucceſs undeceive him. He never once imagined, that the butyraceous and caſeous parts of the milk were no leſs neceſſary to its fermentation than the ſaccharine and ſerous.

Even Macquer, in his Chemical Dictionary ‖, has fallen into an error of the ſame kind. Speaking of whey, he ſays, "In whey is "contained diſſolved, a conſide-"rable quantity of extractive ſub-"ſtance, of the nature of the ſac-"charine juices, and it is accord-"ingly ſuſceptible of the ſpiritu-

* Gmelin's Reiſſe durch Siberien, t. 1. p. 273.
† Phyſicaliſh. Reiſe durch einig. provintz. des Ruſſiſch. Reichs, t. 1. p. 316.
‡ Newman, Chem. experimental. t. 1. part 2. p. 18.
§ Obſervat. de lacte humano cum aſinino et ovillo comparato, p. 54.
‖ Macquer Dictionary of Chemiſt. p. 432.

" ous fermentation. The Tartars " certainly make from it a ſpi- " rituous drink, or kind of wine." From this it appears he had not made the experiment.

The following method of making Koumiſs, is that which I adopted in my own practice with ſucceſs. It is common among the Baſchkir Tartars, who inhabit that part of the government of Orenbourg which lies between the rivers Kama and Volga. It was communicated to me by a Ruſſian nobleman, in whoſe caſe I was conſulted, and who was the firſt who made uſe of it by my advice. He went into that country on purpoſe to drink it; and, as he reſided for ſome time there, he could not be miſtaken with reſpect to the proceſs.

Take of freſh mares milk, of one day, any quantity; add to it a ſixth part of water, and pour the mixture into a wooden veſſel; uſe then, as a ferment, an eighth part of the ſoureſt cows milk that can be got; but, at any future preparation, a ſmall portion of old Koumiſs will better anſwer the purpoſe of ſouring; cover the veſſel with a thick cloth, and ſet it in a place of moderate warmth; leave it at reſt twenty-four hours, at the end of which time, the milk will have become ſour, and a thick ſubſtance will be gathered on the top; then, with a ſtick, made at the lower end in the manner of a churnſtaff, beat it, till the thick ſubſtance above mentioned be blended intimately with the ſubjacent fluid: In this ſituation, leave it again at reſt for twenty-four hours more; after which, pour it into a higher and narrower veſſel, reſembling a churn, where the agitation muſt be repeated, as before, till the liquor appear to be perfectly homogeneous; and, in this ſtate, it is called Koumiſs; of which the taſte ought to be a pleaſant mixture of ſweet and ſour. Agitation muſt be employed every time before it be uſed.

To this detail of the proceſs, he ſubjoined, that in order to obtain milk in ſufficient quantity, the Tartars have a cuſtom of ſeparating the foal from the mare during the day, and allowing it to ſuck during the night. And, when the milk is to be taken from the mare, which is generally about five times a-day, they always produce the foal, on the ſuppoſition, that ſhe yields her milk more copiouſly when it is preſent.

To the above method of making Koumiſs, which I have tranſlated as literally as poſſible from the original Ruſſian manuſcript now in my poſſeſſion, I will add ſome particulars, taken from other communications with which I was favoured by Tartars themſelves. For though I think no addition neceſſary to render it either more ſimple or more intelligible, yet I think it my duty to with-hold nothing which may, in any wiſe, throw light on ſo eſſential a part of my ſubject.

According to the account of a Tartar, who lived to the ſouth-eaſt of Orenbourg, the proportion of milk and ſouring ought to be the ſame as above; only, to prevent changing the veſſel, the milk may be put at once into a pretty high and narrow veſſel; and, in order to accelerate the fermentation, ſome warm milk may be added to it, and, if neceſſary, more ſouring.

From a Tartar, whom I met with at the fair of Macarieff upon the Volga,

Volga, and from whom I purchaſed one of the leathern bags * which are uſed by the Kalmucks for the preparation and carriage of their Koumiſs, I learned, that the proceſs may be much ſhortened by heating the milk before the ſouring be added to it, and as ſoon as the parts begin to ſeparate, and a thick ſubſtance to riſe to the top, by agitating it every hour, or oftener. In this way, he made ſome in my preſence in the ſpace of twelve hours. I learned alſo, that it was common, among ſome Tartars, to prepare it in one day during ſummer, and that with only two or three agitations; but that in winter, when, from a deficiency of mares milk, they are obliged to add a great proportion of that of cows, more agitation and more time are neceſſary. And though it is commonly uſed within a few days after the preparation, yet, when well ſecured in cloſe veſſels, and kept in a cold place, that it may be preſerved for three months, or even more, without any injury to its qualities.

He ſaid farther, that the acid fermentation might be produced by ſour milk, as above, by a ſour paſte of rye-flour, by the rennet of a lamb's ſtomach, or, what is more common, by a portion of old Koumiſs; and that, in ſome places, they ſaved much time, by adding the new milk to a quantity of that already fermented, on being mixed with which, it very ſoon undergoes the vinous change. It was according to the firſt proceſs, however, that all the Koumiſs which I have employed in medicine was prepared.

From all theſe accounts, it appears, that three things are eſſential to the vinous fermentation of milk. Theſe are *heat*, *ſouring*, and *agitation*. Heat is neceſſary to every ſpecies of fermentation, and ſouring is perhaps not leſs ſo, though not in ſo ſenſible a degree as in the preſent caſe; but the chief art of fermenting milk conſiſts in *agitation*. This laſt circumſtance has wholly eſcaped the attention of chemiſts, notwithſtanding it appears to be conſonant to the operations of nature in other ſpecies of fermentation. In fermenting vegetable juices and infuſions, nature has no need of the aſſiſtance of art; the inteſtine motion which accompanies the fermentation is ſufficient to produce the degree of agitation which ſeems neceſſary to keep the parts of the fluid in mutual contact, or to fit them for mutual action. Milk, on the contrary, is no ſooner ſoured than a ſeparation of its parts takes place; the cream riſes to the top, while the cheeſe either falls to the bottom, or is ſuſpended in the whey. When theſe parts are brought, however, into cloſe contact with one another, by agitation, and this re-

* This bag was made of a horſe's hide undreſſed, and, by having been ſmoked, had acquired a great degree of hardneſs. Its ſhape was conical, but was, at the ſame time, ſomewhat triangular, from being compoſed of three different pieces, ſet in a circular baſe of the ſame hide. The ſutures, which were made with tendons, were ſecured by a covering on the outſide, with a doubling of the ſame ſkin, very cloſely ſecured. It had a dirty appearance, and a very diſagreeable ſmell. On being aſked the reaſon of this, he ſaid, "The remains of the "old Koumiſs were left, in order to ſupply a ferment to the new milk."

peated at proper intervals, a vinous liquor is produced; of the medical virtues of which I ſhall now treat.

From the time I had heard of Koumiſs, I had conceived an opinion of its importance in the cure of certain diſeaſes. I judged, that a preparation of milk, which could not be curdled by the juices of the ſtomach, while, at the ſame time, it poſſeſſed all its nutritive qualities, with the ſuperaddition of a fermented ſpirit, might be of eſſential ſervice in all thoſe diſorders where the body is defective either in nouriſhment or ſtrength.

The caſe of the above-mentioned nobleman, who communicated to me the firſt proceſs, gave me an opportunity of trying how far my conjectures were well founded. He was in that ſtate which ſeemed to me ſtrongly to indicate the uſe of ſuch a medicine as Koumiſs. I accordingly adviſed him to it.

At twenty-ſix years of age, he laboured under a complication of chronic complaints. A confirmed *lues venerea*, injudiciouſly treated, with three ſucceſſive ſalivations by mercury, added to bad management of himſelf under theſe, had given riſe to his diſeaſe. His body was much emaciated; his face was of a livid yellow colour; his eyes were ſunk, and round his eye-lids there was a dark ſhade; he felt a ſevere pain in his breaſt, and that was accompanied with a conſiderable cough and mucous expectoration; his appetite and digeſtion were greatly impaired; he had frequent tremblings and faintings; he began to feel the ſymptoms of hectic fever. In a word, his whole appearance was conſumptive, and he was ſo weak that he required aſſiſtance to get into the carriage in which he was to be conveyed into Tartary.

After drinking Koumiſs ſix weeks only, he returned perfectly free from all the above ſymptoms, and was become ſo plump and freſh-coloured, that, at firſt ſight, it was with difficulty his friends could recogniſe him. As he did not come immediately to Niſchne-Novogorod, where I then was, he wrote me a letter, the ſubſtance of which, as far as it related to this ſubject, I ſhall give here.

After telling me the ſudden and remarkable change the Koumiſs had produced, during the firſt few days; that he ceaſed to be diſturbed in his ſleep; that his nervous and dyſpeptic ſymptoms left him; that he felt as if his veſſels had been diſtended with a freſh cooling liquor; that he became cheerful; that it ſerved him both for food and drink; that though he uſed it to the quantity of a gallon and a half, and ſometimes even more, in the twenty-four hours, yet he always drank it with pleaſure, and without intoxication; that his body, during its uſe, was regularly open; but that his urine was ſo much increaſed, that he was uſually excited to make water every hour: he proceeded to expreſs himſelf in the following ſtrong terms, which ſerves to ſhow how much he had profited by it.

"I am diſpoſed to conſider Koumiſs (ſays he) with all deference "to you, as an univerſal medicine, which will cure every diſeaſe, if you do not chuſe to except fever; for I am perſuaded, "that the moſt ſkilful phyſician, "with all the drugs of the ſhop, "could not have reſtored me to "the health I now enjoy."

The next caſe in which it was employed, though not ſo deſperate as the former, gave ſufficient proofs of its nutritive and ſtrengthening qualities. A lady, who had been witneſs to its uncommon efficacy in the nobleman's caſe above mentioned, was encouraged to try it in her own. It was not convenient for her to go herſelf to Tartary, and therefore ſhe had it ſent to her, well ſecured in caſks, during the autumn.

She had been long ſubject to a train of nervous diſorders. By theſe, ſhe was much extenuated, and reduced to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs and irritability. She uſed it for about a month, at the end of which time, the functions of her nervous ſyſtem were reſtored, and, with health and vigour, ſhe acquired a plumpneſs and freſh complexion.

The following year, I reſolved to try it at Niſchne-Novogorod under my own eye. As mares milk could not be obtained in ſufficient quantity in town, it was made at the ſeat of a nobleman, not far diſtant, from which it was occaſionally tranſported. The ſeaſon was far advanced, however, before a caſe was preſented, in which its efficacy might be tried. At laſt, about the middle of Auguſt 1782, I was conſulted by the General Governor's nephew. He had all the ſymptoms of incipient phthiſis; pain of breaſt; dry cough, occaſional hæmoptyſis, and great emaciation; he was not, however, become hectic. His two elder brothers had died of true pulmonary conſumptions. He had taken much medicine, in a different part of the country, and had obſerved a very ſtrict antiphlogiſtic regimen; but though milk had conſtituted the greateſt part of his diet, yet there were no ſigns of recovery. He drank Koumiſs for about two months only, and that in rather an unfavourable ſeaſon; but the conſequence was, that all the above ſymptoms diſappeared, and his fleſh and ſtrength returned; nor was there any reaſon to apprehend a relapſe, at the time I left that country.

About the ſame time, I adviſed its uſe to another young nobleman, who had laboured under an abſceſs in the left ſide, about the region of the twelfth rib. As he had then reſided in a remote part of the country, no attention had been paid to it; on the contrary, by improper applications, the ſides of the ulcer were become hard. He had loſt his fleſh and ſtrength; he had occaſional faintings; and there were all the appearances of incipient hectic. By the uſe of Koumiſs for about ſix weeks, proper chirurgical dreſſings being at the ſame time applied, his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed.

There were ſome other caſes in which I employed it with equal ſucceſs; but of which, as being leſs important, I omit the detail.

All thoſe who drank it agreed in ſaying, that, during its uſe, they had little appetite for food; that they drank it in very large quantities, not only without diſguſt, but with pleaſure; that it rendered their veins turgid, without producing languor; that, on the contrary, they ſoon acquired from it an uncommon degree of ſprightlineſs and vivacity; that even in caſes of ſome exceſs, it was not followed by indigeſtion, head-ach, or any of the ſymptoms which uſually attend the abuſe of other fermented liquors.

To

To this may be added, that the Baſchkir Tartars, who, towards the end of winter, are much emaciated, no ſooner return in ſummer to the uſe of Koumiſs, than they become ſtrong and fat *.

From all theſe circumſtances, I think myſelf entitled to infer, that this wine of mares milk may be applied to many of the purpoſes of medicine. From the mild acid which it contains, may it not be conſidered as a cooling antiſeptic? From its vinous ſpirit, may it not become an uſeful ſtimulant, cordial, and tonic? And, from its oily and mucilaginous parts, may it not prove a valuable article of nouriſhment? If chronic diſeaſes, as is generally allowed, depend on a debility of the ſolids; and if they are difficult of cure, becauſe the organs, which ought to ſupply the body with nouriſhment and ſtrength, do not only themſelves partake of the general weakneſs, but are too often, by the indigeſtible nature of the food with which they are overcharged, ſtill more debilitated; may not a ſubſtance of eaſy digeſtion, which at once ſtrengthens the ſtomach and nouriſhes the body, become a powerful remedy in all ſuch caſes?

And if acute diſeaſes, eſpecially of the febrile kind, are frequently attended with ſymptoms of weakneſs and putridity, may it not be found, from its antiſeptic and tonic powers, to be an uſeful corrector of the one, and reſtorative from the other?

May not the ſudden change it produced, in the *firſt* caſe, in the ſtate of the patient's feelings, and eſpecially of his ſleep, point it out as of uſe in all caſes of exceſſive irritability?

May not the effect it had in reſtoring his ſtomach to its functions, recommend it in dyſpepſia? And may not the vigour and plumpneſs which enſued from its uſe, indicate it in caſes even of confirmed atrophy?

Have we not reaſon to believe, that it may be uſed to advantage in the cure of nervous diſorders in general, from the manner in which it operated in the *ſecond* caſe? And in the incipient, perhaps even in the advanced ſtages of phthiſis, from the rapid and effectual change it occaſioned in the pulmonary ſymptoms of the *third*?

And may not its efficacy in the *fourth* caſe, encourage us to employ it in all caſes of ſuppuration or ulcer, in which the body is threatened with hectic fever?

Whether all theſe queſtions can be anſwered in the affirmative, muſt be determined by future experience; and, if they ſhould, perhaps the ſcarcity of mares milk in this country would greatly circumſcribe its utility.

Hence enquiries will naturally be made, whether other ſpecies of milk admit of a ſimilar vinous fermentation, and what proportion of ſpirit they contain. As theſe have never been the object, however, of my attention, I will here give the

* The author of a hiſtorical deſcription of all the nations which compoſe the Ruſſian empire, ſays, ſpeaking of Koumiſs, "Elle eſt fort nouriſſante, et peut "tenir lieu de tout autre aliment. Les Baſchkirs s'en trouvent très bien, elle les "rend bienportans et gais; elle leur donne de l'embonpoint, et de bonnes couleurs." Deſcrip. de tout. les Nat. de l'Emp. Ruſſ. t. 2. p. 118.

ſubſtance

ſubſtance of what I have been able to learn from others reſpecting that which is the moſt common, the milk of cows.

Dr. Pallas *, in the work above quoted, ſays, that cows milk is alſo ſuſceptible of the vinous fermentation, and that the Tartars prepare a wine from it in winter, when mares milk fails them; that the wine prepared from cows milk, they call *Airen*; but that they always prefer Koumiſs when it can be got, as it is more agreeable, and contains a greater quantity of ſpirit; that Koumiſs on diſtillation yields of a weak ſpirit one-third, but that *Airen* yields only two ninth parts of its whole quantity; which ſpirit they call *Arika*.

This account is confirmed by Oſeretſkowſky, a Ruſſian †, who accompanied Lepechin, and other academicians, in their travels through Siberia and Tartary. He publiſhed lately a diſſertation on the ardent ſpirit to be obtained from cows milk.

From his experiments, it appears, that cows milk may be fermented with, or even without, ſouring, provided ſufficient time and agitation be employed; that no ſpirit could be produced from any one of its conſtituent parts taken ſeparately, nor from any two of them, unleſs inaſmuch as they were mixed with ſome part of the third; that the milk, with all its parts in their natural proportion, was the moſt productive of it; that the cloſer it was kept, or, which is the ſame thing, the more difficultly the fixed air is allowed to eſcape during the fermentation, (care being taken, however, that we do not endanger the burſting of the veſſel), the more ſpirit is obtained. He alſo informs us, that it had a ſourer ſmell before than after agitation; that the quantity of ſpirit was increaſed, by allowing the fermented liquor to repoſe for ſome time before diſtillation; that from ſix pints of milk, fermented in a cloſe veſſel, and thus ſet to repoſe, he obtained three ounces of ardent ſpirit, of which one was conſumed in burning; but that from the ſame quantity of the ſame milk, fermented in an open veſſel, he could ſcarcely obtain one ounce.

Theſe particulars of the fermentation of mares and cows milk are an intereſting addition to the facts concerning fermentation in general; a ſubject ſo very obſcure and imperfectly underſtood, that I ſhall not hazard any remarks on it. My principal intention was, to point out to phyſicians what appears to me a powerful means which may be employed by them on many occaſions in the cure of diſeaſes."

Obſervations upon the Art of making Steel. By the Reverend Daniel Little, *F. A. A.—From Memoirs of the* American *Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I.*

"AS ſteel is an article of commerce, and of great uſe both in the arts, manufactures and huſbandry of every nation; and as we have the beſt of iron already manufactured in America, it is thought that the manufacturing of

* Phyſicaliſch. Reiſe durch verſchied. provintz. des Ruſſiſch. Reichs, t. 1. p. 316. et 317.

† Specim. inaug. de Spir. Ardent. ex lact. Bub. Argentorat. 1778.

ſteel

ſteel of a good quality, deſerves the attention and encouragement of thoſe who wiſh the welfare of the United States. What time I could redeem from other neceſſary buſineſs, for ſeveral years paſt, has been employed in ſuch diſquiſitions and experiments as might tend to facilitate the art of making ſteel, and others near akin to it.

Thoſe writers upon the ſubject which I have met with tell us, that the principal difference between iron and ſteel conſiſts in this, That the latter is combined with a greater quantity of phlogiſton than the former. Phlogiſton exiſts in all inflammable ſubſtances, and in ſome that are not inflammable. Charcoal, and the coals of bones, horns and hoofs of animals, have been uſed as fit ſubſtances for communicating phlogiſton to iron in making ſteel.

Steel is ſometimes made by fuſion of ore or pig-iron. The method is ſimilar to that of reducing pig-iron to malleable iron, with this difference, that as ſteel requires more phlogiſton than is neceſſary to iron, all the means muſt be made uſe of that are capable of introducing into the iron a great deal of phlogiſton; that is, by keeping it, while in fuſion, encompaſſed with an abundance of charcoal, &c.

The other method of making ſteel is by cementation, as it is called; that is, to convert bar iron into ſteel; which is done by a cement made of thoſe ſubſtances which contain the greateſt quantity of phlogiſton. Put the bar-iron with this cement into a veſſel that will bear a ſtrong fire; lute on a cloſe cover, ſo as to prevent the cement taking flame and conſuming; put the veſſel in a furnace where the bars may be kept red-hot till they are converted into ſteel, which will be in a longer or ſhorter time, according to the bigneſs of the bars, and the quantity of cement.

This latter method has chiefly engaged my attention, which method is pretty well known in ſome parts of America, and, for many years paſt, ſteel has been made by it in ſeveral of the United States. Yet, ſo far as I have been informed, it has generally been of an inferior quality, and very little uſed for edge tools, which I ſuppoſed could not ariſe from the quality of the iron, for we have the greateſt variety, and the beſt ſort, in many parts of the country. I then conjectured there might be found ſome other inflammable ſubſtance for a cement, which, if properly applied, would impregnate the iron with phlogiſton more advantageouſly. And, after many experiments, I found a particular marine plant that requires no other preparation but drying and pulverizing, and is commonly known by the name of rock-weed, or rock-ware, and is in the greateſt plenty on our rocky ſhores, coves, creeks and harbours of the ſea. In making ſome experiments upon this plant for a flux powder, a ſmall bit of iron was put into a crucible, and filled with the ſaid cement; and, very unexpectedly, after it had been in a little more than a cherry heat for five or ſix hours, it was converted into ſteel, which gave me the firſt hint of its uſe in making ſteel; ſince which I have had repeated experience of its excellency for the ſame purpoſe.

It needs no other preparation than to be cut off from the rocks with a ſcythe or ſickle, ſpread on the dry land till the rains have waſhed off the greater part of the ſea-ſalt, then dried

dried and pulverized, then uſed as other cements are in making ſteel: or, inſtead of waſhing off the ſea-ſalt, it is better for ſome particular kinds of iron, to neutralize it by adding a fixed alkali.

To two parts of the plant well dried and pulverized, add one part of good wood-aſhes; mix together and moiſten the whole with water or rather urine to the conſiſtence of a very thick paſte.

It is well known that in every new art, and in perfecting old ones, many unforeſeen difficulties ariſe, and ſometimes conſiderable fortunes have been ſpent before the manufacturer or the public have been much benefited. And, ſince honeſt, but too credulous minds are often deceived by uncertain proof, and being willing to ſatisfy myſelf and others, by a better teſtimony than my own, I engaged a * gentleman of ability in the ſteel way for many years, whoſe furnace was complete and large, to make experiments upon my new-diſcovered ſubſtance for a cement; who has written me, that "this ſteel is preferable to any he "had ever made before." After all, I ſuppoſe different modes of preparation and further experiments will more fully aſcertain its utility.

The matter of the furnace muſt be of ſuch ſubſtances as will endure a ſtrong fire without fuſion. Aſbeſtos has been uſed to advantage, but a ſufficiency of it is not found in many places. Pipe clay with one third part of pond-ſand, or, which is better, white ſtones free from grit, well burnt, and pulverized, inſtead of ſand, ſome ſpecies of ſlate and talc may be uſed with pipe-clay for furnaces and crucibles.

The cheſt or interior part of the furnace, for depoſiting the cement and bars of iron, muſt be covered ſo cloſe that the inflammable ſubſtance within may not be conſumed, but changed like wood in a coal-kiln. The iron to be choſen of the beſt quality; its toughneſs and malleability are marks of choice.

Of the ore of iron.—This is often diſcovered by the magnet, but a great part of the beſt ore is that which the magnet will not attract, as Linnæus and Macquer juſtly obſerve. When in that ſtate it often reſembles the ruſt or calx of iron. Many tons of which are brought to the iron-works in this neighbourhood, from which the beſt of iron is made. In its natural ſtate the beſt magnetic bar will not attract the ſmalleſt particle; but when roaſted with charcoal it becomes magnetic. This method of knowing whether any earth or ſtones contain the true ore of iron, may be of uſe to diſcover new bodies or beds of ore. The reduction of metals, or reſtoring them to their metallic ſtate from their calces, by combining them with the inflammable principle in the application of charcoal, may ſufficiently ſhow the efficacy of the above method for the diſcovery of the earth of iron in thoſe ſubſtances on which the magnet has no effect."

An Account of Land gained from the Sea on the Eſſex *Coaſt, by the Rev.* H. Bate Dudley, *in a Letter from him addreſſed to the Secretary of the Society.—From Tranſactions of the Society, inſtituted at* London *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

* Col. Eliot, of Connecticut.

Bradwell

Bradwell Lodge, Eſſex, Oct. 4, 1787.

SIR,

"I Requeſt that you will do me the favour to lay before the ſociety inſtituted for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, the following ſtatement of the means I purſued in obtaining a certain tract of land from the ſea, in the pariſh of Bradwell, juxta mare, in the county of Eſſex.

On coming to poſſeſſion (in 1781,) of the glebe of the ſaid pariſh, containing between three and four hundred acres, I found it in a deplorable ſtate of cultivation; the principal part of it being marſh land, bounded on the ſouthward by the German ocean, was ſo much impoveriſhed by ſpring and autumnal land-floods, that the tenant was obliged to quit the eſtate from inability to pay his rent.

Taking the farm into my own hands, I ſoon perceived that good draining was the principal thing requiſite to bring the land into a proper ſtate of cultivation: I therefore ſet about widening and deepening all the marſh ditches, the ſtuff from which, with the old banks, which had probably remained unmoleſted for centuries, I carried into the middle of the lands, at no leſs than one hundred loads per acre.

After four years perſeverance, with a conſiderable ſtrength of men and horſes, I ſaw that all my endeavours would fall ſhort of the effectual improvement I propoſed, unleſs ſome method could be deviſed of carrying the land-floods more rapidly to ſea.

The ditches now made, in general ſixteen feet wide, and ſix deep, retained a vaſt body of water, the ſurface of which being nearly equal with that of the earth, kept the land in a conſtant ſtate of moiſture prejudicial to every ſpecies of vegetation. I now diſcovered the cauſe of all the miſchief which my neighbours, as well as my own lands, had ſo long experienced. I found that the land in front of my ſea-wall, to the ſouthward (called ſaltings, from the ſea overflowing it except at low-water) was grown higher than the marſh land within the wall; that the channels from the two ſea ſluices, dividing mine and the adjoining eſtates, to my right and left, were nothing more than the narrow irregular courſes, which the ebbing tide had marked, and therefore liable to be choaked up with the ſea-weed every north-eaſt wind. And that even the ſluices themſelves were ſo ill contrived and out of repair, as more frequently to admit the ſalt, than let out the freſh water.

It now occurred to me, that the only effectual means of curing the evil, would be to take the ſaltings in from the ſea, at the depth of fifty-ſix rods, and length of one hundred and twenty-ſeven, putting down more capacious ſluices at each angle of the advanced wall—cutting ſtraight channels through the new land to the ſluices, and making outfall courſes equally ſtraight and ſpacious, to convey the freſhes from the ſluices to the ſea.

Having laid my plan before the proprietors of the adjoining eſtates, they were ſoon convinced of its general utility, and liberally granted me two or three angles of their ſaltings, without which the work would not have been complete.

The annexed certificate ſtates the particulars of the embarkment; to which it may be neceſſary to add, that the foreland, the part ſet off from

from the front of the wall, from which no earth is ſuffered to be dug into the work, as it would weaken the wall, is twenty-one feet wide; that the ſeating (between the inſide of the wall, and the delph or ditch for back-water, for the ſame ſecurity) is eighteen feet. And that the whole work was compleated by eight men, with barrows and ſhovels only, in a few days over ſix months time.

Whether the improvement in Agriculture which I have thus related to you, Sir, will entitle me to the honorary reward of your ſociety, I know not; but be that as it may, I ſhall derive great ſatisfaction from having been enabled to lay before the members of ſo laudable an inſtitution, an experiment, which I flatter myſelf, has proved ſerviceable to the country in which I reſide.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

Sir, your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
H. BATE DUDLEY.

Mr. More.

Bradwell, near the ſea, Eſſex,
Sep. 29, 1787.

WE, the underwritten, the miniſter, church-warden, and overſeers of the pariſh aforeſaid, do hereby certify, that between the months of march and September, 1786, the Rev. Henry Bate Dudley, of Bradwell Lodge, did ſecurely encloſe in the ſaid pariſh of Bradwell, near the ſea, in the county of Eſſex, by an embarkment of ſoil only, a tract of land meaſuring forty-five acres, one rood, and twenty-five poles; which land, until ſuch encloſure, had been time immemorial overflowed by the ſea from the German ocean.

That the ſea-wall, now encloſing this recovered land, contains in length one hundred and eighty-three poles; that its baſe is thirty-two feet, its height ſeven feet, and the top five feet wide. That it is the general opinion, the land ſo gained is worth twenty ſhillings per acre, on a leaſe of twenty-one years.

That this work has greatly benefited and improved the whole level of marſhes, in the ſaid pariſh, as well as the adjoining one, by the conſtruction and poſition of the ſea-gutters or ſluices, in the ſaid ſea-wall, which are placed at the extreme end of the new-gained land next the ſea, whereby the freſh-water is now carried to ſea with great facility, and the country no longer ſubject to thoſe inundations, which till this improvement, it always experienced at certain rainy ſeaſons. And we further certify, that, to the beſt of our knowledge and belief, the whole of this improvement was effected at the following rates:

	£.	s.	d.
*144½ rods of walling at 30 ſhillings per rod and 5 guineas extra	221	12	6
One new ſea gutter 5 feet clear run - -	60	0	0
Removing and altering another - - - -	10	0	0
Filling up rills - - -	50	0	0
Planks, barrows, and other tools - - -	15	0	0
Carting D° and extras	6	0	0
Total £.	362	12	6

W. C. STANES, Miniſter,
G. KEYS, Churchwarden,
JONAS ROLPH, } Over-
JAMES ROBINSON, } ſeers."

* The marſh rod contains twenty-one feet.

An Account of Paper *made from the* Bark *and* Leaves *of* Within Twigs.—*From the ſame Work.*

Mill Bank, near Warrington, Dec. 22, 1787.

SIR,

"I RECEIVED your two letters, which ſhould have been ſooner replied to, had I not been much from home and particularly engaged. The proceſs uſed in making the paper ſent you from the bark or peel of within twigs, was to have it ſtript from the twig in the month of September, when the twigs are uſually cut for the making of white baſkets. I then provided about ſix hundred weight, of which I ordered about two thirds to be hackled, much in the manner of dreſſing flax or hemp; then dried it in the ſun, which gave it ſomething of the appearance of brown hemp. In this ſtate it was reduced to about one hundred weight, but being attended with a good deal of trouble and ſo much reduced, I dried the remaining two hundred weight, with the leaves in its green ſtate as it was ſtript from the twig, and that was reduced about one half.

Having prepared the ſtuff, cheſt, and vatt, quite clean, I chopt the clean bark or firſt preparation, and with the roller and plate quite dull and ſmooth as poſſible, I ſet the engine to work, and from it was produced the paper of which you had eight quires ſent, being the finer ſort; and from the other was produced the coarſer paper, of which you had the twenty-four half quires. From theſe materials I made little more than two reams, in the whole; but had I not hackled and cleaned the larger part, I expect that I could have made upwards of ten reams from them.

Nothing was uſed but the mere bark or peel of the twigs, without any oakum, hemp, or other preparation. And, as I conſidered that the experiment you wiſhed, would then be made, I was not mindful of the quantity being more: but the next ſeaſon, if it be deſired, I can readily make any additional quantity, though at what price it may be ſold, or to what uſe it may be beſt applicable, I cannot ſay, but I think it may be made at about one half the expence of other paper that is produced from ropes or rags, when it is made from the bark and leaves in a green ſtate, without being dried, which I ſhould recommend and conceive it will anſwer beſt.

If I can give any further information, or make any other trial that may be likely to be productive of good, I ſhall be very glad to do it, and ſhall hope to hear from you.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

THOMAS GREAVES."

Mr. More.

An Account of Ardent Spirits *produced from* Potatoes. *By* James Anderſon, *L.L.D. F.R.S. and F.S.A.* Scotland.—*From Vol. IV. of Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c. ſelected from the Correſpondence-Book of the Society inſtituted at* Bath, *&c.*

§. I.

"THE uſes of the potatoe as a food for man, and the domeſtic animals he rears, are already pretty well known; but it is not in general underſtood that from this plant may alſo be obtained a vinous

vinous ſpirit, of an excellent quality, in very large proportions. A good many years ago an account of an experiment made in Sweden to aſcertain this fact was publiſhed in the memoirs of the Philoſophical Society of Stockholm. This, together with ſome obſcure hints I received from the late ingenious Dr. John Gregory, of ſome ſimilar experiments that had been made with ſucceſs in the north of Scotland, induced me to make the following trial.

Experiment Tenth.

February 15th, 1777, I ſet apart two Aberdeenſhire pecks of potatoes by meaſure, which I have ſince found were each equal to 36 pounds by weight, ſo that the whole was 72 pounds. Theſe potatoes were boiled in a cauldron, till they were brought to a ſoft pulpy ſtate; they were then bruiſed, and made to paſs through a ſtrait riddle along with ſome freſh water; the ſkins being kept back by the riddle, which were thrown away. The pulp was then mixed with cold water, till the whole amounted to about twenty gallons Engliſh. This was allowed to cool till it attained the ſame temperature as would be proper for mixing yeaſt with wort; when ſome yeaſt was put to it, as if it had been yeaſt to wort from malt. In ten or twelve hours a fermentation began, which continued very briſkly for the ſpace of ten or twelve hours, but at the end of that time it began ſenſibly to abate; from which circumſtance I was afraid my experiment would fail. After waiting for ſome time, and, in vain, warming it a little, with a view to renew the fermentation, I determined to ſtir it briſkly to ſee if it could be renewed by that means. This produced the deſired effect, and the ſame operation was renewed every day, and the fermentation continued to go on in a proper manner for a fortnight. At the end of this time the fermentation abated, and could not be renewed by agitation or otherwiſe; and the liquor, having been found upon trial to have acquired a kind of acid, ſlightly vinous taſte, was judged fit for diſtillation. It was then diſtilled with due caution, care having been taken to ſtir it in the ſtill, until it began to boil, before the head of the ſtill was applied; and the fire was afterwards kept up ſo ſtrong as to keep it boiling briſkly till the whole was run over. This was intended to prevent the thick matter from ſubſiding to the bottom; for I was afraid that without this precaution, it would have acquired a *ſtill-burnt* flavour; and I found by experience in one inſtance, that this kind of *empyreuma* was of an exceeding diſagreeable kind, reſembling in flavour the fumes of burning tobacco.

In conſequence of theſe precautions and due rectification, I obtained an Engliſh gallon of a pure ſpirit, conſiderably above proof; and about a quart more of a weaker kind, a good deal below proof. This was, in every reſpect, the fineſt and moſt agreeable vinous ſpirit I ever ſaw. In taſte it ſomewhat reſembled very fine brandy; but it was more mild than any brandy I ever taſted, and had a certain kind of coolneſs upon the palate peculiar to itſelf, by which it might be readily diſtinguiſhed, by a nice judge, from every other kind of ſpirit. Its flavour was ſtill more

peculiar to itſelf, but it more nearly reſembled brandy impregnated with the odour of violets and raſpberries, than any thing elſe to which I could compare it. [A ſingle glaſs of it put into a bowl of rum punch, made it appear as if it had conſiſted half and half of rum and brandy, impregnated with the juice of raſpberries.] It ſeemed to derive this flavour from a ſubtile eſſential oil, of a very ſingular kind—for although it roſe with the firſt ſpirit that came over, it ſtill continued to come over, without any ſenſible diminution or change of flavour, till the whole of the ſpirit was entirely drawn off. It was alſo ſo difficult to be diſſipated, as to ſcent with its own perfume a drinking glaſs, into which the ſpirit had been poured, for more than twenty-four hours after it had been emptied, and apparently quite dry; and this perfume, after the ſpirituous flavour was totally diſſipated, appeared to me the moſt agreeable I had ever met with. I have been at the greater pains to deſcribe this kind of ſpirit in its ſtate of perfection, becauſe I have ſince heard of and ſeen ſome ſpirits, ſaid to be drawn from potatoes, which, for want of ſkill or caution in the operators, was intolerably nauſeous. As others may fall into the ſame errors in attempting to perform the ſame operation, I ſhall hazard a few remarks on the cautions neceſſary to be obſerved in attempting to extract vinous ſpirits from this or other roots; for want of attending to which particulars, many attempts of this kind have no doubt failed.

§. II. Every philoſophic enquirer knows that vinous ſpirits are entirely the produce of fermentation, and cannot be obtained from any ſubſtance whatever, till it has undergone that chemical proceſs: but many of thoſe who attempt experiments of this kind, are neither ſufficiently aware of the neceſſity of this previous ſtep, nor acquainted with the means of exciting it, or of conducting it properly, which frequently fruſtrates their attempts.

If any vegetable in an unfermented ſtate be diſtilled, there is, for the moſt part, obtained by that operation, a portion of native *eſſential oil*, ſtrongly impregnated with the peculiar taſte or flavour of the ſubſtance from which it is obtained: but if the ſubſtance be properly fermented, that eſſential oil diſappears, and in its ſtead a new ſubſtance is obtained by diſtillation, altogether different from the former in many reſpects. This ſubſtance is called *vinous ſpirits*, or *alcohol*, when in its higheſt rectified ſtate. But if any vegetable ſubſtance be ſubjected to diſtillation before it has been made to undergo a *proper degree* of fermentation, a *part* of it only riſes in the ſtate of *vinous ſpirit*, and a *part* of it alſo riſes in the ſtate of *native eſſential oil*; which, mixing with the ſpirit while in the ſtate of vapour, and being diſſolved therein, communicates to that ſpirit a taſte and flavour very different from that of the pure ſpirit by itſelf, which is, for the moſt part, extremely nauſeous and diſagreeable. It has pretty much the ſame effect, as if a quantity of the raw vegetable ſubſtance ſhould be diſtilled along with another quantity of it that had been *properly* fermented. In all thoſe caſes where the volatility of the native eſſential oil is nearly the ſame with that of the ſpirit, it is evident that no care in the proceſs of diſtil-

lation

lation can prevent them from being blended together in the ſame proceſs.

From hence it appears ſufficiently obvious, that if ever we hope to obtain the pure genuine vinous ſpirit without adulteration from any vegetable ſubſtance whatever, it is of the very greateſt conſequence that the fermentation be properly carried on, ſo as that the whole of the matter ſuſceptible of fermentation ſhall be equally and entirely aſſimilated before it be committed to the ſtill. This is on all occaſions neceſſary; but it is peculiarly ſo in thoſe caſes in which the native oils are very abundant, or volatile, or diſagreeable. In diſtilling malt-ſpirits, this circumſtance is ſeldom ſufficiently attended to; the fermentation being uſually hurried forward with a rapid careleſſneſs, in conſequence of which ſome part of it is converted into vinegar, before other parts of it are aſſimilated at all. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that the malt not only yields a ſmaller *quantity* of ſpirit, but affords that ſpirit alſo of a much inferior *quality* to what it would have been if the fermentation had been duly conducted. Spirits that are drawn from ale, which has been accidentally allowed to run into the acetous fermentation, are always, on this account, of a quality far ſuperior to that obtained from malt by any other proceſs.

In attempting therefore to obtain a ſpirit from roots or other vegetable ſubſtances, the firſt point to be attended to is, to conduct the fermentation properly, and to puſh the vinous fermentation as far as it can be made to go. I am diſpoſed to aſcribe the ſucceſs I had in this experiment, beyond what others have experienced, in a great meaſure to this cauſe, and to the care that was taken to prevent it from obtaining the ſlighteſt empyreumatic taint during the diſtillation; though it may alſo have been occaſioned by ſome other unobſerved peculiarity.

One particular I remarked relating to the diſtillation of this ſpirit, that deſerves to be mentioned. In diſtilling from malt, it is found that towards the end of the operation a quantity of weak ſpirit is forced over, which is ſtrongly impregnated with a very diſagreeable oil, that very much debaſes the whole of the ſpirits, if it be ſuffered to mix with them. To ſeparate this from them, with as little loſs of good ſpirit as poſſible, conſtitutes one of the principal niceties in the proceſs of diſtillation from malt. But no ſuch phenomenon occurs in the diſtillation from potatoes; for I could perceive no difference between the taſte of the very weakeſt ſpirit towards the end of the operation, and that which came over at the beginning or any other part of the proceſs, if equally diluted with water. It would ſeem that the oil, to which this ſpirit owes its fragrance, is in all parts of the proceſs ſeemingly the ſame, and always agreeable; contrary to the *gout*, or *goo*, as it is pronounced, of malt.

§. III. I have deſcribed above, with all the accuracy I could, the whole proceſs and phenomena that occurred in diſtilling ſpirits from potatoes, as I obſerved them when the proceſs was conducted under my own eyes. This proceſs I repeated twice, about the ſame period of time, with the ſame ſucceſs. But it is alſo juſt to obſerve, that though

it has been ſince that time ſeveral times attempted by my direction, under the care of another perſon, on whoſe accuracy I thought I could depend, it has invariably failed in as far as reſpects the peculiar fragrance of the ſpirits above deſcribed, though in every other reſpect the reſult was the ſame with mine: the ſame yield of ſpirit of equal ſtrength being obtained, which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſame cool ſenſation on the palate, and in every reſpect an excellent ſpirit, though diveſted of that unuſual fragrance above deſcribed. I have often wiſhed to repeat the experiment myſelf, and ſo to vary circumſtances as to try to diſcover the cauſe of this peculiarity; but the revenue laws are ſo ſtrict at preſent, that a private man cannot venture to have a ſtill in his poſſeſſion for the ſake of making any experiment of this ſort, without ſubjecting himſelf to a very heavy penalty; and as I ſhould very much diſlike any thing that had the appearance of evading the laws, I have thus been, very much againſt my will, prevented from repeating theſe experiments. Certain, however, as I am with regard to the fact, (which if neceſſary could be atteſted by many perſons who taſted the ſpirits) I have no ſcruple in publiſhing it fairly to the world, leaving it to time, and to others who have opportunity to make theſe experiments, to diſcover the cauſes of this peculiarity, and other particulars relating to it.

If the vegetable ſubſtance that is ſubjected to fermentation, contains but a ſmall proportion of fermentable matter, it will not be poſſible ever to free the ſpirits from the peculiar flavour of the vegetable; for that large proportion of unaſſimilated matter being ſubjected to diſtillation, along with the fermented liquor, will of neceſſity yield its oil by the heat employed to diſtil the ſpirits. This ſeems to be particularly the caſe with regard to carrots, parſnips, and turnips, all of which I have tried, and found that although they could be made to undergo the proceſs of fermentation, and to yield a conſiderable proportion of ardent ſpirits, yet that theſe ſpirits were ſtrongly tainted with the flavour of the vegetables from whence they were obtained, and ſo intolerably nauſeous that they never could be employed for food by man. In the proceſs above deſcribed, the whole of the matter of the potatoes was ſubjected to diſtillation. What effect would have been produced by ſeparating the groſs ſediment from the tranſparent fluid above it, after the fermentation was over, either as to the quantity or quality of the ſpirit, I had not an opportunity of remarking; but ſhould ever the proceſs of extracting ſpirit from potatoes be attempted on a large ſcale, it would be of importance to try to ſeparate that ſediment before diſtillation, as that proceſs would be rendered much eaſier, and leſs precarious, in conſequence of that operation.

If ever this manufacture ſhould be attempted, it deſerves alſo to be remarked, that the farinaceous powder which ſubſides to the bottom after the fermentation, ſeems to have ſuffered very little change in its taſte or appearance by the proceſs, as it very much reſembles boiled potatoes in all reſpects, ſo that it might probably go as far, as food for domeſtic animals, as the potatoes themſelves would have gone in their native ſtate.

I ſhall only farther add on this ſubject,

ſubject, that I attempted to obtain a fermentable liquor, by bruiſing the potatoes raw, and pouring water of different degrees of warmth upon it, as is uſed in maſhing malt, but could never thus ſucceed in exciting any degree of fermentation. It always afforded a viſcid roapy liquor, that remained unaltered after the addition of yeaſt to it."

On the Means of preſerving Apple Bloſſom and Orchards from Injury. In a Letter from Mr. Gullett, *addreſſed to the Secretary of the Society.—From the ſame Work.*

Beerferris, near Taviſtock, Devon.

SIR,

"I DO not recollect that yours is a noted cyder county, yet I take it for granted, ſome gentlemen have orchards, and the rarer the more valuable. This pariſh, which is my ſummer reſidence, abounds with orchards and cherry-gardens; the orchards, by their bloſſoming this ſpring, promiſed a much larger quantity of apples than they will actually produce; not occaſioned however, as the farmers here imagine, by the froſty nights of the firſt and ſecond of laſt month, but by the ravages of an uncommon number of *inſects*, which have been produced this ſeaſon from a ſpecies of black flies in particular, which depoſited their eggs in the apple-bud, or bloſſom, at its firſt opening; from which eggs were generated the maggot inſects, which, by feeding on the heart of the bud or bloſſom, ſoon occaſioned it to drop, contract, and cloſe itſelf into the form of a cup, of a brown red colour, reſembling that of a dry dock-leaf, (unleſs this was originally cauſed by the bite of the fly, when ſhe depoſited her egg there) ſo as to afford a ſafe nidus for the young inſect, and ſufficient nouriſhment to ſupport it, until full grown in that ſtate, and needing no longer protection there; when it decamps, and the bloſſom being deſtroyed, at laſt falls off—whereby a plentiful bloſſoming is likely this year to produce (as is often the caſe) a ſcanty bearing.

I have within a few weeks paſt opened ſome ſcores of thoſe ſhrivelled bloſſoms, and ſcarce ever failed of finding a maggot inſect (ſome much larger than others) ſafely incloſed within its natural neſt; though in ſome inſtances I found it had decamped, after having exhauſted its nutriment, and the decayed bloſſom was ready to fall off with the ſlighteſt touch.

Having thus given you a plain conciſe account of the evil, permit me, Sir, to point out what I conceive will be an *effectual remedy*, or rather preventive; and will likewiſe contribute to the fertility of the ſoil, the proſperity of the trees, the future produce of apples, and the goodneſs of the paſture.

When the winged inſect tribe firſt begin to appear, (which ſome conceive, and not improbably, to be by an eaſt wind bringing ſome ſorts at leaſt of them, over from the continent) I would recommend ſome heaps to be made of the ſward or ſpind, in the nature of denſhiring, or burnbaiting, or heaps of long dung, wet ſtraw, weeds, or any other like matters, at different intervals all around, *i. e.* on every ſide, and likewiſe ſome in different parts of the orchard. If an eaſt wind blow, ſet fire to ſome of the heaps on the eaſt ſide, and ſome within the body

of the orchard; if a ſouth wind, then on the ſouth ſide; and ſo occaſionally on different ſides, as the wind may happen to vary; but always on that ſide from whence the wind happens to blow, ſo that the ſmoke from the ſmothering of the heaps may blow through and fumigate the orchard for ſome weeks. The expence attending which will comparatively be very trifling, but its conſequences and beneficial effects very great, as it will effectually prevent the inſect fly not only from depoſiting its eggs, but even from approaching, or at leaſt continuing long in ſuch a noxious ſituation, whereby the bloſſoms and fruit will be preſerved from ſuch ravages, and the heat and aſhes of the ſmothering heaps will likewiſe contribute to the fertility of the ſoil, the ſweetneſs of the paſture, and the growth and vigour of the trees for future bearings; thus deſtroying *moſs* probably better than by any other means, and counteracting the effects in ſome meaſure of cold and blighting winds, and ſuch late froſty nights as thoſe of the firſt and ſecond of laſt month.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
C. GULLETT.

June 3, 1786.

P. S. It ſeems ſuperfluous to add, that the ſame proceſs is applicable, and promiſes to be equally advantageous, to *all other fruit trees*, if ſuitably adapted in point of time and other circumſtances."

Biſhop of Killalue's *Method of cultivating Potatoes.—From the ſame Work.*

"WHEN your land is left in ſuch an exhauſted condition, that it will not anſwer to plough it again for a crop, the method of bringing it again into heart by potatoes, is as follows:—

Spread your manure in lines (of about five or ſix feet broad) upon the ground, about twelve or fourteen waggon load to an acre, leaving an interval of about two feet and a half between every row of manure. The intervals to be broader or narrower, according to the depth of ſoil on the land; where the vegetable mould is ſhalloweſt, the intervals to be broadeſt. Then cut your potatoes into pieces, leaving one eye (from whence a ſmall fibre of the root ſeems to grow) upon every piece: every one of theſe eyes will produce a new plant. Then ſpread the pieces on the ground, at a foot or a foot and half diſtance. Then ſend in your diggers, and let them dig out of the interval as much earth as will cover the pieces of potatoes about two inches.

As ſoon as the new plants all appear above ground, ſend in the diggers again, and cover the plants completely. When they appear above ground a ſecond time, cover them again with earth dug out of the intervals, taking care not to go much deeper than the remaining vegetable mould; though you may venture to go a little into the thill or clay, as it will tend rather to improve the land than otherwiſe; for lying at the top, it will not injure the vegetation; and being expoſed to the ſun and dews, it will be converted into fertile earth, in a ſeaſon or two, as well as the reſt.

When the weeds have appeared and are fit to pull, the crop muſt be carefully weeded, and in the courſe

of

of the ſummer, muſt be weeded a ſecond time.

If the potatoes are planted in the latter end of March or even the beginning of April, they will be come to their full growth before Michaelmas. They muſt then be dug out, and the land will be left in condition to bear a good crop of wheat to be ſown at that ſeaſon with a ſlight ploughing, at which time the brows of the ridges ſhould be partly ploughed into the trenches, that the ground may be in order for future crops, and then the whole of the field properly covered with the crop.

After this huſbandry, the ground will be fit for a crop of barley to ſucceed the wheat, and then a crop of oats with clover, &c.

N. B. By this courſe of huſbandry, the arable land of the farm will never be fallow for a year, as the potatoe crop ſucceeds the laſt crop of oats, and will be well worth 20l. per acre; and the land by the digging will be left in finer tilth than four ploughings will produce.

I twice tried an experiment, which anſwered beyond my expectations. Inſtead of firſt digging out my potatoes, I cut the haulm with a ſcythe, and threw it into the trenches. I then ſent the ſower to ſow the land with wheat; then I had the potatoes dug out, and let the wheat take its chance of being properly covered in the digging, and then gave it a ſlight harrowing; and by this method I had a crop of ten barrels to the acre; which I aſcribed to the ſeed being better covered by being dug in, than it would have been by the harrow in the uſual way. I do not, however, recommend this to be done the firſt time this huſbandry is tried, though the experiment may be made in one ridge only, and according as that ſucceeds, it may be purſued or not hereafter.

THOS KILLALUE.

July, 1786."

Receipt to make perpetual Yeaſt or Barm. Communicated by Mr. George Dempſter, *Eſq; M. P.— From Vol. XIII. of the* European *Magazine.*

"TAKE 1lb. of flour (fine), make it the thickneſs of gruel with boiling water, add to it half a pound of raw ſugar, mix them well together, put three ſpoonfuls of well-purified yeaſt into a large veſſel, upon which put the above ingredients; they will ſoon ferment violently. Collect the yeaſt off the top, and put it into a brown ſmall-neck pot, cover it up from the air, keep it in a dry and warmiſh place; when uſed in part, replace with flour made into a thin paſte, and ſugar in the former proportions. I ſaw this uſed after it had been five months made. No yeaſt is neceſſary except the firſt time."

ANTIQUITIES.

The following Articles were propoſed by the Earl of Warwick, *as Preceptor to* Henry VI. *in his Minority, to the Lords and Council, for their Approbation.—From Original Letters, written during the Reigns of* Henry VI. Edward IV. *and* Richard III. *by various Perſons of Rank or Conſequence, &c.*

Articles de Monſr. de [1] *Warrewyk touch' le bon regime du Roy, &c.*

FOR ye goode Reule demeſnyng and ſeuretee of ye Kynges p'ſone and draught of him to vertue

Articles declaring how the Earl of [1] *Warwick took the Charge of King Henry VI.*

FOR the good rule, demeaning, and ſurety of the King's Perſon and draught of him to virtue

On the back of the parchment on which theſe Articles are tranſcribed, is written "The requeſts of the erle of Warwick," and then the following memorandum, "xxix° die Novemb. A° undecimo apud Weſtm lecti fuerūt p'ntes Articuli corā Dnis infra ſubſcribentibz et ad eoſdm R'nſiones ibidm dabantr continuè qd infra patet, p'ntibus Dnis infraſcriptis."

The reader is here preſented with a ſet of articles drawn up by the earl of Warwick, preceptor to king Henry VI. and preſented by him to the officers of ſtate and privy council for their approbation and concurrence, thoſe, to which he already had their conſent, now becoming inſufficient for his management of his royal pupil.

They are penned in a maſterly manner, and ſhew not only the earl's knowledge of mankind, but likewiſe his thorough acquaintance with the important truſt committed to his care.

Henry VI. was now in the 11th year of his reign, and had nearly completed the eleventh of his age; a period dangerous to thoſe whoſe duty it was not only to improve his mind, but alſo to correct and reſtrain his paſſions, when, if he were a forward boy, his mind would open, and he would begin to feel his own importance, even without the inſinuations of flatterers, which in his ſituation were likely to be whiſpered, and which by the tenour of the requiſitions we find had been actually conveyed to his ear.

The articles are judicious, and could not have been more conciſely nor more perſpicuouſly worded, nor have contained more important matter for the well-governing of a youth, if they had been the production of modern time, neither could the good ſenſe and propriety of the great officers and council, have been at this day more advantageouſly ſhewn in the guarded and ſatisfactory manner whereby they aſſented to the terms propoſed; the preſent idea of chaſtiſement would undoubtedly have been different, but it was then conſonant to the rough manners of the age.

We cannot help having an high opinion of the earl of Warwick's abilities for the poſt he filled, and of the propriety of conduct in the duke of Glouceſter and the ſubſcribing lords, who, by delegating ſuch powers to his governor, ſeem to have had the future welfare of their ſovereign in view.

[1] Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was born in 1380, and, whether we conſider him as a ſoldier or ſtateſman, was one of the moſt conſiderable perſonages of

vertue and connyng and eſchuying of eny ying yat mighte yeve empeſchem't or let yᵗto or cauſe eny charge defaulte or blame to be leyd upon yᵉ Erle of Warrewyk at eny tyme withouten his deſert, he conſidering yat p'ill and beſineſſe of his charge aboute ye kinges perſone groweth ſo yat that auctoritee and power yeven to him before ſuffiſeth him nought without more yᵗto deſireth yᵗfore yees yinges yat folowen.

Furſt yat conſidering yat ye charge of ye Reule demeſnyng and goverᵗnance and alſo of nourture of ye Kinges perſone reſteth upon ye ſaid Erle whiles it ſhal like ye King and ye p'ill daunger and blame if eny lak or defaulte were in eny of yees ye whiche lak or defaulte mighte be cauſed by ungodely or unvertuous men if eny ſuche were aboute his perſone he deſireth yᵗfore for the goode of ye King and for his owne ſeuretee to have power and auctoritee to nome ordeigne and aſſigne and for cauſe yat ſhal be yought to him reſonable to remoeve yoo yat ſhal be aboute ye Kinges p'ſone of what eſtate or condicōn yat yei be not entending to cōpᵗhende in yis deſir ye Stuard Chamberlein Treſoror Controwlᵒʳ ne Sergeants of offices ſave ſuch as ſerve

virtue and cunning [*knowledge*,] and eſchewing of any thing that might give impeachment or let thereto, or cauſe any charge, default, or blame, to be laid upon the Earl of Warwick at any time without his deſert, he, conſidering that peril and buſineſs of his charge about the King's perſon groweth ſo that that authority and power given to him before, ſufficeth him nought without more thereto, deſireth therefore theſe things that follow.

1. Firſt, that conſidering that the charge of the rule, demeaning, and governance, and alſo of nurture of the King's Perſon, reſteth upon the ſaid Earl, whilſt it ſhall like the King, and the peril, danger, and blame, if any lack or default were in any of theſe, the which lack or default might be cauſed by ungodly or unvirtuous men, if any ſuch were about his perſon; he deſireth therefore for the good of the King and for his own ſurety to have power and authority to name, ordain, and aſſign, and, for cauſe that ſhall be thought to him reaſonable, to remove thoſe that ſhall be about the King's perſon of what eſtate or condition that they be, not intending to comprehend in this deſire the Steward, Chamberlain,

of his time. In 1408 he viſited the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, and on his journey thither acquitted himſelf with the greateſt valour at tournaments, and other acts of valour in the courts of ſeveral princes.

King Henry V. for his great merit appointed him guardian and preceptor to his infant ſon, which appointment upon his death was confirmed by parliament. In conſequence of this truſt he was recalled from France, where he had a principal command under the duke of Bedford, and upon that duke's deceaſe, in 1435, he returned thither again as regent.

He died at the caſtle of Roan in Normandy, on the 30th of April 1439, and his body, by his own deſire being brought into England, was depoſited for a time in the collegiate church of Warwick, till the ſumptuous chapel, which he had directed to be built, ſhould be ready for its reception.

This chapel, together with the magnificent tomb of its founder, coſt 2481 l. 4 s. 7½ d.

ſerve aboute ye Kinges p'ſone and for his mouth.

Rno. As toward ye namyng ordeignance and aſſignacon before-ſaid it is agreed ſo yat he take in noon of yé iiij Knightes ne Squyers for the body without yadvis of my Lord of [2] Bedford him being in Englond and him being out of my Lord of [3] Glouceſtre and of the Remenent of ye Kinges counſail.

Itm, ye ſaid Erle deſireth yat where he ſhal have eny p'ſone in his diſcrecion ſuſpect of myſ-gov'nance and not behoveful nor expedient to be aboute ye King except yeſtates of ye hous yat he may putte hem from exerciſe and occupacon of ye Kinges ſervice till yat he ſhal mowe have ſpeche with my Lordes of Bedford or of Glouceſtre and with ye oy' Lordes of the Kinges counſail to yat ende yat ye defaulte of eny ſuche p'ſone knowen vnto him ſhal mowe ordeigne y'upon as yeim ſhel yenke be expedient and behove-full.

Rno. it is agreed as it is de-ſired.

Itm,

lain, Treaſurer, Controller, nor Serjeants of offices, ſave ſuch as ſerve about the King's perſon and for his mouth.

Rno. [*Reponſio.*] Anſwer, as to-ward the naming, ordinance, and aſſignation before ſaid, it is agreed, ſo that he take in none of the four Knights nor Eſquires for the body, without the advice of my Lord of [2] Bedford, him being in Eng-land, and him being out, of my Lord of [3] Glouceſter, and of the Remanent of the King's Council.

2. Item, the ſaid Earl deſireth that where he ſhall have any perſon in his diſcretion ſuſpect [*ſuſpected*] of miſgovernance, and not behove-ful nor expedient to be about the King, except the eſtates of the houſe, that he may put them from exerciſe and occupation of the King's ſervice, till that he ſhall mowe have ſpeech with my Lord of Bedford, of Glouceſter, and with the other Lords of the King's council, to that end that the default of any ſuch perſon known unto him ſhall mowe ordain thereupon as them [*they*] ſhall think expedient and behoveful.

Anſwer, it is agreed as it is deſired.

3. Item,

[2] John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford, brother to the late king, and regent of France, was one of the moſt valiant and accompliſhed princes of his age. He knighted his nephew, king Henry VI. in 1425, and dying at Paris in 1435, was buried under a ſumptuous monument in our lady's church at Roan, which when Lewis XI. was counſelled to deface, he nobly replied, "*Touch it not; let the "body of that great man reſt in peace, which, when alive, would have diſquieted "the proudeſt of us all.*"

[3] Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Glouceſter, protector of the realm of England, and youngeſt brother to Henry V. was a ſcholar and a ſtateſman. At a parliament holden at St. Edmund's Bury, in 1446-7, he was arreſted for high treaſon, and ſhortly after was found murdered in his bed in the abbey there, by the contrivance and procurement as it was ſuppoſed of queen Margaret, and the then marquis of Suffolk, in conjunction with the cardinal of Wincheſter. He was buried at St. Alban's, and in 1703 his body was diſcovered preſerved in a kind of pickle.

Itm, ye ſaid Erle deſireth yat for ſikeneſſe and oyer cauſes neceſſaries and reſonables he may by warnyng to my Lordes of Bedford or Glouceſtre and ye Kinges Counſail be and ſtande freely deſcharged of ye ſaide occupacion and beſineſſe about ye Kinges p'ſone under ye favour and goode grace of ye King my Lordes of Bedford and Glouceſtre and oyer Lordes of ye Kinges Counſail.

Rno. it is agreed as it is deſired.

Itm yat conſidering howe bleſſed be God ye King is growen in yeers in ſtature of his p'ſone and alſo in conceit and knowleche of his hiegh and Royalle auctoritee and eſtat ye whiche naturelly cauſen him, and from day to day as he groweth ſhul cauſen him more and more to gructhe with chaſtiſing and to lothe it ſo yat it may reſonably be doubted leſte he wol conceive ayeins ye ſaid Erle or eny oyr yat wol take upon him to chaſtiſe him for his defaultes diſpleſir or indignacion yrfore, ye whiche withoute due aſſiſtence is not eaſy to be born. It like yrfore to my Lord of Glouceſtre and to alle the Lordes of ye Kinges counſail to promitte to ye ſaid Erle and aſſure him, yat yei ſhul fermely and trewely aſſiſten him in ye exerciſe of ye charge and occupacion yat he hath aboute ye Kinges perſone, namely in chaſtiſing of him for his defaultes and ſupport the ſaid Erle yrinne and if ye king at eny time wol conceyve for yat cauſe indignacion ayeins ye ſaid Erle, my ſaid Lord of Glouceſtre and Lordes ſhul do all her trewe diligence and power to remoeve ye King yrfro.

Rno.

3. Item, the ſaid Earl deſireth that, for ſickneſs and other cauſes neceſſary and reaſonable, he may by warning to my Lords of Bedford, or Glouceſter, and the King's council, be and ſtand freely diſcharged of the ſaid occupation and buſineſs about the King's perſon, under the favour and good grace of the King, my Lords of Bedford and Glouceſter, and other Lords of the King's Council.

Anſwer, it is agreed as it is deſired.

4. Item, that conſidering how, bleſſed be God! the King is grown in years, in ſtature of his perſon, and alſo in conceit and knowledge of his high and royal authority and eſtate, the which naturally cauſe him, and from day to day as he groweth, ſhall cauſe him more and more to grudge with chaſtiſing, and to loath it, ſo that it may reaſonably be doubted leſt he will conceive againſt the ſaid Earl, or any other that will take upon him to chaſtiſe him for his defaults, diſpleaſure, or indignation therefore, the which without due aſſiſtance is not eaſy to be born. It like therefore to my Lord of Glouceſter and to all the Lords of the King's council to promittee [*promiſe*] to the ſaid Earl and aſſure him, that they ſhall firmly and truly aſſiſt him in the exerciſe of the charge and occupation that he hath about the King's perſon, namely in chaſtiſing of him for his defaults, and ſupport the ſaid Earl therein; and if the King at any time will conceive for that cauſe indignation againſt the ſaid Earl, my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter and Lords ſhall do all their true diligence and power to remove the King therefrom.

Anſwer,

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Itm, ye said Erle desireth yat for asmuche as it shal be necessarie to remoeve the Kinges p'sone at diverse tymes into sundry places as ye cases mowe require yat he may have power and auctoritee to remoeve ye King by his discrecion into what place him yenketh necessarie for ye helthe of his body and seuretee of his persone.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Itm, sith ye said Erle hath take upon him ye gov'nance of ye Kinges persone he desireth yat alle yestates, officers and svantz of ye Kinges hous, of what estate and condicon yei be have spāl commandem't and charge yeven by my Lordes of Bedford and Glouceſtre and by ye Lordes of ye Kinges counsail, yet in alle man're yinges seyn and avised by ye said Erles descrecion, yat is for ye Kinges estate worship helthe and profit by his commendem't and ordeignance yei be attendant and obeissant in accomplisshing y'of.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Itm, for as muche as ye said Erle hath knowleche yat in speche yat hath be had unto ye King at p't and in prive not hering ye said Erle nor eny of ye Knightes set aboute his persone nor assigned by ye said Erle he hath be stured by sume from his lernyng and spoken to of div'se mat'es not behovefull, ye seid Erle doubting ye harme yat mighte falle to ye King and ye Inconvenientz yat mighte ensue of such speche at p't if it were suffred, desireth yat in al speche to be had with ye King, he or oon of ye iiij Knightes or

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

5. Item, the said Earl desireth, that forasmuch as it shall be necessary to remove the King's Person at divers times into sundry places as the cases may require, that he may have power and authority to remove the King by his discretion into what place him [*be*] thinketh necessary for the health of his body and surety of his person.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

6. Item, sith [*since*] the said Earl hath take upon him the governance of the King's person, he desireth that all the estates, officers and servants of the King's house, of what estate and condition they be, have special commandment and charge given by my Lords of Bedford, and Glouceſter, and by the Lords of the King's council, that in all manner [*of*] things seen and advised by the said Earl's discretion, that is for the King's estate, worship, health, and profit, by his commandment and ordainance, they be attendant and obeissant in accomplishing thereof.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

7. Item, forasmuch as the said Earl hath knowledge that in speech that hath been had unto the King at part [*apart*] and in private, not hearing the said Earl, nor any of the Knights set about his person, nor assigned by the said Earl, he hath been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of diverse matters not behoveful; the said Earl doubting the harm that might fall to the King, and the inconvenience that might ensue of such speech at part, if it were suffered, desireth that in all speech to be had with

or ſum p'ſone to be aſſigned by ye ſaid Erle be preſent and prive to it.

Rno. yis article is agreed excepting ſuche p'ſones as for nieghneſſe of blood and for yeir eſtate owe of reſon to be ſuffred to ſpeke with ye King.

Itm, to yentent yat it may be knowen to ye King yat it procedeth of yaſſent advis and agreem't of my Lord of Glouceſtre and alle my Lordes of ye Kinges counſail yat ye King be chaſtiſed for his defaultes or treſpaſſes and yat for awe y^r of he forbere ye more to do mys and entende ye more beſily to vertu and to lernyng, ye ſaid Erle deſireth yat my Lord of Glouceſtre and my ſaid oy^r Lordes of ye counſail or greet p't of hem, yat is to ſay ye Chanceller and Treſorer and of ev^rych eſtate in ye counſail ſpūell and temporell ſume come to ye Kinges p'ſence and y^re to make to be declared to him yeire agreement in yat behalve.

Rno. When ye King cometh next to London all his counſail ſhal come to his p'ſence and y^re yis ſhal be declared to him.

Itm, ye ſaid Erle yat alle his dayes hath aboven alle oy^r eryely yinges deſired and ev^re ſhal to kepe his trouthe and worſhip unblemyſshed and unhurt and may not for all yat lette malicious and untrewe men to make informacious of his p'ſone, ſuche as yei may not ne dar not ſtande by, ne be not trewe, beſecheth y^rfore my Lord of Glouceſtre and alle my ſaid Lordes of the counſail yat if yei or eny of hem have be enfo^rmed of eny ying yat may be or ſovne to his charge or defaulte and namely in his occupacion and reule aboute ye Kinges

with the King, he or one of the four Knights, or ſome perſon to be aſſigned by the ſaid Earl, be preſent and privy to it.

Anſwer. This article is agreed, excepting ſuch Perſons, as for nighneſs of blood, and for their eſtate, ought of reaſon to be ſuffered to ſpeak with the King.

8. Item, to the intent that it may be known to the King that it proceedeth of the aſſent, advice, and agreement, of my Lord of Glouceſter, and all my Lords of the King's council, that the King be chaſtiſed for his defaults or treſpaſſes, and that for awe thereof he forbear the more to do amiſs, and intend the more buſily to virtue and to learning; the ſaid Earl deſireth that my Lord of Glouceſter, and my ſaid other Lords of the council or great part of them, that is to ſay, the Chancellor, and Treaſurer, and of everych [*every*] eſtate in the council ſpiritual and temporal ſome come to the King's preſence, and there to make to be declared to him their agreement in that behalf.

Anſwer. When the King cometh next to London, all his council ſhall come to his preſence, and there this ſhall be declared to him.

9. Item, the ſaid Earl, that all his days hath above all other earthly things deſired, and ever ſhall, to keep his truth and worſhip unblemiſhed and unhurt, and may not for all that let [*prevent*] malicious and untrue men to make informations of his perſon, ſuch as they may not, nor dare not ſtand by, nor be not true; beſeecheth therefore my Lord of Glouceſter, and all my ſaid Lords of the council, that if they or any of them

Kinges p'sone yat ye ſaid Erle may have knowleche y'of to yentent yat he may anſwer y'to, and not dwell in hevy or ſyniſtre conceit or opinion withoute his deſert and without anſwere.

Rno. it is agreed.

[7] Cromwell.

[3] H. Glouceſtre.

[9] J. Ebor. [10] P. Elien.

[11] W. Lincoln. [8] J. Bathen Canc.

[12] J Roffen.

[5] Suffolk. [4] H. Stafford.

[6] J. Huntington.

13 ½ by 19.

them have been informed of any thing that may be or ſound to his charge or default, and namely in his occupation and rule about the King's perſon, that the ſaid Earl may have knowledge thereof, to the intent that he may anſwer thereto, and not dwell in heavy or ſiniſter conceit or opinion without his deſert, and without anſwer.

Anſwer, it is agreed.

[7] CROMWELL.

[3] H. GLOUCESTRE.

[9] J. EBOR. [10] P. ELIEN.

[11] W. LINCOLN. [8] J. BATHEN CANC.

[12] J. ROFFEN.

[5] SUFFOLK. [4] H. STAFFORD.

[6] J. HUNTYNGTON.

29 November, 1432;
11 Hen. VI.

[4] Humphrey Stafford, earl of Stafford, and in 1444 duke of Buckingham, was killed at the battle of Northampton, in 1460, where he jointly commanded the royal army with the duke of Somerſet. He was by his mother great grandſon to Edward III.

[5] William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was in 1443 made marquis, and in 1448 created duke of Suffolk. He was prime miniſter to Henry VI. and the favourite of his queen. Being baniſhed to appeaſe the national diſcontent in 1450, he was taken on the ſea, and beheaded without trial.

[6] John Holland reſtored as earl of Huntington, in 1416, was afterwards created duke of Exeter. He was admiral of England, and conſtable of the Tower of London. He died in 1447, and was buried in St. Catherine's church, near the Tower.

[7] Ralph lord Cromwell, was lord treaſurer in 1434.

[8] John Stafford, biſhop of Bath and Wells, and brother to the earl of Stafford, was lord chancellor. He was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury in 1443, and died in 1452.

[9] John Kempe was tranſlated from London to York, in 1426, and from this ſee to Canterbury, in 1452, where he died very old in 1453.

[10] Philip Morgan, biſhop of Worceſter, was tranſlated to Ely in 1426, he was a man of learning and wiſdom, and died in 1434.

[11] William Grey was tranſlated to the ſee of Lincoln, from that of London, in 1431, and died in 1435.

[12] John Langdon, elected biſhop of Rocheſter, in 1421, was both an antiquary and hiſtorian, and died at the council of Baſil in 1434.

The

The Speech of John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk againſt Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerſet in the Houſe of Lords.—From the ſame Work.

"MY lordes ye know well ynough the grete peynes labours and diligences that before thys tyme y have doon to thentent that the ove' greete diſhonneurs and loſſes that ben come to thys full noble Royaume of England by the fals menes of ſom perſones that have take on theym over grete autoritee in thys Royaume ſhulde be knowen. And that the perſones lyvyng that have doon theym ſhulde be corrected aftyr the merites of her deſertes And to that entent y have denounced

The Speech of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, againſt Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet, in the Houſe of Lords.

"MY Lords, ye know well enough the great pains, labours, and diligences, that before this time I have done, to the intent that the over great diſhonours and loſſes that be come to this full noble Realm of England, by the falſe means of ſome perſons that have taken on them over great authority in this Realm, ſhould be known. And that the Perſons living that have done them ſhould be corrected after the merits of their deſerts. And to that intent I have denounced,

That the Reader may the better underſtand the matters here referred to, it will be neceſſary juſt to mention the leading tranſactions which occaſioned this accuſation.

The Parliament met at Weſtminſter in the latter end of the year 1450, when the Duke of Somerſet returning from France, was ſo publicly cenſured for the loſs of Normandy, that the Commons petitioned the King to ſend him to the Tower; it might be therefore at this time that the Duke of Norfolk made this Speech in the Houſe of Lords; the Duke of Somerſet, however, was releaſed as ſoon as the Parliament broke up. But as Guienne (which ſtands as part of the charge againſt him here) was not completely loſt before the year 1453, when this Duke was again committed to the Tower, and an accuſation brought againſt him by the Commons before the Lords, it is, I think, moſt probable that it was then that the Duke of Norfolk ſtepped forwards as his accuſer.

The exact time however is immaterial, as the force and energy of the Speech remain the ſame whenever it was ſpoken; and that it was ſpoken is evident, from that ſentence in which he ſays, "Wherefor for to abbregge my langage, &c." Though conciſe, it is nervous, full to the purpoſe, and artfully addreſſed to the paſſions both of the noble Lords and the people in general, and in form and method would not diſgrace a modern orator.

Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet, after the death of the Duke of Suffolk, became the Queen's favourite, and prime miniſter, and was both a valiant Soldier and an able Stateſman; he fell in the firſt battle of St. Alban's, where he commanded the royal army, in May 1455.

John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, ſucceeded his father in 1432, and died in 1461. Theſe Dukes were both of them great-grandſons to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter. The firſt by his father, the ſecond by his mother.

On the top of the paper on which this Speech is written, is the word cõp, meaning "Copy," which ſhows that this was copied from the original paper for the Duke's own uſe, as the paper and hand-writing are both of the time of Henry VI.

And at the bottom is written "Einſi ſigne M. Norff."

nounced and delyv'd to you in wrytyng certeyn articles ayenſt the Duc of Som^rſet whych ys one of theym that ys gylty thereoff wher-too the Duc of Som^rſet hath aunſuerd And to that that he hath aunſuerd y have replyed yn ſuch wyſe that y trowe to be ſure ynough that there ſhall no vayllable thyng be ſeyd to the contrarie of my ſeyd replicacon And aſmoch as he woold ſey ſhall be but falſneſſe and leſyngs as be the probacons that ſhall be made thereuppon ſhall mow appiere how be it that to alle people of gode entendement knowyng how Juſtice owyth to be miniſtred. it ys full apparūnt that the denunciac'ons ayenſt hym made ben ſufficiently preved by the dedes that have folowed thereoff Whereuppon y have requyred to have ouv^rture of juſtice by yow whych ye have not yhyt doon to me Whereoff y am ſo hevy that y may no leng^r beere it ſpeciallie ſeth the mater by me purſued ys ſo worſhipfull for all the Roy^me. and for you and ſo greable to god and to alle the ſubgettys of thys Roy^me that it may be no gretter And it ys ſuch that for anye favo^r of lignage ne for anye othyr cauſe there ſhulde be no diſſimulacon for doubt leſt that othyr yn tyme comyng take example thereoff And leſt that the full noble vertue of juſtice that of god ys ſo greetly recōmaunded be extinct or quenched by the fals oppinions of ſom that for the grete bribes that the ſeyd Duc of Som^rſet hath p'myſed and yoven theym have turned theyr hertys from the wey of trouth and of juſtice ſom ſeyeng that the caſes by hym cōmitted ben but caſes of treſpaſſe And othyr takyng a colour to make an univ^rſell peas. Whereoff ev'y man that ys

ed, and delivered to you in writing, certain Articles againſt the Duke of Somerſet, which is one of them that is guilty thereof; whereto the Duke of Somerſet hath anſwered; and to that that he hath anſwered, I have replied in ſuch wiſe that I trow to be ſure enough that there ſhall be no vailable thing be ſaid to the contrary of my ſaid replication; and as much as he would ſay ſhall be but falſeneſs and leaſings, as by the probations that ſhall be made thereupon ſhall mow (*moreover*, or *ſoon*, *q?*) appear; howbeit that to all people of good intendment, knowing how Juſtice ought to be miniſtered, it is full apparent that the denunciations againſt him made be ſufficiently proved by deeds that have followed thereof; whereupon I have required to have overture of Juſtice by you, which ye have not yet done to me, whereof I am ſo heavy, that I may no longer bear it, ſpecially ſince the matter by me purſued is ſo worſhipful for all the realm, and for you, and ſo agreeable to God, and to all the Subjects of this realm, that it may be no greater; and it is ſuch that for any favour of lineage, nor for any other cauſe there ſhould be no diſſimulation, for doubt leſt that other in time coming take example thereof; and leſt that the full noble virtue of Juſtice, that of God is ſo greatly recommended, be extinct or quenched by the falſe opinions of ſome, that for the great bribes, that the ſaid Duke of Somerſet hath promiſed and given them, have turned their hearts from the way of truth and of juſtice; ſome, ſaying that the caſes by him committed be but caſes of treſpaſs, and others, taking a colour to make an univerſal

ys trewe to the seyd corouné avyth gretely to m'veylle that anye man wold sey that the losse of ij so noble Duchees as Normandie and Guyen that ben well worth a greete Roy^me, comyng by succeſſions of fadres and modres to the seyd coroune ys but t'spasse Where as it hath be seen in manye Royaumes, and lordshyps, that for the losse of tounes or Castells wythoute Sege the Cap^nes that hav lost theym han be deede and beheded and her godes lost as in Fr'unce one that lost Chyrborough And also a knyght that fledd for dred of bataille shulde be byheded soo that alle these thyngs may be founden in the lawes wryten. And also yn the boke cleped l'arbre de bataille Wherfor, for to abbregge my langage y Requyre you that forasmech as the more partie of the dedes cōmitted by the seyd Duc of Som^rset ben cōmitted yn the Roy^me of Fr'unce, that by the lawes of Fr'unce proceſſe be made thereuppon And that all thyng that y have delyv'ed and shall delyv'e be seen and understand by people havyng knoulige theroff, And that the dedes cōmitted by hym in thys Roy^me bee yn lyke wyse seen and understand by people lerned yn the lawes of thys land And for preffe thereoff to gr'unt cōmissions to inquere thereoff as by reason and of custom it owyth to be doon callyng god and you all my lordes to wytneſſe of the devoirs by me doon in thys seyd mat'e. And requyeyng you that thys my bille and alle othyr my devoirs may be enacted before you. And that y may have it exemplified undre the kyngs grete seele for my discharge and acquytaille of my trouth makyng protestac'on that in case that ye

peace, whereof every man that is true to the said Crown, ought greatly to marvel, that any man would say that the loss of two so noble Duchies as Normandy and Guyenne, that be well worth a great realm, coming by succeſſions of fathers and mothers to the said Crown, is but treſpaſs; whereas it hath been seen in many Realms and Lordships, that, for the loss of towns or castles without siege, the Captains that have lost them have been dead and beheaded, and their Goods lost; as in France one that lost Cherburgh; and also a Knight that fled for dread of battle should be beheaded; so that all these things may be found in the laws written, and also in the book cleped [*called*] "*L'Arbre de Bataile*;" wherefore for to abridge my language, I require you that for as much as the more part of the deeds committed by the said Duke of Somerset (*have*) been committed in the realm of France, that, by the Laws of France, proceſs be made thereupon; and that all things that I have delivered and shall deliver, be seen and understood by people having knowledge thereof, and that the deeds committed by him in this realm be in like wiſe seen and understood by people learned in the Laws of this Land; and for proof thereof to grant Commiſſions to enquire thereof, as by reason and of custom it ought to be done, calling God and you all my Lords to witneſs of the devoirs by me done in this said matter; and requiring you that this my bill, and all other my devoirs, may be enacted before you, and that I may have it exemplified under the King's great Seal for my discharge and acquittal of my truth, making pro-

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ys

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make not to me ouv^rture of juſtice upon the ſeyd caas. y ſhall for my diſcharge do my peyn that my ſeyd devoirs and the ſeyd lak of juſtice ſhall be knowen through all the Roy^me.

Einſi ſigne,
J. M. Norff.

12 by 8¼.

teſtation that in caſe that ye make not to me overture of Juſtice upon the ſaid caſe, I ſhall for my diſcharge do my pain, that my ſaid devoirs and the ſaid lack of Juſtice ſhall be known through all this realm.

Ainſi Signe,
JOHN MOWBRAY, } Norfolk.

1450, or 1453,
29 or 32 H. VI.

The following Letter from John Paſton *to Sir* John Paſton, *Knight, gives an Account of a Viſit of* Edward the Fourth *to* Norwich, *in the Courſe of a royal Progreſs, in which he is attended by ſome of his Miniſters.—The Management of Family Concerns, and Law Suits, at that Period, and the Applications to, and Interference of, the Court in ſuch Matters, is particularly delineated in this Letter.—From the ſame Work.*

To Sir John Paſton, Knight.

"TO begyn God yeld yow for my hatys. the kyg hathe ben in this contre and worchepfully receyuyd in to Norwyche and had ryght good cher and gret gyftys in thys contre wherwythe he holdyth hym ſo well content that he wyll haſtyly be her agayn and

"TO begin, God yeld *(ſhield, or preſerve)* you for my hats. The King hath been in this country, and worſhipfully received into Norwich, and had right good cheer, and great gifts in this country, wherewith he holdeth him ſo well content that he will haſtily

As King Edward often made excurſions, and by his inſinuating manner and addreſs conciliated the minds of his ſubjects, and induced them to beſtow liberal gifts upon him, it cannot be certainly known whether this viſit to Norwich was merely to raiſe money, or whether having intimations of the diſcontent of the Earl of Warwick, the King was endeavouring to make himſelf popular, the better to encounter and defeat any deſigns of that nobleman. His manner of travelling, his attendants, and the familiar converſations which are drawn in this Letter with eaſe and preciſion, intereſt the reader as well as delineate the manners of the times.

We find the Duke of Glouceſter accompanied the King, but we hear nothing of the Duke of Clarence, he moſt probably was at this very inſtant with the Earl of Warwick, forming thoſe plans which ſoon after for a time replaced Henry upon the throne.—Edward's converſation with William Paſton was certainly very proper, and becoming a King, deſirous that juſtice ſhould be done according to the law; for what can ſhew this intention more ſtrongly than the following words? "I will neither treat nor ſpeak for him, but I will let the law proceed."

His converſation likewiſe with Brandon, was both manly and ſpirited.

and the qwen allſo wᵗ whom by my power auyſe ye ſhall com if ſo be that the terme be do by yᵗ tym yᵗ ſhe com in to yⁱˢ contre And as for yowr maters her ſo god help me J haue don as myche as in me was in laborȳg of theym as well to my lord * Reuers as to my lord † Scalys ſyr Iohn Wydwyll Thom's Wyngfeld and othyr abowt the kȳg And as for the lord Reuers he ſeyd to myn oncyll Will'm Fayrfax and me that he ſhold meue the kȳg to ſpek to the two dukys of Norff. and Suff. that they ſhold leue of ther tytyls of ſyche lond as wer ſyr Iohn Faſtolfs and if ſo be yᵗ they wold do nowt at the kyngs reqweſt yᵗ then the kȳg ſhold comand theym to do no waſts nor mak non aſſawtys nor frayis upon youʳ ten'nts nor plaſys tyll ſyche tym as the lawe hathe determynd wᵗ yow or ayenſt yow yⁱˢ was ſeyd by hym the ſam day in the mornȳg that he depertyd at noon whedyr he meued the kȳg wᵗ it or nowt J can not ſey myn oncyll Wyll'm thynkys naye and the ſame aftyr none folowȳg J told my lord Scalys that J had ſpokyn wᵗ my lord hys fadyr in lyek forme as J haue reherſyd and axyd hym whedyr that my lord hys fadyr had ſpokyn to the kȳg or nowt and he gaue me thys anſwer that whedyr he had ſpokyn to the kȳg or nowt yᵗ the mater ſhold do well jnow Thom's Wygfeld told me and ſwore on to me that when brandon meuvyd the kȳg beſowght

haſtily be here again, and the Queen alſo, with whom by my poor advice ye ſhall come, if ſo be that the term be done by that time that ſhe come into this country; and as for your matters here, ſo God help me, I have done as much as in me was, in labouring of them, as well to my Lord * Rivers as to my Lord † Scales, Sir John Wydville, Thomas Wingfield and others about the King; and as for the Lord Rivers, he ſaid to my Uncle William, Fairfax, and me, that he ſhould move the King to ſpeak to the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, that they ſhould leave of their titles of ſuch land as were Sir John Faſtolf's, and if ſo be that they would do nought at the King's requeſt, that then the King ſhould command them to do no waſte, nor make none aſſaults nor frays upon your tenants nor places, till ſuch time as the law hath determined with you or againſt you; this was ſaid by him the ſame day in the morning that he departed at noon; whether he moved the King with it or not I cannot ſay, my Uncle William thinks nay; and the ſame afternoon following I told my Lord Scales that I had ſpoken with my Lord his Father, in like form as I have rehearſed, and aſked him whether that my Lord his Father had ſpoken to the King or not, and he gave me this anſwer, that whether he had ſpoken to the King or not, that the matter ſhould do well enough.

Thomas

* Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, father to the Queen, was at this time Lord Treaſurer. This nobleman and his eldeſt ſon Sir John Wydville, were in Auguſt following both beheaded at Northampton, by a riotous mob, headed by one Robert of Riddeſdale.

† Anthony Wydville, Lord Scales, was ſecond ſon to the Earl Rivers, and had been ſummoned to parliament in right of his wife, the daughter and rich heir of the late Lord Scales.

beſowght hym to ſhew my lord fauour in hys maters ayenſt yow that the Kyng ſeyd on to hym ayen brandon thow thou can begyll the dwk of Norff and bryng him abow the thombe as thow lyſt J let the wet thow ſhalt not do me ſo for J undyrſtand thy fals delyg well jnow And he ſeyd on to him more ouer that if my lord of Norff. left not of hys hold of that mater that brandon ſhold repent itt euʳy vayn in hys hert for he told hym that he knew well jnow that he myght reauyll my lord of Norff. as he wold and if my lord dyd eny thyg that wer Contrary to hys lawys the kyg told hym he knew well jnow that it was by no bodys menys but by hys and thus he depertyd fro the kyg Jt' as by wordys the lord Scalys and Sr John Wydwyll tok tendyr yor maters mor then the lord Reuers It' Syr Iohn Wydvyll told me when he was on horſbak at the kygs depertyg that the kyg had comandyd brandon of p'poſe to ryd forthe fro Norwych to Lyne for to tak a Concluſyon in yor mater for yow And he bad me yt J ſhold caſt no dowghtys but yt ye ſhold haue yor entent and ſo dyd the lord Scalys alſo and when yt J preyd them at eny tyme to ſhew ther fauor to yor mater they anſwerd that it was ther mater as well as yors conſyderyg the * alyans betwyx yow. Comon wt Jakys Hawt and he ſhall tell yow what langage was ſpekyn betwen the duk of Suff Conſell and hym and me it is to long to wryght but J promyſe yow ye ar be held to Iakys for he ſparyd not to ſpek Jt' the kyng rod thorow Heylyſdon waren towads

Thomas Wingfield told me, and ſwore unto me, that when Brandon moved the King, and beſought him to ſhew my Lord favour in his matters againſt you, that the King ſaid unto him again, "Brandon, though thou canſt beguile the Duke of Norfolk, and bring him about *(thy)* thumb as thou liſt, I let thee weet thou ſhalt not do me ſo; for I underſtand thy falſe dealing well enough." And he ſaid unto him, moreover that if my Lord of Norfolk left not of his hold of that matter, that Brandon ſhould repent it, every vein in his heart, for he told him that he knew well enough that he might rule my Lord of Norfolk as he would, and if my Lord did any thing that were contrary to his laws, the King told him he knew well enough that it was by nobody's means but by his, and thus he departed from the King.

Item, as by words, the Lord Scales and Sir John Wydville took tender your matters more than the Lord Rivers.

Item, Sir John Wydville told me, when he was on horſeback at the King's departing, that the King had commanded Brandon of purpoſe to ride forth from Norwich to Lynn, for to take a concluſion in your matter for you; and he bad me that I ſhould caſt no doubts but that ye ſhould have your intent, and ſo did the Lord Scales alſo; and when that I prayed them at any time to ſhew their favour to your matter, they anſwered that it was their matter as well as yours, conſidering the * alliance betwixt you.

Commune with Jakys Hawte, and

* This refers to the contract between Sir John Paſton and Anne Hawte.

wads Walſȳgh'm and Thom's Wyngfeld promyſyd me that he wold fynd the menys that my lord of *Glowſeſtyr and hym ſylf bothe ſhold ſhew the kȳg the loge yᵗ was brekē down and alſo yᵗ they wold tell hym of yᵉ brekȳg down of yᵉ plaſe. Contrary to thys maters and all the Comfort that J had of my lord Scalys Sʳ John Wydvyll and Thom's Wȳgfeld myn oncyll Wyll'm ſethe that yᵉ kȳg told hym hys owne mowthe when he had redyn for by the loge in Heylyſdon waren that he ſuppoſyd as well yᵗ it myght fall downe by the ſelf as be plukyd downe for if it had be plukyd down he ſeyd yᵗ we myght haue put in ouʳ byllys of it wehn hys jugys ſat on the oyeer detʳmyner in Norwyche he beȳg ther And then myn oncyll ſeythe how that he anſwerd the kȳg that ye truſtyd to hys good grace that he ſhold ſet yow thorow wᵗ both yᵉ dwkys by mene of trete and he ſeythe yᵗ the kȳg anſwerd hym that he wold neythyr tret nor ſpek for yow but for to let the lawe proced and ſo he ſeyth that they depertyd. And by my trowthe and my lord treſorer encorage you not more than he dyd us her ye ſhall haue but eſy help as on yᵗ party Wherefor labor yoʳ maters effectually for by my trowthe it is nedy for for all ther wordys of pleſur J cannot undyrſtand what ther labor in thys Contre hathe don good wherfor be not ouyr ſwyft tyll ye be ſwyr of yoʳ lond but labor ſore yᵉ lawe for by my trowthe tyll that be paſſyd wᵗ yow ye get but eſy help as I can undyrſtand J had wᵗ me on day at denʳ in my modyrs plaſe ſhe beȳg owt

and he ſhall tell you what language was ſpoken between the Duke of Suffolk's counſel, and him, and me; it is too long to write, but I promiſe you ye are beholden to Jakys, for he ſpared not to ſpeak.

Item, the King rode through Helleſdon Warren towards Walſingham, and Thomas Wingfield promiſed me that he would find the means that my Lord of * Glouceſter and himſelf both ſhould ſhew the King the Lodge that was broken down, and alſo that they would tell him of the breaking down of the place. Contrary to theſe matters, and all the comfort that I had of my Lord Scales, Sir John Wydville, and Thomas Wingfield, my Uncle William ſaith, that the King told him *(with)* his own mouth, when he had ridden forth by the Lodge in Helleſdon Warren, that he ſuppoſed as well that it might fall down by the ſelf, as be plucked down, for if it had been plucked down, he ſaid that we might have put in our bills of it, when his Judges ſat on the Oyer and Determiner in Norwich, he being there; and then my Uncle ſaith how that he anſwered the King, that ye truſted to his good grace that he ſhould ſet you through with both the Dukes, by mean of treaty, and he ſaith that the King anſwered him that he would neither treat nor ſpeak for you, but for to let the law proceed, and ſo he ſaith that they departed; and by my troth and *(if)* my Lord Treaſurer encourage you not more than he did us here, ye ſhall have but eaſy help as on that party, wherefore labour your matters effectually, for by my troth it is needy

* Richard, Duke of Glouceſter, afterwards King Richard III.

owt the lord ſcalys Sr John Wydvyll Sr John Haward Nicolas Haward Iohn of Parr Thom's Garnet feſtnx cheyny truſſel ye knyghts ſon Thom's boleyn q'p'pter Brampton Barnard and Brom Perſe howſe W Tonſtale Lewes Debretayll and othyr and mad hem good cher ſo as they held them Content. Jt'm my lord of Norff. gaue Bernard Broom nor me no gownys at thys ſeſon Wherfor J awaytyd not on hym notwtſtandyg J ofyrd my ſeruyſe for yt ſeſon to my lady but it was refuſyd I wot by auyſe Wherfor I p'poſe no more to do ſo as for Bernard Barney Broom and W Calthorp ar ſworn my lord of Glowſetyrs men but J ſtand yet at large not wtſtandyg my lord Scalys ſpok to me to be wt the kyg but J mad no p'mes ſo to be for J told hym yt I was not woorthe a groote wtowt yow and therfor J wold mak no promes to nobody tyll they had yor good wyll fyrſt and ſo we depertyd. It was told me yt ther was owt a preve ſeall for yow to attend upon the kyg Northeward and if it be ſo J thynk vryly it is do to haue yow fro London be craft yt ye ſhold not labor yor maters to a Concluſyon thys terme but put them delaye J pray yow prvey yow on it to be at hom as ſone as the terme is doone for be god J take gret hurt for myn abſence in dyuers plaſys and the moſt part of yor men at Caſtr wyll deperte wthowt abod and ye be not at hom wtin thys fortnyght J pray yow bryng hom poynts and laſys of ſylk for yow and me.

J. P.

needy for, for all their words of pleaſure, I cannot underſtand what their labour in this country hath done good; wherefore be not over ſwift till ye be ſure of your land, but labour ſore the law, for by my troth till that be paſſed with you, ye get but eaſy help as I can underſtand.

I had with me one day at dinner in my Mother's place, ſhe being out, the Lord Scales, Sir John Wydville, Sir John Howard, Nicholas Howard, John of Parr, Thomas Garnet, Feſtus Cheyney, Truſſel, the Knight's Son, Thomas Boleyn, qua propter *(in ſhort)* Brampton, Bernard, and Brown, Perſe Howſe, W. Tonſtal, Lewis de Bretayl, and others, and made them good cheer, ſo as they held them content.

Item, my Lord of Norfolk gave Bernard, Broom, nor me no gowns at this ſeaſon, wherefore I awaited not on him, notwithſtanding I offered my ſervice for that ſeaſon to my lady, but it was refuſed, I wot by advice; wherefore I purpoſe no more to do ſo. As for Bernard, Barney, Broom, and W. Calthorpe are ſworn my Lord of Glouceſter's men, but I ſtand yet at large, notwithſtanding my Lord Scales ſpoke to me to be with the King, but I made no promiſe ſo to be, for I told him that I was not worth a groat without you, and therefore I would make no promiſe to nobody till they had your good will firſt, and ſo we departed.

It was told me that there was out a Privy Seal for you to attend upon the King northward; and if it be ſo, I think verily it is done to have you from London by craft, that ye ſhould not labour your matters to a concluſion this term, but

but put them (*in*) delay. I pray you purvey you on it, to be at home as ſoon as the term is done, for by God I take great hurt for mine abſence in divers places, and the moſt part of your men at Caiſter will depart without abode, and (*if*) ye be not at home within this fortnight. I pray you bring home points and laces of ſilk for you and me.

JOHN PASTON.

1469. 9 E. IV.

11 ½ by 17. A whole Sheet.
Paper Mark,
Bull's Head and Star.

Deſcription and Hiſtory of a curious Fruſtum *of a Statue of* Serapis *at* Arles, *the ancient* Arelas.—*Extracted from Notices and Deſcriptions of Antiquities of the* Provincia Romana *of* Gaul, *now* Provence, Languedoc, *and* Dauphine. *By Governor* Pownall, F. R. S. *and* F. S. A.

"IT is the trunk of a ſtatue in the terminal form, as uſed in Syria and Egypt. It is of the pureſt white marble."—"The body of the figure is enveloped from the ſhoulders to the feet with a thin robe or mantle, on which, in raiſed work, were the twelve (nine remain) ſigns of the zodiac, a ſerpent winding through the courſe of theſe ſigns aſcends from the feet in four contours round the body, and comes with its neck and head over the left ſhoulder of the figure. The perſonal deity here repreſented hath the left arm raiſed up towards the breaſt, ſo as to meet the ſerpent; and as far as the diſfigurement of the ſtatue will permit one to form an idea, one may ſuppoſe it to have held a patera, out of which the ſerpent was feeding. The exhibition of a prieſt or Æſculapius, of a prieſteſs or Hygeia, giving food out of a ſacred patera to a ſerpent, is not uncommon in gems and other ſculptures. The lower parts of the legs and feet, and the head of this ſtatue, are gone, ſo that conjecture is left quite at liberty to ſurmiſe, whether this was a ſtatue of Mithras or Serapis. Both theſe deities are repreſented in this ſame manner. The Perè Dumont, a very ingenious ſcholar, who hath been converſant with matters of antiquity in Italy, and now reſides as a minim in the convent of that order at Arles, and is writing the Hiſtory of the Antiquities of Arles, is decidedly of opinion, that it was a ſtatue of Mithras."

The Hiſtory and further Deſcription of this Idol.

"When Ptolemy had completed the city of Alexandria, had girt

and fortified it with walls, and found that it became the reſidence of people of all nations, languages, and religions, he wiſhed to erect ſome comprehending ſymbolic idol, which might become a general object of worſhip to all people reſiding there. He pretended, like a wiſe prince, that he had received the divine command to do this. He was converſant in all the phyſiologic mythology of Aſia, and acquainted with the nature of the mixed ſymbolic idols. Any local one, whoſe Numen and worſhip was known, and was already eſtabliſhed as local, would not do. He was to look for ſome idol of a god, ſuch a ſymbolic mixed one as might be comprehenſively catholic, which was not known, but which was willing to be eſtabliſhed at Alexandria. He therefore pretended that a god, ſuch as he deſcribed, cloathed in flame, had viſited him in a dream, and ordered him to eſtabliſh his idol at Alexandria. Whatſoever it was that he deſcribed, he, upon ſounding the Egyptian prieſts on the matter, could not induce them to underſtand what god he meant, nor where ſuch god dwelt. He wiſely dropped the buſineſs for the preſent; but ſome time after pretended a ſecond dream, wherein the god appeared to him in a terrific form. As the god had in the former viſion promiſed all proſperity to his kingdom if he eſtabliſhed his idol at Alexandria, he now threatened deſtruction to it if he did not ſet it up and eſtabliſh its worſhip there. The king affected to learn from an Athenian that which the Egyptians pretended to be ignorant of, the place where this god dwelt, namely, at Sinope in Pontus. In obedience, therefore, to the divine command, he ſent a ſhip and ambaſſadors to fetch the idol of this god; but, to engage and add a corroborating authority to this embaſſy, he ordered the ambaſſadors to conſult the Pythian Apollo on the ſubject. This god added his ſanction, in confirmation of the command of the viſion. They proceeded to Sinope; but the king of the Sinopians would not liſten to the requeſt of the ambaſſadors. However, at length, won by the irreſiſtible bribes and preſents of the Alexandrians, he agreed to ſell his god. The people, however, would by no means agree to it, and became fanatically frantic, in oppoſition to the parting with their god, ſo that the king was not capable to fulfil his engagement. During theſe embroils, the god, not regarding the zeal and religious love which the people bore to him, ſo as to be ready to ſacrifice themſelves to him, ſtole off, and in a miraculous manner not only conveyed himſelf on board the ſhip, but by a like miraculous interpoſition accelerated the ſhip's way ſo as to make its paſſage from Sinope to Alexandria in three days. This idol, thus imported, was ſet up in all the pomp and circumſtance of idolatry, and was, I believe, the firſt miraculous idol ſet up as a comprehenſive object of general worſhip. The religious policy of Ptolemy had its effect*; for all people,

* Cum autem multos alios Deos ab Ægyptiis cultos eſſe legamus, unus tamen eorum Sarapis, ab omnibus Ægyptum incolentibus, cujuſque nationis aut ſuperſtitionis eſſent, divino honore affectus eſt. Huic et Romanos, et Græcos, et Syrios,

ple, of all nations and religions, residing at or coming to Alexandria, joined in the common worship of this catholic object. The * Egyptian priests, who could not, whilst Ptolemy described it as a speculation, understand what god he could mean, very prudently and wisely, as soon as it was set up, and its worship established at Alexandria, found out that it was an ancient Egyptian Numen, worshipped at Memphis of old time.

To understand what this idol was, and what the Numen which it was the symbol of, we will first examine what Tacitus, who gives the history of its establishment, says of it, when the ambassadors consulted the Apollo Pythius. His answer was †, That they might go and fetch the idol of his father, but that they must leave his sister. In another part of this narrative ‡ Tacitus says, That the Athenian high priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, whom Ptolomæus consulted, told him, there was at Sinope in Pontus, a temple of Jao-Dis; and that a female idol sat beside the god of the temple, whom they, the Greeks, supposed to be Proserpine. These two are the father and sister of Apollo, to whom the Pythian oracle refers.

In Macrobius we read a description and physiologic explanation of a like group of idols in Hierapolis, a country holding and observing the same ritual as the Phrygians and Paphlagonius. "The "Hierapolitani, of the Assyrian "race, reduce all the powers and "effects of the sun to one sym-"bolic idol, and call it Apollo. "The face of this image is form-"ed with a long-pointed beard; "has a calathus, or recolt basket, "on the top of its head. The "busto of the image is armed with "a thorax. It hath, in its right-"hand, a shaft of a spear, on the "top of which is placed the com-"mon figure of victory; its left

Syrios, et Armenos, et Persas, et Judæos, ipsos quoque Christianos Sarapin veneratos esse et ad id vel blanditiis, vel majore vi, adductos discimus. Hoffmanni Lexicon.

Unus illis Deus, nullus est. Hunc et Christiani; hunc Judæi; hunc omnes venerantur, et nationes. Epistola Hadriani citata per Flavi Vopiscum in vitâ Hadriani ex libris Phlegontis Liberti Hadriani, cap. 2.

* Liquet Ægyptios antistites peregrino Deo, quem Ptolemæus advexerat nomen patrii cujusdem et antiqui numinis, cui dudum supplicaverant Ægyptii, imposuisse callidi nimirum et astuti homines non sine causu verebantur, fore, ut antiqua Ægyptiorum religio, et cum religione sacerdotes, in contemptum adduceretur si advena quidem Deus patriis anteponeretur. Mosheimii Nota 150ma, in Cudworth, cap. iv. § 18.

Alexandria Sarapin atque Isin cultu penè attonitæ venerationis observat. Macrob. ibid. cap. 20.

† Irent, similacrumque patris reveherent: sororis relinquerent. Tacitus, Hist. lib. IV. § 83.

‡ Timotheum Athenienſem, è gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistiten, ceremoniarum Elensi, exciverat, quænam illa superstitio quod numen? Interrogat [scilicet Ptolemæus.] Timotheus quæsitis qui in potum measset, cognoscit urbem illis Sinopen nec procul templum vetere inter accolas famâ Jovis ditis, namquem et muliebre effigiem assistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocant. Idem, ibid.

"holds

"holds forth a bouquet of flowers. "A Gorgonian mantle, reaching "from the ſhoulders downwards, "and tied with ſerpents, forms its "ſcapula; the figure of an eagle, "in the act of flying, accompa-"nies it. Before this ſtatue ſits "a female idol, in whoſe hands, "the right and left, are two fe-"male figures. A dragon ſerpent "is wound round her with its ſi-"nuous folds *." It would be tireſome to read, and more tireſome to tranſcribe, the childiſh explanations which Macrobius gives of this. It is enough to the purpoſe for which I cite this deſcription to remark, that in general this group correſponds with that deſcribed by Timotheus in Tacitus; and to obſerve, by the bye, that this group repreſented the ſun and moon; or rather, as the Pythian oracle explains it, the father of the ſun and the moon. The male ſtatue appears, by the calathus on his head directly, as well as by the other ſymbolic accompaniments, to be Serapis, or what was afterward ſo called in Egypt. The female one nearly the figure of Artemis or Iſis, as we have ſeen above; the male idol migrated (not indeed carrying his temple with him) to Alexandria.

When the Egyptians ſaw the god, they ſaid it was Jao-Dis, whom the Greeks call Pluto †, to whom was inmate the Seraph Serpent, whom the Greeks expreſſed by the word Serapis. Before I proceed to deſcribe the ſtatue of Serapis at Alexandria, or this fruſtum of an idol at Arles, I beg it may be obſerved, that the idol brought from Pontus was the Father of Apollo; and was called by ſome Pluto, to whom was conjoined Serapis.

Various are the idols of this ſymbolic Numen. Some, a beautiful young perſon with four wings, ſurrounded by the convolutions of a ſerpent; others bear the character of the terrific figure which formed the viſion in the ſecond dream of Ptolemy. Macrobius gives another deſcription of Serapis, and ſays, That the idol was ſymbolic of the ſun, appears in that they placed the calathus on its head, and that they grouped with this image a beaſt with three heads, round which a dragon ſerpent twined, ending its convolutions at the right-hand of the human perſon who fed it. There are various forms of this ſymbolic idol given both in ſtatues and in book deſcriptions; but all coinciding in the characteriſtic parts; that of a human figure, to whom is conjoined a dragon ſerpent, twining either round his immediate perſon, or round a holy ſtaff, or round ſome ſtrange beaſt (as in Macrobius) which ſerpent is ſupported and ſuſtained by that human perſon. This characteriſtic feature of the ſymbol is uniformly univerſal

* Hierapolitani, qui ſunt gentis Aſſyriorum, omnes ſolis effectus et virtutes ad unius ſimulachri barbati ſpeciem redigunt; eundemque Apollinem appellant, hujus facies prolixâ in acutum barbâ figurata eſt, eminente ſuper caput calatho. Simulacrum thorace munitum eſt. Dextra erectam tenet haſtam ſuperſtante victoriæ vulgò ſigno. Siniſtra floris poriget ſpeciem: ſummiſque ab humeris gorgoneum velamentum redemitum anguibus tegit ſcapulas. Aquilæ propter exprimunt volatus. Ante pedes imago fœminea eſt; cujus dextra lævaque ſunt ſigna fœminarum. Eam cingit flexuoſo volumine Draco. Macrob. Saturn, lib. I. c. 17.

† Τῷ Πλούτωνι συνωικίζουσι τὸν Σάραπιν. Porphyrius apud Euſeb. lib. III.

in

in all the mixed idols of Babylon, Perſia, Syria, Pontus, and Egypt.

We have ſeen above that a ſerpent was the emblem of the ſun. It has appeared, that Mithras, repreſenting the ſun, was not the ſupreme God: this was Mithres. In the Perſian mixed idol the ſerpent repreſented Mithras; the human figure Mithres. This Alexandrian ſtatue is ſometimes called Pluto and Dis, and at other times Serapis. Now this is explained above by Porphyrius, who ſays they conjoined Serapis to Pluto. This Pluto is Jao-Dis, and the Father of Apollo, according to the Pythian oracle itſelf. This idol therefore, as the Perſian idol did, repreſents, in a mixed ſymbol, the firſt intelligent cauſe, the father, ſupported and ſuſtained by whom the Seraph Serpent, ſymbol of the ſun, called by the Greeks Serapis, winds his courſe through the heavens, which the Gorgonian, or flame-coloured veil of the human figure repreſents. To this ſymbolic idol, therefore, the vulgar idolaters, the worſhippers of the ſun, and thoſe who carried their views of worſhip to a firſt intelligent cauſe, might and did equally look up. This, therefore, miraculous image, which brought itſelf, by its divine power, to Alexandria, and was there ſet up by divine command, would of natural conſequence, as in fact it did, become a kind of catholic general object, a worſhip to all nations and all religions, not even the Jews and ſome * heretical ſect of Chriſtians excepted, if Hadrian's letter is to be believed.

We learn from Pauſanias, that this Numen was received almoſt univerſally, and had temples almoſt in every part in Greece.

The Romans, as we have ſeen above, became zealous to adopt the worſhip of this ſymbolic idol, and dedicated temples to it, in very early times of the republic. All the authority of the Roman church, all the power of the Roman magiſtracy, oppoſing this religion with ſevere perſecution, could never effectually reſiſt it. It took root, it ſtruck downwards, and extended its branches throughout every part of the Roman dominions.

Veſpaſian, when he had formed the plan of his ambitious deſigns to become emperor, going to Alexandria, ſo managed matters, that this god Serapis, conſidered in ſome of his manifeſtations as Æſculapius and the god of health, ſhould point out to his votaries Veſpaſian as endued with divine power. Hence ſome who were lame, ſome who were blind, addreſſed themſelves to him by the divine command (as they ſaid) of the god; the one praying, that he would only deign to kick him with his foot; the other begging, that he would ſpit upon his eyes. Veſpaſian pretended to deride theſe votaries; but they perſevered. He ſtill affected to conſider any ſuppoſition that he, or any human power, could work ſuch miracles as vain and preſumptuous. He pretended to conſult the phyſicians, whether it was within the power of any human being to effect theſe cures. The doctors underſtood their buſineſs perfectly. Their anſwer was, that certainly

* The Gnoſtics moſt likely, who were confounded with the Chriſtians.

no

no human perſon could do this; but it might ſo pleaſe the gods, that he, *the prince*, might be choſen to a divine miniſtry of performing ſuch miracles. Veſpaſian acquieſced, and acted as the god had directed theſe poor objects to requeſt of him. Immediately the one recovered the uſe of his hand, and the other was reſtored to ſight. Thoſe who were preſent, and witneſſes to theſe facts, ſays Tacitus, now, when no temptation to falſify remains, bear teſtimony to them *.

The worſhip of this ſymbolic Numen having for ſome ages back taken root in the minds of the common people of Rome, having very generally, as an hereſy which the magiſtracy and prieſts found it neceſſary at length to connive at, extended itſelf, to which even at Rome, though without the walls of the city, many temples were erected, to which theſe people, who had adopted it, were fanatically devoted. It is no wonder that, when it became the *patron god* of the emperor Veſpaſian and of the Flavian family, this god ſhould then become openly and univerſally worſhipped, and have ſuch magnificent temples built to his Numen or deity.

After this ſurvey of the religion of the ancient world; of the ſymbols as outward viſible material objects of internal inviſible intelligible ideas; of idols imagined and erected to give activity to outward worſhip, which would be otherwiſe a mere inward ſpiritual effort of devotion, of which the multitude were incapable; of, finally, the ſymbolic worſhip of phyſiologic idols, the *muthos* of which the prieſt guarded ſecret, or communicated, as the occaſion required: we will, with thoſe ideas, view this curious fruſtum of an idol at Arles.

It is a mixed ſymbolic image; the principal part is that of an human perſon, cloathed with a veil, on which are wrought, in relievo, the figures of the zodiac. What the head was, or whether there was the calathes upon the head, cannot be now known, that being gone. Round this perſon, through the courſe of the figures

* Ex Alexandrina plebe quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium excitatis expoſcens genitu, monitu Serapidis Dei, quem dedita ſuperſtitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabatur *Principem* ut genus et oculorum orbes dignaretur reſpergere oris excremento. Alius manuæger, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac veſtigio *Cæſaris* calcaretur, orabat. Veſpaſianus primo irridere, aſpernari: atque illis inſtantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere: modo obſecratione ipſorum, et vocibus adulantium in ſpem induci. Poſtremò æſtimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humanâ ſuperabiles forent. Medici variè diſſerere. Huic non exeſam vim luminis et redituram ſi pellerentur obſtantia. Illi elapſos in pravum cartis, ſi ſalubris vis adhibeatur, poſſe integrari. *Id fortaſſe cordi Deis et divino miniſterio* Principem electum. Denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cæſarem: irriti ludibrium penes miſeros fore. Igitur Veſpaſianus cunctu fortunæ ſuæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultrà incredibile, læto ipſe vultu, erecta quæ aſtabat multitudine, juſſa ex ſequitur. Statim ad uſum converſa manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium. Taciti Hiſt. lib. IV. c. 81.

Suetonius relates the ſame ſtory; as alſo the preſages received in the temple of Serapis by Veſpaſian, of his future empire. Suetonii Veſpaſ. c. 7.

of

of the zodiac, the dragon ſerpent winds his flexile courſe in ſeveral folds, originally four, and finally comes with his head and neck over the left ſhoulder of the human figure, ſtretching itſelf forward toward the left hand of the perſon, which is lifted up, and ſeems to have held a patera; but ſome pious zeal has bruiſed the ſerpent's head, and ſo broken the hands, as that not the contours, but the general form only of them can be traced.

Here we ſee the human form repreſenting the ſuperior, if not the ſupreme, intelligent being. We ſee it cloathed with the heavens*, the φλογοειδης, *the Gorgonian veil*, through the conſtellations of which, particularly the ſigns of the zodiac, the *ſeraph-ſerpent*, the idol of the ſun†, winds his courſe, ſupported in his movements, and ſuſtained in his exiſtence, by this divine image, whom the Pythian oracle called his father‡, and whom the initiated conſidered as the ſupreme intelligent cauſe.

Conſidering this idol, as I did, in this point of view, I could not but eſteem it, as I do, a moſt curious and valuable remain of antiquity.

Whether now the critics may chooſe to call it Mithras or Serapis, or Bell and the Dragon, is nearly the ſame as to the ſymbol; but Serapis was the Numen chiefly worſhipped by the Romans."

Obſervations on the Time of the Death and Place of Burial of Queen Katharine Parr. *By the Rev.* Treadway Naſh, *D. D. F. A. S.—From the Archaeologia; or, Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity; publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. IX.*

"AS it is the plan of the Society of Antiquaries to give attention to diſcoveries, however trifling, which may tend to illuſtrate any point of Engliſh hiſtory, I now take the liberty of laying before them ſome circumſtances which clearly aſcertain the time of the death, and burying place of Katharine Parr, ſixth and laſt wife of Henry the Eighth. If no account of this diſcovery hath by any one been laid before the Society, I wiſh this to be read, as George Ballard, the induſtrious antiquary of Cambden, a town about ten miles from Sudley, ſays, the particulars of the death and burial of this lady are *deſiderata*, and his ignorance of it appears the more extraordinary, as his buſineſs of a ſtay-maker muſt often have led him into thoſe parts.

Indeed my late worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Granger, ſays, "The Rev. Mr. Hugget, a very "accurate antiquary, has given "undoubted authority for the "death of this queen in the caſtle "of Sudley in Glouceſterſhire, "September 5, 1548; and for her

* Ἀμπεχόνη δὲ φλογοειδὴ ςέλλουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς εἰκόνας. Plutarch. de Iſ. & Oſir.

† Jao Sol invictus Serapis. Gruter's Inſcript.

‡ Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι. Part of an inſcription in Fabretti.
Deo invicto Mithr**, Idol formerly at Lyons, but now ſomewhere in England.
Σάραπις δὲ ὄνομα τῷ Παν κοσμῳῦλος ἐςί. Plutarch. 28.
Σάραπιν ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετίβαλε——ὡς δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν οἱ τῶν Ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν. Id. 27.

"interment

" interment in the chapel there." Probably he alludes to a MS. in the heralds college, intituled, " A " book of Buryalls of trew Noble " Perſons, N° 15, p. 98, 99, en- " titled a breviate of the inter- " ment of the Ladye Katheryn " Parre, quene dowager, &c."— which goes on,

" Item, on Wenyſdaye the 5 " Septembre, between 2 or 3 of " the clocke in the morninge died " the aforeſaid Ladye, late Quene " Dowager, at the caſtle of Sud- " ley in Glouceſterſhire, 1548, " and lyeth buried in the chappell " of the ſaid caſtle.

" Item, ſhe was cearid and " cheſtid in lead accordinglie, " and ſo remained, &c."

This account being publiſhed in Rudder's new Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, raiſed the curioſity of ſome ladies, who happened to be at the caſtle in May 1782, to examine the ruined chapel, and obſerving a large block of alabaſter, fixed in the north wall of the chapel, they imagined it might be the back of a monument formerly placed there. Led by this hint they opened the ground not far from the wall; and not much more than a foot from the ſurface they found a leaden envelope which they opened in two places, on the face and breaſt, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cerecloth. Upon removing what covered the face, they diſcovered the features, and particularly the eyes, in perfect preſervation. Alarmed at this ſight, and with the ſmell, which came principally from the cerecloth, they ordered the ground to be thrown in immediately without judiciouſly cloſing up the cerecloth and lead, which covered the face: only obſerving enough of the inſcription to convince them that it was the body of queen Katharine.

In May 1784 ſome perſons having curioſity again to open the grave, found that the air, rain, and dirt, having come to the face, it was entirely deſtroyed, and nothing left but the bones. It was then immediately covered up, and no farther ſearch made.

October 14, 1786, I went to Sudley*, in company with the hon. John Sommers Cocks, and Mr. John Skipp of Ledbury, having previouſly obtained leave of Lord Rivers, the owner of the caſtle, to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and heaving up the lead, we found the face totally decayed, the bones only remaining; the teeth, which were ſound, had fallen out of their ſockets. The body, I believe, is perfect, as it has never been opened: we thought it indelicate and indecent to uncover it; but obſerving the left hand to lie at a ſmall diſtance from the body, we took off the cerecloth, and found the hand and nails perfect, but of a browniſh colour: the cerecloth conſiſted of many folds of coarſe linen, dipped in wax, tar, and perhaps ſome gums: over this was wrapt a ſheet of lead fitted exactly cloſe to the body.

* Sudley is ſituated near to Winchcombe, about 13 miles from Glouceſter, and about 8 from Cheltenham.

On

On that Part of the Lead which covered the Breaſt was the following Inſcription:

K P
He. e Lyethe quene
Katheryne Wife to Kyng
Henry the VIII and
the wife of Thomas
Lord of Sudely high
Admy . . . of Englond
And ynkle to Kyng
Edward the VI
. . . i . . . y . . M CCCCC
XL VIII

The queen muſt have been low of ſtature, as the lead which incloſed her corpſe was but five feet four inches long. The letters K. P. above the inſcription was the ſignature ſhe commonly uſed, though ſometimes ſhe ſigns herſelf, "Keteryn the Quene."—It ſeems at firſt extraordinary ſhe ſhould be buried ſo near the ſurface of the ground, but we ſhould conſider, that a pavement, and perhaps ſome earth had been taken away, ſince ſhe was firſt interred, and as ſhe was buried within the communion-rails, probably that ground might be formerly two or three ſteps higher than the reſt of the chapel *.

I could heartily wiſh more reſpect were paid to the remains of this amiable though unfortunate queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapt in another ſheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in ſome proper place, that at leaſt after her death her body might remain in peace; whereas the chapel where ſhe now lies is uſed for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes and ſcratch very indecently about her royal corpſe. Beſides the queen, many other eminent perſons are buried in this chapel, Sir John Bruges created Lord Chandos of Sudely, in the reign of Queen Mary (anceſtor to the preſent Duke of Chandos) his ſon Edmund Lord Chandos, Giles Lord Chandos, and Grey Lord Chandos, who, for the great intereſt he had in thoſe parts, was called the King of Coteſwold; and George Lord Chandos, who had three horſes killed under him at the battle of Newbury, in defence of King Charles the Firſt. All theſe, together with many eminent men, lie neglected in the ruined chapel of Sudley.

The chapel was an elegant building in the gothic ſtyle, ornamented with a tower, battlements, and pinnacles, probably of a later date than the caſtle, which, though it was much altered and improved by the high admiral, doth not appear as if built by him from the foundation, but of an age prior to that of Henry the Seventh. Indeed, great part of the caſtle was built by Ralph le Boteler, Lord of Sudley, 20 Henry VI. out of the ſpoils taken from the French. He was treaſurer of England, and admiral at ſea, where he took Portman a Frenchman priſoner, with whoſe ranſom he built one of the towers, which from his name was called Portman's Tower †. It was probably *then* a very magnificent palace, for the owner of it, when arreſted by Henry the Fourth, as he was being

* Her head lies to the weſt, and her feet to the eaſt, ſo that riſing upon her feet, her face would be to the eaſt.

† See Atkins's Glouceſterſhire, p. 369.

conveyed

conveyed to London, looked back upon Sudley Caſtle, and was heard to ſay, "Sudley Caſtle, thou art "the traytor, not I."

From the epitaph written by Dr. Parkhurſt, chaplain to Queen Katharine, as well as from the ſtyle of the building, I ſhould think the *chapel* was intirely built by the brother of the Protector Somerſet; for the brothers were both great patrons of the arts, and Sudley Caſtle might once have rivalled Somerſet Houſe in the Strand, and had this advantage, that it was not founded ſo much on rapine, and devaſtation of private property.—But to return to Queen Katharine.

Katharine Parr was born about the year 1510. She was the eldeſt of the daughters of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Weſtmoreland. Her father, though not rich, beſtowed on her a learned education, which at that time was much in faſhion: her fine parts and great application enabled her to make improvements ſuitable to the opportunities allowed her. Her perſon and deportment were amiable, though ſhe was not eſteemed a beauty. Her father by his laſt will gave her a fortune of 400l. a portion even at that time ſmall for the daughter of a country gentleman. Sir Thomas likewiſe in his will bequeaths to his ſon a gold chain given him by the king, of the value of 140l.—If the royal preſent had not been highly eſteemed, the chain would have been ſold, and increaſed his daughter's fortune.

Katharine was early married to Edward Burghe; after his death, to John Neville lord Latimer, a nobleman of large property in Worceſterſhire, and other counties; for George Neville lord Latimer, marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, had the manors of Great Cumberton, Wadborough, and other eſtates in our county, which, on his marriage, John lord Latimer ſettled on Katharine Parr in jointure, and ſhe held them during her life.

I do not find how long her firſt or ſecond huſband lived with her, but ſhe was * married to the king at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, at the latter end of that monarch's life, when he was violent and cruel, ſo that, in all probability, ſhe enjoyed with him but little happineſs or quiet. Indeed, ſhe was near paying for her royalty with her life, for as ſhe had been taught from her infancy to enquire into the principles of her religion, ſhe could not help arguing ſometimes with the King: a thing he could never bear, eſpecially in matters of religion, in which he thought every one ſhould conform to his ideas, and deemed it the higheſt preſumption, that Kate, as he called her, ſhould turn doctor, and pretend to inſtruct him; by the inſtigation therefore of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, he ordered the chancellor Wriotheſley to arreſt her, and convey her to the Tower, from whence ſhe would probably have ended her days upon a ſcaffold, if her adroitneſs and ſubmiſſion had not appeaſed the

* It is to be obſerved that though a widow when ſhe married the King, yet ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by her maiden name. So the wife of Edward IV. was called Elizabeth Widville, and not Elizabeth Grey.

wrath of her husband. With this tyrant she lived three years, six months, and five days, and only escaped his clutches, to fall into worse hands. She loved learning, and was a great patron of it, being herself well informed. She interceded earnestly for the university of Cambridge, which was in danger of sharing the fate of the monasteries *. She was of a religious turn, composed many letters, prayers, and pious meditations both in Latin and English. I shall quote one prayer, which breathes the true spirit of humanity and christianity. It was written during the French war, and the King's expedition into France, and seems preferable to the prayer directed by our liturgy to be used in time of war. It runs thus: "Our cause "being just, and being enforced "to enter into war and battle, we "most humbly beseech thee, O "Lord God of Hosts, so to turn "the hearts of our enemies to the "desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt; or else, "grant, O Lord, that with small "effusion of blood, and to the "little hurt of innocents, we may, "to thy glory, obtain victory, and "that, the wars being soon ended, "we may all with one heart and "mind, knit together in concord "and unity, laud and praise thee, "O Lord."—This to my ears sounds better than, "abate their "pride, assuage their malice, and "confound their devices."

The fairest characters may easily admit a stain, and the most immaculate are not secure from the breath of scandal: even Queen Katharine is charged with too great a partiality for Sir Thomas Seymour, and with an affection for him before she married the King. This affection revived after the death of her royal husband, if it did not continue during his life: however it is certain she soon and privately married Sir Thomas, "so soon, that it is said, if she "had early proved pregnant, it "might have been doubtful whose "child it was," but she was not delivered for a year and half after the king's death. This match was attended with the fate of most clandestine marriages, the misery and ruin of the female; for, cruel as Henry was, Katharine escaped better from the clutches of the king, than from the ill usage and treachery of her beloved Seymour. She died the seventh day after she was delivered of a daughter (whom the father, before his execution, committed to the care of the Dutchess of Suffolk), of a broken heart, not without suspicion of poison †.

Thus did a hard fate attend this amiable woman. The ambition of Seymour, the object of her choice, was not satisfied with marrying the Queen Dowager, but he aimed at a match with the Princess Elizabeth, by which he hoped he might one day become husband to the Queen regent, if not king of England: besides, the pride of her sister-in-law, and the ill temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last, and who had every external qualification calculated to

* See her letter in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

† This heavy charge is founded on the Salisbury papers, published by Haynes, p. 103, 104.

captivate the female heart, were conſtant ſources of miſery to this unfortunate woman.

Strype has given us an Epitaph written by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurſt, afterward biſhop of Norwich, which perhaps was engraved on the monument erected for her in the chapel of Sudley caſtle; is as follows:

Hoc Regina novo dormit Katharina ſepulchro,
Sexus fœminei flos, honor, atque decus:
Hæc fuit Henrico conjux fidiſſima regi,
Quem poſtquam e vivis Parca tuliſſet atrox,
Thomæ Seymero (cui tu, Neptune, tridentem
Porrigis) eximio nupſerat illa viro:
Huic peperit natam; a partu cum ſeptimus orbem
Sol illuſtraſſet, mors truculenta necat.
Defunctam madidis famuli deflemus ocellis,
Humeſcit triſtes terra Britanna genas:
Nos infelices mœror conſumit acerbus,
Inter cœleſtes gaudet at illa choros.

Engliſhed thus:

In this new tomb the royal Kath'rine lies,
Flower of her ſex, renowned, great, and wiſe.
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand ſhe yields
(Seymour who Neptune's trident juſtly wields);
From him a beauteous daughter bleſs'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms.
When now ſeven days this tender flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in it's wrath the mother's ſoul reſum'd.
Great Kath'rine's merit in our grief appears,
While fair Britannia dews her cheek with tears,
Our loyal breaſts with riſing ſighs are torn,
With ſaints ſhe triumphs, we with mortals mourn.

There is an original picture of her in the gallery at Lambeth, over the chimney-piece.

Remarks on the Title of Thane *and* Abthane. *By* Robert Riddel, *of* Glen Riddel, *Eſq. In a Letter to Mr.* Gough.—*From the ſame Work.*

Friars carſe, near Dumfries.

Sir,

"AGREEABLE to my promiſe I ſend you ſome remarks on the title of Thane in Scotland, and the authority that was annexed to that moſt antient and honourable office by our kings and the eſtates, in the earlier ages of the Scottiſh monarchy. A Thane (which ſignifies a ſervant) held under the king a juriſdiction over a diſtrict called a Thanedom, and afterwards a Sheriffdom

riffdom or County. His office was to give judgment in all civil and criminal caſes within his Thanedom. Upon peruſing the claims of hereditary juriſdiction in Scotland, when they were annexed to the crown in 1748, I find that in the year 1405 a receipt was granted by Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, for infeſting Donald, thane of Calder, in his thanedom, as heir at law to Andrew, thane of Calder, his father, to whom he had previouſly been ſerved heir, and returned in the heritable offices of Shireef (or Thane) of Nairn, and conſtable of the caſtle of Nairn. He was accordingly ſeaſed of his lands and thanedom; and the ſeaſine is produced as a voucher in the year 1748, to prove the fact. By this it appears that the thanes of Calder exerciſed a juriſdiction over the thanedom, and afterwards ſheriffdom of Nairn. The title of earl (an Engliſh dignity derived from the Saxon word *Eorlas*, ſignifying honour) was firſt introduced into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore, and gained ground to the prejudice of the more ancient title of Thane. The title of earl was often granted without any juriſdiction annexed to it; but the dignity of Thane, never. And this perhaps was the chief reaſon for its total diſuſe in the year 1476, when William thane of Calder had his thanedom erected into a free barony and regality. He was the laſt Thane in Scotland; for the crown, to add to its influence, then aboliſhed this dignity.

As to the very antient title of *Abthane*, I am more at a loſs to point out the nature and extent of its juriſdiction. I find Crinan, Abthane of Dull and the Weſtern Iſles, (who married Beatrix the eldeſt daughter of Malcolm the Second, and was father to Duncan the Firſt king of Scotland) was conſidered as the moſt powerful man in the kingdom. It is generally thought that he exerciſed the office of chief juſticiar over the kingdom: perhaps in a ſimilar manner as it was exerciſed by the family of Argyle ſo late as the year 1628, when the lord born heiritable juſticiar of all Scotland did reſign that high office to king Charles I. In addition to the office of chief juſticiar: Crinan (as it was thought) was the king's ſteward over the crown lands in the Weſtern Iſles, as well as a large diſtrict on the main land of Scotland, called Dull. What was the extent of the crown's patrimony called Dull, I do not know; but in the claim of Sir Robert Menzies for the lordſhip of Apin O Dull, in 1748, the lord advocate, in his reply, ſays, that the lordſhip of Apin O Dull was anciently a part of the patrimony of the crown; and it is natural to ſuppoſe that it was part of Crinan's Abthanedom.

The lordſhip of Apin O Dull, as claimed by Sir Robert Menzies, comprehended the lands ſituated in the pariſhes of Weem, and Dull, and Logierant.

Crinan was the laſt Abthane of Scotland; for his ſon, Duncan the Firſt, appointed Bancho thane of Lochaber, as his *dapifer* or *ſeneſcallus*. And Malcolm Canmore appointed Walter to the office of *dapifer domini regis*, which became hereditary in his family until they ſucceeded to the throne in the perſon of Robert the Second."

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The Vicar's *Tale.—Extracted from the* Olla Podrida, *a Periodical Work, compleat in Forty-four Numbers.*

The ſhort and ſimple annals of the poor. Gray.

"BEING on a tour to the North, I was one evening arreſted in my progreſs at the entrance of a ſmall hamlet, by breaking the fore-wheel of my phaeton. This accident rendering it impracticable for me to proceed to the next town, from which I was now ſixteen miles diſtant, I directed my ſteps to a ſmall cottage, at the door of which, in a woodbine arbor, ſat a man of about ſixty, who was ſolacing himſelf with a pipe. In the front of his houſe was affixed a ſmall board, which I conceived to contain an intimation, that travellers might there be accommodated. Addreſſing myſelf therefore to the old man, I requeſted his aſſiſtance, which he readily granted; but on my mentioning an intention of remaining at his houſe all night, he regretted that it was not in his power to receive me, and the more ſo, as there was no inn in the village.—It was not till now that I diſcovered my error concerning the board over the door, which contained a notification, that there was taught that uſeful art, of which, if we credit Mrs. Baddeley's Memoirs, a certain noble lord was ſo groſsly ignorant. In ſhort, my friend proved to be the ſchoolmaſter, and probably ſecretary, to the hamlet. Affairs were in this ſituation when the Vicar made his appearance. He was one of the moſt venerable figures I had ever ſeen; his time-ſilvered locks ſhaded his temple, whilſt the lines of misfortune were, alas! but too viſible in his countenance. Time had ſoftened, but could not efface them. —On ſeeing my broken equipage, he addreſſed me; and when he began to ſpeak, his countenance was illumined by a ſmile.—"I preſume, Sir," ſaid he, "that the accident you have juſt experienced will render it impoſſible for you to proceed. Should that be the caſe, you will be much diſtreſſed for lodgings, the place affording no accommodations for travellers, as my pariſhioners are neither *willing* nor *able* to ſupport an alehouſe; and as we have few travellers, we have little need of one: but if you will accept the beſt accommodation my cottage affords, it is much at your ſervice."—After expreſſing the ſenſe I entertained of his goodneſs, I joyfully accepted ſo deſirable an offer.—As we entered the hamlet, the ſun was gilding with his departing beams the village ſpire, whilſt a gentle breeze refreſhed the weary hinds, who, ſeated beneath the venerable oaks that overſhadowed their cottages, were repoſing themſelves after the labours of the day, and liſtening attentively to the tale of an old ſoldier, who, like myſelf, had wandered

dered thus far, and was now diſtreſſed for a lodging. He had been in ſeveral actions, in one of which he had loſt a leg; and was now, like many other brave fellows,

—— "Doom'd to beg
"His bitter bread thro' realms his valor
"ſav'd."

My kind hoſt invited me to join the crowd, and liſten to his tale. With this requeſt I readily complied. No ſooner did we make our appearance, than I attracted the attention of every one. The appearance of a ſtranger in a hamlet, two hundred miles from the capital, is generally productive of ſurpriſe; and every one examines the new comer with the moſt attentive obſervation.—So wholly did my arrival engroſs the villagers, that the veteran was obliged to defer the continuation of his narrative, till their curioſity ſhould be gratified.—Every one there took an opportunity of teſtifying the good-will they bore my venerable hoſt, by offering him a ſeat on the graſs. The good man and myſelf were ſoon ſeated, and the brave veteran reſumed his narrative, in the following words: —"After," continued he, "I had been intoxi-
"cated, I was carried before a
"juſtice, who was intimate with
"the captain, at whoſe requeſt he
"atteſted me before I had ſuffi-
"ciently recovered my ſenſes to
"ſee the danger I was encounter-
"ing. In the morning, when I
"came to myſelf, I found I was in
"cuſtody of three or four ſoldiers,
"who, after telling me what had
"happened, in ſpite of all I could
"ſay, carried me to the next town,
"without permitting me to take
"leave of one of my neighbours.
"When they reached the town it
"was market day, and I ſaw ſeveral
"of the people from our village,
"who were all ſorry to hear what
"had happened, and endeavoured
"to procure my releaſe, but in
"vain. After taking an affecting
"leave of my neighbours, I was
"marched to Portſmouth, and
"there, together with an hundred
"more, embarked for the coaſt of
"Africa. During the voyage,
"moſt of our number died, or be-
"came ſo enfeebled by ſickneſs as
"to make them unfit for ſervice.
"This was owing partly to the
"climate, partly to the want of
"water, and to confinement in the
"ſhip. When we reached the
"coaſt of Africa, we were landed,
"and experienced every poſſible
"cruelty from our officers. At
"length, however, a man of war
"arrived, who had loſt ſeveral ma-
"rines in a late action; and I,
"with ſome others, was ſent on
"board to ſerve in that ſtation.
"Soon after we put to ſea, we
"fell in with a French man of
"war. In the action I loſt my
"leg, and was near being thrown
"overboard; but the humanity of
"the chaplain preſerved my life,
"and on my return to England
"procured my diſcharge. I ap-
"plied for the Chelſea bounty;
"but it was refuſed me, becauſe I
"loſt my limb when acting as a
"marine: and, as I was not a re-
"gular marine, I was not entitled
"to any protection from the Ad-
"miralty. Therefore I am re-
"duced to live on the good will
"of thoſe who pity my misfor-
"tunes. To be ſure mine is a
"hard lot; but the King does not
"know it, or (God bleſs his Ma-
"jeſty!) he is too good to let
"thoſe

"thoſe ſtarve who have fought his "battles."

The village clock now ſtriking eight, the worthy Vicar roſe, and, ſlipping ſomething into the old man's hand, deſired me to follow him. At our departure, the villagers promiſed to take care of the old man. We returned the farewell civilities of the ruſtics, and directed our ſteps to the vicarage. It was ſmall, with a thatched roof. The front was entirely covered with woodbine and honeyſuckle, which ſtrongly ſcented the circumambient air. A grove of ancient oaks, that ſurrounded the houſe, caſt a ſolemn ſhade over, and preſerved the verdure of the adjacent lawn, through the midſt of which ran a ſmall brook, that gently murmured as it flowed. This, together with the bleating of the ſheep, the lowing of the herds, the village murmurs, and the diſtant barkings of the truſty curs, who were now entering on their office as guardians of the hamlet, formed a concert, at leaſt equal to that in Tottenham-court-road. On entering the wicket, we were met by a little girl of ſix years old. Her dreſs was ſimple, but elegant; and her appearance ſuch as ſpoke her deſtined for a higher ſphere. As ſoon as ſhe had informed her grandfather that ſupper was ready, ſhe dropped a courteſy, and retired. I delayed not a moment to congratulate the good old man on poſſeſſing ſo great a treaſure. He replied, but with a ſigh; and we entered the houſe, where every thing was diſtinguiſhed by an air of elegant ſimplicity that ſurpriſed me. On our entrance, he introduced me to his wife; a woman turned of forty, who ſtill poſſeſſed great remains of beauty, and had much the appearance of a woman of faſhion. She received me with eaſy politeneſs, and regretted that ſhe had it not in her power to entertain me better. I requeſted her not to diſtreſs me with unneceſſary apologies, and we ſat down to ſupper. The little angel, who welcomed us at the door, now ſeating herſelf oppoſite to me, offered me an opportunity of contemplating one of the fineſt faces I had ever beheld. My worthy hoſt, obſerving how much I was ſtruck with her appearance, directed my attention to a picture which hung over the mantle. It was a ſtriking likeneſs of my little neighbour, only on a larger ſcale. —That, Sir, ſaid he, is Harriet's mother. Do you not think there is a vaſt reſemblance? To this I aſſented; when the old man put up a prayer to Heaven, that ſhe might reſemble her mother in every thing but her unhappy fate. He then ſtarted another topick of converſation, without gratifying the curioſity he had excited concerning the fate of Harriet's mother; for whom I already felt myſelf much intereſted.

Supper being removed, after chatting ſome time, my worthy hoſt conducted me to my bed-chamber, which was on the ground-floor, and lined with jaſmine, that was conducted in at the windows. After wiſhing me good night, he retired, leaving me to reſt.—The beauty of the ſcenery, however, and my uſual propenſity to walk by moon-light, induced me to leave my fragrant cell. When I ſallied forth, the moon was darting her temperated rays through the ſhade that ſurrounded the cottage, tipping the tops of the venerable oaks with

ſilver,

ſilver. After taking a turn or two on the lawn, I wandered to the ſpot,—"where the rude forefathers "of the hamlet ſleep." It was ſmall, and for the moſt part ſurrounded with yew-trees of an antient date, beneath whoſe ſolemn ſhade many generations had mouldered into duſt. No ſooner did I enter, than my attention *was caught* by a pillar of white marble, placed on the ſummit of a ſmall eminence, the baſe of which was ſurrounded with honeyſuckles and woodbines, whilſt a large willow overſhadowed the pillar. As I was with attention peruſing the epitaph, I was not a little alarmed by the approach of a figure, cloathed in a long robe.—The apparition continued advancing towards me with a ſlow ſtep, and its eyes fixed on the ground, which prevented it obſerving me till we were within reach of each other.—Great was my wonder at recognizing my worthy hoſt in this ſituation; nor was his aſtoniſhment leſs at finding his gueſt thus courting the appearance of goblins and fairies.—After each had expreſſed the ſurprize he felt, I proceeded to enquire whoſe duſt was there enſhrined. To my queſtion he returned anſwer:—"There, Sir, ſleeps Harriet's mother, an innocent, but unfortunate woman. Pardon me, Sir, ſaid he, if for a moment I indulge my ſorrow, and bedew my Harriet's grave with tears,—a tribute that I often pay her much-loved memory, when the reſt of the world are loſt in ſleep."—Here he pauſed, and ſeemed much agitated. At length he requeſted my permiſſion to defer the recital of Harriet's woes till the next day, as he found himſelf unequal to the taſk of proceeding in the painful detail. To this propoſal I readily acceded, and we returned home. I retired to my room, but every attempt to procure ſleep proved ineffectual. Harriet had ſo wholly occupied my thoughts, that no moment of the night was ſuffered to paſs unnoticed. At length, "when "ſoared the warbling lark on high," I left my couch, and rejoined my worthy landlord, who was buſily employed in the arrangement of his garden. Though I declined mentioning the ſubject of our laſt night's adventure,—yet he ſaw the marks of anxious expectation in my countenance, and proceeded to gratify the curioſity he had inſpired.—"It will be neceſſary," ſaid he, "before I proceed to relate the woes that befel my daughter, to give a ſhort ſketch of my own life.—Six-and-twenty years ago, Mrs. ——— came hither for the benefit of her health, the air being recommended as highly ſalubrious. On her arrival, ſhe gave out that ſhe was the daughter of a clergyman, who was lately dead, and had left her in narrow circumſtances.—I thought it my duty to viſit her, and offer her any little attention in my power. She received me with politeneſs, and expreſſed a wiſh to cultivate my acquaintance. I continued to repeat my viſits for ſome time without ſuſpecting that there was any thing particular in her hiſtory,—till one morning I found her in tears reading a letter ſhe had juſt received. On my entrance ſhe gave it to me: it contained a notification from Lord B——'s agent, that her uſual remittances would no longer be continued. On opening this letter, I was led to ſuppoſe that her connection with Lord B—— was not of the moſt honourable na-

ture. But all my ſuſpicion vaniſhed on her producing ſeveral letters from lord B—— to her mother, with whom he had been long connected. —From theſe letters I learnt, that Mrs. —— was the daughter of lord B——— by miſs M———, ſiſter to a Scotch baronet, whom he had ſeduced and ſupported during the remainder of her life. But he had, it ſeems, determined to withdraw his protection from the fruit of their connection. Mrs. —— declared ſhe knew not what ſtep to take, as her finances were nearly exhauſted. I endeavoured to comfort her, aſſuring her that ſhe ſhould command every aſſiſtance in my power. —On hearing this, ſhe ſeemed a little ſatisfied, and became more compoſed. After ſitting with her ſome time, I returned home, to conſider in what manner I might moſt eaſily afford protection to the young orphan, whoſe whole dependance was on my ſupport.—If I took her home to live with me, as I was unmarried, it would give offence to my pariſhioners. My income was too confined to admit of my affording her a ſeparate eſtabliſhment. Thus circumſtanced, I determined to offer her my hand. You will, no doubt, ſay it was rather an imprudent ſtep for a man who had ſeen his fortieth year to connect himſelf with youth and beauty: but as my brother was then living, it was impoſſible for me to render her the leaſt aſſiſtance on any other plan. She received my propoſal with grateful ſurpriſe, and accepted it without heſitation.—In a few days we were married, and have now lived together ſix-and-twenty years in a ſtate, the felicity of which has never been interrupted by thoſe diſcordant jars which are ſo frequently the concomitants of matrimony: though, alas! our peace has received a mortal wound from one, the bare mention of whoſe name fills me with horror!—But not to digreſs: before the return of that day which ſaw me bleſſed with the hand of Emily, my happineſs received an important addition, by the birth of a daughter, who inherited all her mother's charms. It is ſuperfluous to add, that ſhe was equally the idol of both her parents; and as ſhe was the only fruit of our marriage, ſhe became every day a greater favourite. My wife had received ſuch an education as rendered her fully capable of accompliſhing her daughter in a manner far ſuperior to any thing her ſituation required, or perhaps could juſtify. To this agreeable employment, however, ſhe devoted her whole time; and when Harriet had reached her eighteenth year, ſhe was in every reſpect a highly-accompliſhed woman. She was become what that picture repreſents her. With an amiable temper and gentle manners, ſhe was the idol of the village. Hitherto ſhe had experienced a ſtate of felicity unknown in the more exalted ſtations of life —unconſcious, alas! of the ills that awaited her future years.

It is with reluctance I proceed in the melancholy narrative.—One evening, as a young man, attended by a ſervant, was paſſing through the village, his horſe ſtartled, and threw him. Happening to be on the ſpot at the time, I offered every aſſiſtance in my power, and conveying him to my cottage, diſpatched his ſervant in queſt of a ſurgeon, who declared our patient was not in any danger, but recommended it to him to delay his departure for a

day

day or two. His health, however, or rather his love, did not admit of his travelling for near a fortnight; during which time he eſtabliſhed his intereſt with Harriet by the moſt pleaſing and unremitting attention to her ſlighteſt wiſhes.—When about to depart, he requeſted leave to repeat his viſit on his return from his intended tour, dropping, at the ſame time, ſome diſtant hints of his affection for Harriet, to whom he was by no means indifferent.

Mr. H—— (for ſo our gueſt was named) informed us, previous to his departure, that he had a ſmall independent fortune; but that from a diſtant relation he had conſiderable expectation. After bidding an affectionate adieu to Harriet, he ſet out on his intended tour, which laſted for a month.

During the time of Mr. H——'s abſence, Harriet appeared penſive, and I obſerved with pain that he had made no ſlight impreſſion on her heart. At length Mr. H—— returned, and Harriet's reception of him left us no room to doubt her attachment. During his ſecond viſit he was very aſſiduous to ſecure the favour of all the family; with Harriet he eaſily ſucceeded; nor were Mrs. T—— or myſelf diſpoſed to diſlike him. His manners were elegant, and his wit lively. At length he obtained from Harriet the promiſe of her hand, provided her parents ſhould not object. Hitherto I had never been induced to make any enquiries concerning his circumſtances and character. Now, however, by his direction, I applied to a Mr. E——ns, a clergyman of his acquaintance. This gentleman, now in an exalted ſtation in the church, then chaplain to lord C——, informed me, that Mr. H—— was in every reſpect a deſirable match for my daughter; and that whenever his couſin ſhould die, he would be enabled to maintain her in affluence and ſplendor:—he added that his character was unexceptionable. Little ſuſpecting the villainous part Mr. E——ns was acting, I readily conſented to the propoſed union, and performed the ceremony myſelf. Mr. H—— requeſted that their marriage might be kept a ſecret till the birth of a ſon and heir. This propoſal rather alarmed me, but it was too late to retreat; and knowing no one in the great world, it was impoſſible for me, previous to the marriage, to procure any account of Mr. H——, but ſuch as his friend communicated to me. Thus circumſtanced, I could only conſent; and as Harriet readily adopted every propoſal that came from one ſhe ſo tenderly loved, the matter was finally agreed on. After ſtaying a few days, he ſet off for London, but ſoon returned, and paſſed the whole winter with us; and in the ſpring Harriet was delivered of that little girl you ſo much admire. I now preſſed him to acknowledge my daughter as his wife. To this he anſwered, that, had ſhe brought him a ſon, he would readily have complied with my requeſt; but that his couſin was ſo great an oddity, that he could not bear the idea (to uſe his own expreſſion) "of having his fortune "laviſhed in a milliner's ſhop:" 'But,' added he, 'if you inſiſt upon it, I will now riſk the loſs of all his fortune, and introduce my Harriet to his preſence.' Harriet, however, again interfered, and deſired that Mr. H—— might not

be forced into measures that might in the end prove destructive of his future prospect, and induce him to regret the day he ever saw her. These arguments prevailed, and Mr. H——— was suffered to continue as a member of the family without any farther notice being taken of the subject. In this manner had three years elapsed undistinguished by any remarkable event, Mr. H——— generally passing half the year with us, and the remainder in London, attending, as he said, on his cousin; when one day, as he was sitting with us at dinner, a chaise and four drove up to the house. The servants enquired for Mr. H———, and on hearing he was there, opened the carriage door. A gentleman, dressed like an officer, jumped out, followed by a lady in a travelling dress;—they rushed immediately into the room. Their appearance amazed *us*; but Mr. H——— betrayed the most visible marks of consternation. The lady appeared to be about thirty. She was a woman by no means destitute of personal charms. The moment she entered the room, she seized upon Harriet, and, loading her with every horrible epithet, proceeded to indulge her passion by striking her innocent rival. On seeing this, an old servant of mine seized the lady, and forcibly turned her out of the house, then fastened the door. It was not till now that we perceived the absence of Mr. H———, who had, it seems, retired with the lady's companion. Whilst we were still lost in amazement at the transaction we had just witnessed, we were alarmed to the highest pitch by the report of a pistol. Harriet instantly fainted. Whilst Mrs. T——— was recovering her, I flew to the spot from whence the sound proceeded, and there found Mr. H——— weltering in his blood, with a pistol lying by him. I approached, and found him still sensible. He informed me, that the lady's brother and he had fought, and that seeing him fall, they had both escaped as fast as possible. I instantly procured assistance, and conveyed him to the house, where he was put to bed, and a surgeon was sent for. In the mean time Harriet had several fits, and we were very apprehensive that the hour of her fate was approaching. On the arrival of the surgeon, he declared the wound Mr. H——— had received would probably prove mortal, and recommended the arrangement of his affairs. Mr. H——— received the news with great agony, and desired that I might be left alone with him. No sooner was this request granted, than he addressed me in the following terms; 'In me, Sir, behold the most unfortunate, and, alas! the most guilty of men. The lady, whose ill-timed visit has lost me my life, is,—I tremble to pronounce the word —my wife.' Seeing me pale with horror, he proceeded. 'No wonder, Sir, that you should behold with horror one who has repaid *unbounded hospitality by unequalled villainy*. The bare remembrance of my own guilt distracts me. The awful hour is now fast approaching, when I must receive my final doom from that Heaven whose laws I have so daringly violated. To redress the injuries I have committed, is, alas! impossible. My death will be an atonement by no means sufficient. I cannot, however, leave this world till you shall be informed, that ten thousand pounds, the whole

whole of my property that is at my diſpoſal, has long ago been tranſferred by me into the hands of truſtees for the benefit of my much-injured Harriet, and her unhappy infant. In my own defence, I have nothing to urge. Suffer me only to remark, that my misfortune aroſe from the avarice of my father, who forced me into a marriage with the woman you lately ſaw, and whoſe brother has been the inſtrument in the hand of Providence to inflict on me the doom I ſo much merited. If poſſible, conceal from Harriet that I was married. Picture, for her ſake, an innocent deception, and tell her that I was only engaged to that lady. This will contribute to promote her repoſe, and the deception may poſſibly plead the merit of prolonging a life, ſo dear to you: for the elevated mind of my Harriet would never ſurvive the fatal diſcovery of my villainy. But, oh! when my unhappy child ſhall aſk the fate of him who gave her being, in pity draw a veil over that guilt which can ſcarcely hope to obtain the pardon of Heaven.'—There he ceaſed, and uttering a ſhort prayer, expired.—Happily for Harriet, ſhe continued in a ſtate of inſenſibility for three days, during which time I had the body removed to a neighbouring houſe, there to wait for interment. Having addreſſed a letter to Mr. H——'s agent in town, he ſent orders for the body to be removed to the family burying-place, where it was accordingly interred. Harriet recovered by ſlow degrees from the ſtate of happy inſenſibility, into which the death of Mr. H——— had plunged her. Her grief became ſilent and ſettled. Groans and exclamations now gave way to ſighs and the bitter tears of deſponding grief. She ſeldom or never ſpoke—but would cry for hours together over her hapleſs infant, then call on the ſhadow of her departed Henry, little ſuſpecting the irreparable injury he had done her. It was with infinite anxiety I beheld the decline of Harriet's health. Prone as we ever are to hope what we ardently deſire, I now deſpaired of her recovery. Whilſt in a ſtate of hopeleſs inactivity, I was doomed to witneſs the lingering death of my lamented Harriet, I received a viſit from an old friend. On his arrival I allotted him the apartment formerly inhabited by Mr. H——— and Harriet. About midnight he was awakened by ſome one entering the apartment. On removing the curtain, he diſcovered, by the light of the moon, my adored Harriet in a white dreſs. Her eyes were open, but had a vacant look that plainly proved ſhe was not awake. She advanced with a ſlow ſtep; then ſeating herſelf at the foot of the bed, remained there an hour, weeping bitterly the whole time, but without uttering a word. My friend, fearful of the conſequences, forbore to awake her, and ſhe retired with the ſame deliberate ſtep ſhe had entered. This intelligence alarmed me exceſſively. On the next night ſhe was watched, and the ſame ſcene was repeated, with this difference, that, after quitting the fatal apartment, ſhe went to the room where her daughter uſually ſlept; and laying herſelf down on the bed, wept over the child for ſome time; then returned to her apartment. The next morning we waited with anxiety for her appearance at breakfaſt; but, alas!"—Here a flood of

tears

tears afforded to my friend that relief which he ſo much needed; and we returned to the houſe. After paſſing ſome days with this worthy couple, I proceeded on my tour, quitting, with reluctance, the abode of ſorrow and reſignation.—Thoſe whom the peruſal of this tale may intereſt, will, if ever they viſit the banks of the Alna, find that the author has copied his characters from nature."

An Ironical Defence of Vice and Immorality.—From the ſame.

— Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius plerumque ſecat res. HOR.

"IT is wiſely ordained by the laws of England, that *the perſon of the Monarch is ſacred*; as alſo, that *the King can do no wrong*. The meaning of this laſt maxim I take to be, that, if wrong ſhould happen at any time to be done, the blame is to be laid upon the adminiſtration, and not upon the King.

A friend, ſome years ago, took me into the houſe of commons, to attend the debates upon the opening of a ſeſſion; when an honourable gentleman made ſo free with the ſpeech, which I had but juſt before heard moſt gracefully pronounced by his Majeſty from the throne, that my hair ſtood an end, and I was all over in a cold ſweat; till, towards the cloſe of his oration, he relieved and reſtored me, by mentioning, in a parentheſis, that the ſpeech was always conſidered, in that aſſembly, as the ſpeech of the miniſter.

Sheltering myſelf, therefore, under this diſtinction, I cannot refrain from offering a few remarks on a late production, pregnant, as many are of opinion, with much miſchief to the community. The reader ſees that I mean, *A proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and puniſhing of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality.*

That the ſcheme propoſed ſhould be carried into execution, does not indeed ſeem probable. When we conſider how long vice, profaneneſs, and immorality, have been increaſing among us, what a powerful party they have formed, how much faſhion is on their ſide, and how very ſtrong the tide runs, the attempt may be thought to reſemble that of the man, who endeavoured to ſtop the Thames at London-bridge, with his *hat*; unleſs the rich and the great would ſet the example.

I have always been an enemy to *pains and penalties*. The word *puniſhment* is a bad word; and the thing itſelf is much worſe. When once it begins, the wiſeſt man living cannot tell where it will end, or what will become of our liberties. For, as the ſheep-ſtealer ſaid, "If a gentleman cannot kill his "own mutton, without being hang"ed for it, I ſhould be glad to "know what we have got by the "Revolution." In ſhort, one muſt be without a noſe, not to ſmell ſomething here of arbitrary power.

The idea of a Sunday, unenlivened by a little innocent *play*, is a very dull and dreary one. I know a family in town that has made the experiment. The conſequence was that before nine in the evening the members of it found themſelves ſo croſs, peeviſh, and out of temper, that, had it not been for an early ſupper, and a glaſs of good wine

wine, they could not have gone to bed in chriſtian charity with each other.

But much more diſtreſsful ſtill was the caſe of a lady, whoſe huſband, being in the commiſſion, had lent his aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs gaming on a Sunday, in a neighbouring public-houſe. It ſtruck him that cards on that day, in a private houſe, might not, juſt then, be quite ſo proper; and he ventured to hint as much to his lady. She had always apprehended the goſpel to have been deſigned for the *poor*; and was aſtoniſhed to find that any thing in the proclamation could apply to perſons of her rank in life. "The party was made, "and what could be done?"—A thought, however, luckily occurred; and when the company was aſſembled, after an apology ſuitable to the occaſion, inſtead of the card tables, ſhe introduced the entertainment of *Catches and Glees*. The thing took mightily, and was judged a pretty variety. Otherwiſe, a diſappointment of ſuch a nature, ſpreading, as it muſt have done, like an electrical ſhock, through all the polite circles, might have bred bad blood, and produced a general inſurrection.

It fares with religion as with a ſhuttlecock, which is ſtricken from one to another, and reſts with none. The rich apprehend it to have been deſigned for the poor; and the poor, in their turn, think it calculated chiefly for the rich. An old acquaintance of mine, who omitted no opportunity of doing good, diſcourſed with the barber who ſhaved him on his manner of ſpending the ſabbath (which was not quite as it ſhould be), and the neceſſity of his having more religion than at preſent he ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of. The barber proceeding in his work of lathering, replied, that he thought he had *tolerably well for a barber*; as, in his apprehenſion, one-third of the religion, neceſſary to ſave a gentleman, would do to ſave a barber.

I mention this, becauſe I have received a letter of conſiderable length, praying redreſs of grievances, from a perſon who lets lodgings in Broad St. Giles's. He ſpeaks of a very ſnug and comfortable neighbourhood there, which is likely to be broken up, and diſperſed, by the proclamation, and nobody can tell why.

He himſelf holds twenty houſes by leaſe, which are let out, ready furniſhed. Matters are conducted in a manner ſo perfectly œconomical, that though there is no more than one bed in each room, there are uſually two or three, and ſometives even four occupiers of that one room and bed. That the furniture is of an expenſive and luxurious kind, no one can ſay; as it conſiſts only of a ſtump bedſtead, a flock bed, a pair of ſheets (frequently only one ſheet), a blanket or two, a chair or two (generally without backs), and a grate, but moſtly without ſhovel, tongs, and poker. The ſheets are uſually marked with the name of the owner; and the words, *ſtop thief!* are added, for private reaſons.

In two adjoining allies are forty more houſes, let out in like ſort to inhabitants, in number 400, conſiſting of whores, pickpockets, footpads, houſebreakers, and thieves of every deſcription, from all quarters of the town. But what then? *They* muſt have lodgings, as well as other people; and, if they were to be in the ſtreet all night, it would

would be dangerous for the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects to paſs. To avoid ſuſpicion, the houſes are continually lighted, and kept open all night; and to ſhew that hypocriſy has no place there, what uſed to be practiſed only in private at *midnight*, is now practiſed in public at *mid-day*.

To accommodate the *poor*, there are twopenny lodging-houſes. One man, in particular, makes up, every night, thirty-five beds, and takes in men and women, at two pence or three pence a night; but if a man and woman come in together, he receives one ſhilling a night for the two.

No ſociety can be under better regulations than this is. Thus, for inſtance, when a proſtitute has decoyed a man, and robbed him, the miſtreſs of the houſe has half the pay and the plunder: and if one of theſe ladies intrude upon that beat and walk, which another regards as her *excluſive right*, the matter is determined, as much greater matters are, by a *battle*.

Nor can there be reaſon to fear, that this ſociety ſhould ever become ſo numerous, as to be any annoyance to the public; ſince care is taken, that a ſufficient number is hanged every ſeſſion, to maintain a balance; and ſome rooms are always reſerved for the reception of the dead bodies, which are brought back after execution, to their old lodgings, till they can be otherwiſe diſpoſed of.

Such is the ſubſtance of my friend's letter, which he deſires may be communicated, through the channel of my paper, to his countrymen, that they may know what they have to expect from the preſent ſyſtem of deſpotiſm; when a few neighbours cannot live peaceably together, without being diſturbed, and hunted out, by *Proclamations*. He hopes all honeſt men will join with him in a petition for *the removal of evil counſellors*; and concludes with the old Britiſh axiom, *My houſe is my caſtle*; under no dread, as it ſhould ſeem, of the retort courteous once made to ſuch a declaration by a magiſtrate in Oxford, of arbitrary principles; "Then, Sir, the *caſtle* ſhall be your "*houſe*."

It is not eaſy to eſtimate the loſs which the community at large will ſuſtain by the diſſolution of this worthy neighbourhood. For if a gentleman be robbed of his watch, it muſt be replaced by another: if his portmanteau be ſtolen, he muſt buy new cloaths and linen: if his houſe be broken open, and ſtripped of its furniture, he muſt apply to the upholſterer: if he be beaten and wounded, to the ſurgeon: nay, ſhould he be even killed, the undertaker and the ſexton will be the better for it: and if the uſual quantity of gin be not conſumed, ruin muſt ſeize on thoſe who vend it. Trade muſt ſtagnate. Thus incontrovertibly doth it appear, that *private vices* (if indeed they may be called vices) *are public benefits*.

I ſay, "if they may be called "vices;" becauſe I do not ſee why, ſhould we ſo pleaſe, they may not be called virtues. The nature of things in themſelves is nothing; our *opinion* of them is all: and if our opinion alters, the names of things ſhould alter with it. Indeed, they do, and muſt do ſo. Thus, when two gentlemen go out with piſtols, and ſhoot each other through the head, or the heart, it is no more than *an affair of honour*: when one ſeduces the wife or the daughter of another,

another, it is merely an *attachment*: and to cheat a man out of his eſtate, is only to *pluck a pigeon*. In the neighbourhood above deſcribed, the *nomenclature* is much farther advanced, and has nearly attained perfection. They have a language peculiar to themſelves, in which when they relate their tranſactions, they may have been doing what is perfectly juſt and right, for any thing we can tell to the contrary, ſince the words are not to be found in any dictionary but their own.

Here then, as ſome will think, is a more expeditious way of preventing vice, than by proclamation; and, what is much to be deſired, of doing it without infliction of puniſhment, by the ſole and ſimple expedient of voting *vice* to be *virtue*.

The ſcheme is plauſible; but, I muſt confeſs, I have my doubts. If we once vote vice to be virtue, I am afraid, that, by a neceſſity of nature, *virtue*, per contra, muſt become *vice*; and ſo we ſhall but be where we were: there will ſtill be vice in the world.

When the welfare of his country is concerned, every man loves to be a little bit of a projector. On going deeper into the ſubject, I think I have hit upon a plan, which will make root and branch work of it, and do the buſineſs effectually.

That the effect may ceaſe, the cauſe muſt be removed. Now, what is the cauſe of vice? Moſt undoubtedly, the *law*: for, were there no law, there could be no tranſgreſſion. Aboliſh then, at once, the uſe of all law, human and divine. I grant the ſtep a bold one, requiring a miniſter of firmneſs and reſolution to take it; but when once taken, the advantages will be many and great.

In the firſt place, vice will, at one ſtroke, be extirpated from the face of the earth; for when a man has no law but his own will, we may defy him to do any thing illegal. Never truſt to *moral* impoſſibility, where *phyſical* is to be had.

Secondly, it will put an end to the expence and trouble of law-ſuits; and (as equity would fall with law) to all tedious and everlaſting ſuits in Chancery, ſo much and ſo long complained of.

Thirdly, it will be a ſaving to the nation of one tenth of the produce of all the lands in England and Ireland; and conſequently put a ſtop to the ravages of the *White-boys* and *Right-boys*, in this latter kingdom, as well as all diſputes between miniſters and their pariſhioners in the former; ſince, as there would be no more occaſion for reading prayers and preaching, the payment of tithes muſt, of courſe, be at an end.

Fourthly, it will procure a perpetual holiday for the gentlemen of either robe, who, in future, will have nothing to do, but to hunt, ſhoot, and play at cards. The ſame may be ſaid reſpecting the members of both houſes of parliament.

Fifthly, it will make Sunday as cheerful a day, as any day of the week.

Laſtly, it will remove all odium from the magiſtrates who have granted a licence to the *Dog and Duck*.

Such are the conveniences that would attend the execution of my plan; and after conſidering the ſubject on all ſides, for ſix hours, in my elbow-chair, I proteſt, I cannot think of any one inconvenience, to ſet againſt them; nor can I deviſe

any method likely to be ſo effectual in redreſſing the grievances occaſioned by the proclamation to the *ſubject*.

It remains only, that I mention one, which may poſſibly be occaſioned by it to the *Crown*; and which, indeed, I might not have thought of, but for the viſit paid me, as I was cloſing this paper, by an honeſt farmer—"So, Robin (ſaid I "to him), rare news from London! "The king is to be ſerved *now* only "by good and virtuous courtiers!" —"Ah, Lord have mercy upon me, "Sir (replied Robin), God bleſs "his majeſty, and grant him long "to reign! But I am afraid as "how he will be ſometimes obliged "to HELP HIMSELF."

The following Particulars relative to Mr. de Sauſſure's *Journey to the Summit of* Mont-Blanc, *are taken from the Account of* De Sauſſure's Relation Abrégée d'un Voyage à la Cime du Mont Blanc, &c. *in the Appendix to the 77th Vol. of the* Monthly Review.

"AMONG the ſtupendous mountains in Savoy, the top of Mont-Blanc was deemed inacceſſible, before Dr. Paccard, a phyſician at Chamouni, made the daring attempt to reach its ſummit, which, attended only by a ſingle guide, he happily accompliſhed in Auguſt, 1786.

M. de Sauſſure no ſooner became acquainted with the practicability of the journey, than he reſolved to undertake it. He arrived at Chamouni, ſituated at the foot of the mountain, in the beginning of July, 1787, but bad weather prevented him from aſcending until the 1ſt of Auguſt, when he began his expedition, accompanied by a ſervant and eighteen guides, who carried his philoſophical and other apparatus. His ſon was left at the priory in Chamouni, and was employed in making meteorologicalobſervations, with which thoſe made on the top of the mountain might be compared.

Although it is ſcarcely ſix miles and three quarters, in a ſtraight line, from the priory of Chamouni to the top of Mont Blanc, it requires nevertheleſs eighteen hours to gain the ſummit, owing to the bad roads, the windings, and the great perpendicular height of the mountain. That he might be perfectly at liberty to paſs the night on what part of the mountain he pleaſed, he carried a tent with him, and he and his company ſlept in it, the firſt night, on that eminence which is firſt met with, and which is on the ſouth of the priory, and about a mile * perpendicularly above the village.

Hitherto the journey was free from danger, or even difficulty, the road being either rocky, or covered with graſs; but thence, upwards, it was either wholly covered with ſnow, or conſiſted of the moſt ſlippery ice.

The ſecond day's journey was attended with many difficulties. The ice valley on the ſide of the hill muſt be paſſed, in order to gain the foot of that chain of rocks bordering on the perpetual ſnows which cover Mont-Blanc. The paſſage through this valley is extremely dangerous, ſince it is interſected with numerous wide, deep, and irregular chaſms, which can only be croſſed by means of bridges naturally formed of ſnow,

* We have reduced all the French meaſures to the Engliſh ſtandard,

and

and theſe often very ſlender, extended as it were over an abyſs. One of the guides had almoſt periſhed here the evening before, as he, with two others, went to reconnoitre the road. They had the precaution to tie themſelves together with a long rope, and he in the middle had the misfortune to have the ſnow-bridge, over a wide and deep chaſm, break under him, ſo that he remained ſuſpended between his two comrades. M. de Sauſſure and his retinue paſſed very near the opening through which this man had fallen, and ſhuddered at the danger in which the poor fellow had been involved. The difficulties they had to encounter in this valley, and the winding road they were obliged to take through it, occaſioned their being three hours in croſſing it, although, in a ſtraight line, its breadth is not above three quarters of a mile.

After having reached the rocks, they mounted, in a ſerpentine direction, to a valley, filled with ſnow, which runs from north to ſouth, to the foot of the higheſt pinnacle. The ſurface of the ſnow in this valley has numerous fiſſures, which penetrate ſo deep, that their bottom is no where to be ſeen, although they are of conſiderable breadth. The ſides of theſe fiſſures, where the ſnow is broken perpendicularly, afford an opportunity of obſerving the ſucceſſive horizontal layers of ſnow which are annually formed.

The guides were deſirous of paſſing the night near one of the rocks on the ſide of this valley; but as the loftieſt of them is at leaſt 1400 yards perpendicularly lower than the ſummit of the mountain, M. de Sauſſure was deſirous of aſcending higher; in conſequence of which it would be neceſſary to encamp on the ſnow: but he found it difficult to convince his companions of the practicability of the plan. They imagined that, during the night, an inſupportable cold prevailed in thoſe heights which were eternally covered with ſnow, and they were ſeriouſly afraid of periſhing. By proper encouragemen's, however, he induced them to proceed; and, at four in the afternoon, they arrived at the ſecond of the three plains of ſnow which they had to paſs. Here they encamped at the height of 3100 yards above the priory of Chamouni, and 4250 yards above the level of the ſea, which is about 200 yards higher than the peak of Teneriffe. They did not proceed to the laſt plain, on account of the day having been far advanced; and they were alſo apprehenſive of expoſing themſelves to the Avalanches *, which are frequently tumbling from the ſummit of the mountain. They dug a deep hole in the ſnow, ſufficiently wide to contain the whole company, and covered its top with the tent cloth.

In making this encampment, they began to experience the effects of the rarity of the atmoſphere. Robuſt men, to whom ſeven or eight hours walking, or rather climbing, were an abſolute nothing, had ſcarcely raiſed five or ſix ſhovels full of ſnow before they were under the neceſſity of reſting and relieving each other, almoſt inceſſantly. One

* Snow-balls, that roll down the hills: ſome of them are about 200 feet diameter; being fragments of the ice rocks which break by their own weight from the tops of the precipices.

of them, who had gone back a ſmall diſtance, to fill a caſk with ſome water which he had ſeen in one of the crevices of the ſnow, found himſelf ſo much diſordered in his way, that he returned without the water, and paſſed the night in great pain. M. de Sauſſure, who is ſo much accuſtomed to the air of mountains as to ſay, 'that, in general, I feel myſelf better in ſuch air than in that of the plains,' was exhauſted with the fatigue of making his meteorological obſervations. The principal inconvenience which the thinneſs of the air produces, is an exceſſive thirſt. They had no means of procuring water but by melting the ſnow; and the little ſtove which they had carried with them, afforded but a feeble ſupply for twenty men.

This region of the mountain preſents to the view nothing but ſnow of the pureſt and moſt dazzling whiteneſs, forming a very ſingular contraſt with the ſky, which appears remarkably black. We ſhall let M. de Sauſſure ſpeak for himſelf.

"No living creature is to be ſeen in theſe deſolate regions, nor is the leaſt trace of vegetation to be diſcovered. It is the habitation of cold and ſilence! When I reflected that Dr. Paccard and his guide, Jacques Balmat, who firſt viſited theſe deſarts, arrived here at the decline of the day, without ſhelter, without aſſiſtance, and wholly ignorant where or how they were to paſs the night, without even the certainty that it was poſſible for men to exiſt in the places they had undertaken to viſit, and yet that they were able to purſue their journey with unremitted intrepidity, I could not but admire their ſtrength and courage.

"My guides were ſo firmly prepoſſeſſed with the fear of cold, that they ſhut up every aperture of the tent with the utmoſt exactneſs, ſo that I ſuffered very conſiderably from the heat, and the vitiated air, which had become highly noxious, from the breaths of ſo many people in a ſmall room. I was frequently obliged, in the courſe of the night, to go out of the tent, in order to relieve my breathing. The moon ſhone with the brighteſt ſplendor, in the midſt of a ſky as black as ebony. Jupiter, rayed like the ſun, aroſe from behind the mountain in the eaſt. The light of theſe luminaries was reflected from the white plain, or rather baſon, in which we were ſituated, and, dazzling, eclipſed every ſtar, except thoſe of the firſt and ſecond magnitude.

"At length we compoſed ourſelves to ſleep. We were, however, ſoon awakened by the noiſe of an immenſe maſs of ſnow *(avalanche)*, which had fallen down from the top of the mountain, and covered part of the ſlope over which we were to climb the next day."

As they were obliged to melt a great quantity of ſnow, and prepare many neceſſaries for their farther progreſs in their journey, it was late the next morning before they took their departure. M. de Sauſſure continues his narrative to this effect:

"We began our aſcent to the third and laſt plain, and then turned to the left, in our way to the higheſt rock, which is on the eaſt part of the ſummit. The aſcent is here very ſteep, being about 39 degrees inclined to the horizon, and bounded on each ſide by precipices. The ſurface of the ſnow was ſo hard and ſlippery, that our pioneers were obliged to hew out their footſteps with hatchets. Thus we were two hours

hours in climbing a hill of about 530 yards high. Having arrived at this laſt rock, we turned to the weſtward, and climbed the laſt aſcent, whoſe height is about 300 yards, and its inclination about 28 or 29 degrees. On this peak the atmoſphere is ſo rare, that a man's ſtrength is exhauſted with the leaſt fatigue. When we came near the top, I could not walk fifteen or ſixteen ſteps without ſtopping to take breath; and I frequently perceived myſelf ſo faint, that I was under the neceſſity of ſitting down, from time to time; and in proportion as I recovered my breath, I felt my ſtrength renewed. All my guides experienced ſimilar ſenſations, in proportion to their reſpective conſtitutions. We arrived at the ſummit of Mont-Blanc at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

"My attention was firſt directed toward Chamouni, where I knew my wife and her two ſiſters were anxiouſly obſerving, with a teleſcope, my motions through theſe airy regions; and it was with the utmoſt delight that I diſcovered a flag, which they had agreed to hoiſt at the moment they ſhould perceive that I had gained the top of the mountain. It convinced me that their apprehenſions for my ſafety were removed.

"I now enjoyed the grand ſpectacle which was under my eyes. A thin vapour, ſuſpended in the inferior regions of the air, deprived me of the diſtinct view of the loweſt and moſt remote objects, ſuch as the plains of France and Lombardy; but I did not ſo much regret this loſs, ſince I ſaw, with remarkable clearneſs, what I principally wiſhed to ſee, viz. the aſſemblage of thoſe high ridges, with the true form and ſituations of which I had long been deſirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted. I could ſcarce believe my eyes. I thought myſelf in a dream when I ſaw, below my feet, ſo many majeſtic peaks, eſpecially the Needles, the Midi, Argentière, and Géant, whoſe baſes had proved ſo difficult and dangerous of acceſs. I obtained a perfect knowledge of their proportion to, and connection with, each other; of their form and ſtructure; and a ſingle view removed more doubts, and afforded more information, than whole years of ſtudy.

"While I was thus employed, my guides pitched my tent, and were fixing the apparatus for the experiments I had propoſed to make on boiling water; but when I came to diſpoſe my inſtruments for that purpoſe, I was obliged, almoſt at every inſtant, to deſiſt from my labours, and turn all my thoughts to the means of reſpiration. When it is conſidered, that the mercury in the barometer was no higher than 16 inches and a line (17.145 inches Engliſh), and that this air had conſequently little more than half the denſity of that on the plains, the breathing muſt neceſſarily be increaſed, in order to cauſe, in a given time, the paſſage of a ſufficient quantity of air through the lungs. The frequency of reſpiration increaſed the circulation of the blood, more eſpecially as the arteries on the ſurface of the body had not the preſſure they were uſually accuſtomed to. We were all in a feveriſh ſtate, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

"While I remained perfectly ſtill, I experienced but little uneaſineſs more than a ſlight oppreſſion about my heart; but, on the ſmalleſt bodily exertion, or when I fixed my attention on any object for ſome mo-

ments together, and particularly when I preſſed my cheſt in the act of ſtooping, I was obliged to reſt and pant for two or three minutes. My guides were in a ſimilar condition. We had no appetite; and our proviſions, which were all frozen, were not well calculated to excite it: nor had we any inclination for wine or brandy, which increaſed our indiſpoſition, moſt probably by accelerating the circulation of the blood.

"Nothing but freſh water relieved us; and much time and trouble were neceſſary to procure this article, as we could have no other than melted ſnow.

"I remained on the ſummit till half paſt three; and though I did not loſe a ſingle moment, I was not able to make all thoſe experiments, in four hours and an half, which I have frequently done in leſs than three on the ſea-ſide. However I made, with great exactneſs, thoſe which were moſt eſſential.

"We returned much eaſier than I could have expected, ſince, in deſcending, we did not experience any bad effects from the compreſſion of the thorax; our reſpiration was not impeded, and we were not under the neceſſity of reſting, in order to recover our breath and ſtrength. The road down to the firſt plain was, nevertheleſs, by no means agreeable, on account of the great declivity; and the ſun, ſhining ſo bright on the tops of the precipices below us, made ſo dazzling an appearance, that it required a good head to avoid growing giddy from the proſpect. We pitched our tent again on the ſnow, though we were more than four hundred yards below our laſt night's encampment. I was here convinced that it was the rarity of the air, and not the fatigue of the journey, that had incommoded us on the ſummit of the mountain, otherwiſe we ſhould not have found ourſelves ſo well, and ſo able to attack our ſupper with a good appetite. I could now alſo make my meteorological obſervations without any inconvenience. I am perſuaded that the indiſpoſition, in conſequence of the rarity of the atmoſphere, is different in different people. For my own part, I felt no inconvenience at the height of 4000 yards, or nearly two miles and a quarter; but I began to be much affected when I was higher in the atmoſphere.

"The next day we found that the ice-valley which we had paſſed on our firſt day's journey, had undergone a conſiderable change, from the heat of the two preceding days, and that it was much more difficult to paſs than it had been in our aſcent. We were obliged to go down a declivity of ſnow, of no leſs than 50 degrees of inclination, in order to avoid a chaſm which had happened during our expedition. We at length got down as low as the firſt eminence on the ſide, about half after nine, and were perfectly happy to find ourſelves on a foundation which we were ſure would not give way under our feet."

M. de Sauſſure concludes this part of his account by informing us, that he and his party returned to the priory by dinner-time,—all ſafe and well.

The meteorological obſervations follow the hiſtory of the journey: they are abridged, but the author promiſes a full and circumſtantial explanation of them in the 3d volume of his Travels.

From the preſent narrative we learn, that the ſummit of the mountain is a ridge, nearly horizontal, lying

lying eaſt and weſt: the ſlope, at each extremity, is inclined from 28 to 30 degrees, the ſouth ſide between 15 and 20, and the north about 45 or 50. This ridge is ſo narrow, as ſcarcely to allow two people to walk abreaſt, eſpecially at the weſt end, where it reſembles the roof of a houſe. It is wholly covered with ſnow; nor is any bare rock to be ſeen within 150 yards of the top. The ſurface of the ſnow is ſcaly, and, in ſome places, covered with an icy cruſt, under which the ſnow is duſty and without conſiſtence. The higheſt rocks are all granites; thoſe on the eaſt ſide are mixed with ſteatites; thoſe on the ſouth and the weſt contain a large quantity of ſchoerl, and a little *lapis corneus*. Some of them, eſpecially thoſe on the eaſt, which are about 150 yards below the ſummit, ſeem to have been lately ſhivered with lightning.

M. de Sauſſure ſaw no animals on the mountain, except two butterflies, which he ſuppoſes muſt have been driven thither by the wind. Lichens are the only vegetables which are found on the more elevated parts of theſe mountains: the *ſilene acaulis*, which grows in great quantities on the lower parts, diſappears at the height of about two miles above the level of the ſea."

Advice to a New-married Man. By Mrs. Thrale, *now Mrs.* Piozzi.

"I RECEIVED the news of your marriage with infinite delight, and hope that the ſincerity with which I wiſh your happineſs, may excuſe the liberty I take in giving you a few rules whereby more certainly to obtain it. I ſee you ſmile at my wrong-headed kindneſs, and, reflecting on the charms of your bride, cry out in a rapture, that you are happy enough without my rules. I know you are; but after one of the forty years, which I hope you will paſs pleaſingly together, are over, this letter may come in turn, and rules for felicity may not be found unneceſſary, however ſome of them may appear impracticable.

Could that kind of love be kept alive through the marriage ſtate, which makes the charm of a ſingle one, the ſovereign good would no longer be ſought for; in the union of two faithful lovers it would be found: but reaſon ſhews us that this is impoſſible, and experience informs us that it never was ſo; we muſt preſerve it as long, and ſupply it as happily as we can.

When your preſent violence of paſſion ſubſides, however, and a more cool and tranquil affection takes its place, be not haſty to cenſure yourſelf as indifferent, or to lament yourſelf as unhappy; you have loſt that only which it was impoſſible to retain, and it were graceleſs amid the pleaſures of a proſperous ſummer to regret the bloſſoms of a tranſient ſpring. Neither unwarily condemn your bride's inſipidity till you have recollected that no object however ſublime, no ſounds however charming, can continue to tranſport us with delight when they no longer ſtrike us with novelty. The ſkill to renovate the powers of pleaſing are ſaid indeed to be poſſeſſed by ſome women in an eminent degree, but the artifices of maturity are ſeldom ſeen to adorn the innocence of youth; you have made your choice, and ought to approve it.

Satiety follows quickly upon the heels of poſſeſſion; and to be happy,

we muſt always have ſomething in view. The perſon of your lady is already all your own, and will not grow more pleaſing in your eyes, I doubt, though the reſt of your ſex will think her handſomer for theſe dozen years. Turn therefore all your attention to her mind, which will daily grow brighter by poliſhing. Study ſome eaſy ſcience together, and acquire a ſimilarity of taſtes while you enjoy a community of pleaſures. You will by this means have many images in common, and be freed from the neceſſity of ſeparating to find amuſement. Nothing is ſo dangerous to wedded love as the poſſibility of either being happy out of the company of the other; endeavour therefore to cement the preſent intimacy on every ſide; let your wife never be kept ignorant of your income, your expences, your friendſhips, or averſions; let her know your very faults, but make them amiable by your virtues; conſider all concealment as a breach of fidelity; let her never have any thing to find out in your character, and remember, that from the moment one of the partners turns ſpy upon the other, they have commenced a ſtate of hoſtility.

Seek not for happineſs in ſingularity; and dread a refinement of wiſdom as a deviation into folly. Liſten not to thoſe ſages who adviſe you always to ſcorn the counſel of a woman, and if you comply with her requeſts pronounce you to be wife-ridden. Think not any privation, except of poſitive evil, an excellence, and do not congratulate yourſelf that your wife is not a learned lady, that ſhe never touches a card, or is wholly ignorant how to make a pudding. Cards, cookery, and learning, are all good in their places, and may all be uſed with advantage.

With regard to expence, I can only obſerve that the money laid out in the purchaſe of diſtinction is ſeldom or ever profitably employed. We live in an age when ſplendid furniture and glittering equipage are grown too common to catch the notice of the meaneſt ſpectator, and for the greater ones, they only regard our waſteful folly with ſilent contempt, or open indignation.—This may perhaps be a diſpleaſing reflection, but the following conſideration ought to make amends. The age we live in, pays, I think, peculiar attention to the higher diſtinctions of wit, knowledge, and virtue, to which we may more ſafely, more cheaply, and more honourably aſpire. The giddy flirt of quality frets at the reſpect ſhe ſees paid to Lady Edgecumbe, and the gay dunce ſits pining for a partner, while Jones the orientaliſt leads up the ball.

I ſaid that the perſon of your lady would not grow more pleaſing to you, but pray let her never ſuſpect that it grows leſs ſo; that a woman will pardon an affront to her underſtanding much ſooner than one to her perſon is well known; nor will any of us contradict the aſſertion. All our attainments, all our arts, are employed to gain and keep the heart of man; and what mortification can exceed the diſappointment, if the end be not obtained? There is no reproof however pointed, no puniſhment however ſevere, that a woman of ſpirit will not prefer to neglect; and if ſhe can endure it without complaint, it only proves that ſhe means to make herſelf amends by the attention of others for the ſlights of her huſband. For this,

this, and for every reaſon, it behoves a married man not to let his politeneſs fail, though his ardour may abate, but to retain at leaſt that general civility towards his own lady which he is ſo willing to pay to every other, and not ſhew a wife of eighteen or twenty years old, that every man in company can treat her with more complaiſance than he, who ſo often vowed to her eternal fondneſs.

It is not my opinion that a young woman ſhould be indulged in every wild wiſh of her gay heart or giddy head; but contradiction may be ſoftened by domeſtic kindneſs, and quiet pleaſures ſubſtituted in the place of noiſy ones. Public amuſements are not indeed ſo expenſive as is ſometimes imagined, but they tend to alienate the minds of married people from each other. A well-choſen ſociety of friends and acquaintance, more eminent for virtue and good ſenſe than for gaiety and ſplendor, where the converſation of the day may afford comment for the evening, ſeems the moſt rational pleaſure this great town can afford; and to this, a game at cards now and then gives an additional reliſh.

That your own ſuperiority ſhould always be ſeen, but never felt, ſeems an excellent general rule. A wife ſhould outſhine her huſband in nothing, not even in her dreſs.—If ſhe happens to have a taſte for the trifling diſtinction that finery can confer, ſuffer her not for a moment to fancy, when ſhe appears in public, that Sir Edward or the Colonel are finer gentlemen than her huſband. The bane of married happineſs among the city men in general has been, that finding themſelves unfit for polite life, they transferred their vanity to their ladies, dreſſed them up gaily, and ſent them out a gallanting, while the good man was to regale with port wine or rum punch, perhaps among mean companions, after the compting-houſe was ſhut: this practice produced the ridicule thrown on them in all our comedies and novels ſince commerce began to proſper. But now that I am ſo near the ſubject, a word or two on jealouſy may not be amiſs; for though not a failing of the preſent age's growth, yet the ſeeds of it are too certainly ſown in every warm boſom for us to neglect it as a fault of no conſequence. If you are ever tempted to be jealous, watch your wife narrowly—but never teaze her; tell her your jealouſy, but conceal your ſuſpicion; let her, in ſhort, be ſatisfied that it is only your odd temper, and even troubleſome attachment, that makes you follow her; but let her not dream that you ever doubted ſeriouſly of her virtue even for a moment. If ſhe is diſpoſed towards jealouſy of you, let me beſeech you to be always explicit with her and never myſterious: be above delighting in her pain, of all things—nor do your buſineſs nor pay your viſits with an air of concealment, when all you are doing might as well be proclaimed perhaps in the pariſh veſtry. But I will hope better than this of your tenderneſs and of your virtue, and will releaſe you from a lecture you have ſo little need of, unleſs your extreme youth and my uncommon regard will excuſe it. And now farewell; make my kindeſt compliments to your wife, and be happy in proportion as happineſs is wiſhed you by,

Dear Sir, &c."

The following Allegory ſome Time ago appeared in a Philadelphia *Newſpaper; and is ſaid to come from the Pen of the celebrated Doctor* Franklin*.

"IN a dream I thought myſelf in a ſolitary temple. I ſaw a kind of phantom coming towards me, but as he drew near, his form expanded and became more than human; his robe hung majeſtically down to his feet; ſix wings whiter than ſnow, whoſe extremities were edged with gold, covered a part of his body: then I ſaw him quit his material ſubſtance, which he had put on not to terrify me; his body was of all the colours in the rainbow. He took me by the hair, and I was ſenſible I was travelling in the ætherial plains without any dread, with the rapidity of an arrow ſent from a bow drawn by a ſupple and nervous arm.

A thouſand glowing orbs rolled beneath me: but I could only caſt a rapid glance on all thoſe globes diſtinguiſhed by the ſtriking colours with which they were diverſified.

I now ſuddenly perceived ſo beautiful, ſo flouriſhing, ſo fertile a country, that I conceived a ſtrong deſire to alight upon it. My wiſhes were inſtantly gratified; I felt myſelf gently landed on its ſurface, where I was ſurrounded by a balmy atmoſphere. I found myſelf repoſed at the dawn, on the ſoft verdant graſs. I ſtretched out my arms, in token of gratitude, to my celeſtial guide, who pointed to a reſplendent ſun, towards which ſwiftly riſing, he diſappeared in the luminous body.

I roſe, and imagined myſelf to be tranſported into the garden of Eden. Every thing inſpired my ſoul with ſoft tranquillity. The moſt profound peace covered this new globe; nature was raviſhing and incorruptible here, and a delicious freſhneſs expanded my ſenſe to extaſy; a ſweet odour accompanied the air I breathed; my heart, which beat with an unuſual power, was immerged in a ſea of rapture; while pleaſure, like a pure and immortal light, penetrated the inmoſt receſſes of my ſoul.

The inhabitants of this happy country came to meet me; and after ſaluting me they took me by the hand. Their noble countenances inſpired confidence and reſpect; innocence and happineſs were depicted in their looks; they often lifted their eyes towards heaven, and as often uttered a name which I afterwards knew to be that of the Eternal, while their cheeks were moiſtened with the tears of gratitude.

I experienced great emotion while I converſed with theſe ſublime beings. They poured out their hearts with the moſt ſincere tenderneſs; and the voice of reaſon, moſt majeſtic, and no leſs melting, was, at the ſame time, conveyed to my enraptured ear.

I ſoon perceived this abode was totally different from that which I had left. A divine impulſe made me fly into their arms;—I bowed my knees to them; but being raiſed up in the moſt endearing manner, I was preſſed to the boſoms that encloſed ſuch excellent hearts, and I conceived a preſentiment of celeſtial amity, of that amity which united their ſouls, and formed the greateſt portion of their felicity.

* The death of Dr. Franklin, ſince the inſertion of this Allegory, has been announced to the public.

The

The angel of darkneſs, with all his artifice, was never able to diſcover the entrance into this world!—Notwithſtanding his ever-watchful malice, he never found out the means to ſpread his poiſon over this happy globe. Anger, envy, and pride, were there unknown; the happineſs of one appeared the happineſs of all! an ecſtatic tranſport inceſſantly elevating their ſouls at the ſight of the magnificent and bountiful hand that collected over their heads the moſt aſtoniſhing prodigies of the creation.

The lovely morning, with her humid ſaffron wings, diſtilled the pearly dew from the ſhrubs and flowers, and the rays of the riſing ſun multiplied the moſt enchanting colours, when I perceived a wood embelliſhed by the opening dawn.

The youth of both ſexes there ſent forth hymns of adoration towards heaven, and were filled at the ſame time with the grandeur and majeſty of God, which rolled almoſt viſibly over their heads; for in this world of innocence, he vouchſafed to manifeſt himſelf by means unknown to our weak underſtandings.

All things announced his auguſt preſence, the ſerenity of the air, the dyes of the flowers, the brilliancy of the inſects, a kind of univerſal ſenſibility ſpread over all beings, and which vivified bodies that ſeemed the leaſt ſuſceptible of it, every thing bore the appearance of ſentiment; and the birds ſtopped in the midſt of their flight, as if attentive to the affecting modulations of their voices.

But no pencil can expreſs the raviſhing countenance of the young beauties whoſe boſoms breathed love. Who can deſcribe that love of which we have not any idea, that love for which we have no name, that love, the lot of pure intelligent beings, divine love, which they only can conceive and feel? The tongue of man, incapable, muſt be ſilent!—The remembrance of this enchanting place ſuſpends at this moment all the faculties of my ſoul.

The ſun was riſing—the pencil falls from my hand.—Oh, Thomſon, never did your Muſe view ſuch a ſun!—What a world, and what magnificent order! I trod, with regret, on the flowery plants, endued, like that which we call ſenſitive, with a quick and lively feeling; they bent under my foot, only to riſe with more brilliancy: the fruit gently dropped, on the firſt touch, from the complying branch, and had ſcarcely gratified the palate when the delicious ſenſation of its juices was felt glowing in every vein: the eye, more piercing, ſparkled with uncommon luſtre; the ear was more lively; the heart, which expanded itſelf all over nature, ſeemed to poſſeſs and enjoy its fertile extent: the univerſal enjoyment did not diſturb any individual; for union multiplied their delights, and they eſteemed themſelves leſs happy in their own fruition than in the happineſs of others.

This ſun did not reſemble the comparative paleneſs and weakneſs which illuminates our gloomy, terreſtrial priſon; yet the eye could bear to gaze on it, and, in a manner, plunge itſelf in a kind of ecſtacy in its mild and pure light: it enlivened at once the ſight and the underſtanding, and even penetrated the ſoul. The bodies of thoſe fortunate perſons became, as it were, tranſparent; while each read in his brother's

brother's heart the ſentiments of affability and tenderneſs with which himſelf was affected.

There darted from the leaves of all the ſhrubs that the planet enlightened, a luminous matter which reſembled, at a diſtance, all the colours of the rainbow; its orb, which was never eclipſed, was crowned with ſparkling rays that the daring priſm of Newton could not divide. —When this planet ſet, ſix brilliant moons floated in the atmoſphere; their progreſſion, in different orbits, each night formed a new exhibition. The multitude of ſtars, which ſeem to us as if ſcattered by chance, were here ſeen in their true point of view, and the order of the univerſe appeared in all its pomp and ſplendor.

In this happy country, when a man gave way to ſleep, his body, which had none of the properties of terreſtrial elements, gave no oppoſition to the ſoul, but contemplated in a viſion, bordering on reality, the lucid region, the throne of the Eternal, to which it was ſoon to be elevated. Men awaked from a light ſlumber without perturbation or uneaſineſs; enjoying futurity by a forcible ſentiment of immortality, being intoxicated with the image of an approaching felicity, exceeding that which they already enjoyed.

Grief, the fatal reſult of the imperfect ſenſibility of our rude frames, was unknown to theſe innocent men; a light ſenſation warned them of the objects that could hurt them; and nature removed them from the danger, as a tender mother would gently draw her child by the hand from a pitfal.

I breathed more freely in this habitation of joy and concord; my exiſtence became moſt valuable to me: but in proportion as the charms which ſurrounded me were lively, the greater was my ſorrow when my ideas returned to the globe I had quitted. All the calamities of the human race united as in one point to overwhelm my heart, and I exclaimed piteouſly—"Alas! the "world I inhabited formerly reſembled yours; but peace, in"nocence, chaſte pleaſures ſoon "vaniſhed.—Why was I not born "among you? What a contraſt! "The earth that was my ſorrowful "abode is inceſſantly filled with "tears and ſighs: there the ſmaller "number oppreſs the greater; the "dæmon of property infects what "he touches, and what he covets. "Gold is there a god, and they "ſacrifice on his altar, love, hu"manity, and the moſt valuable "virtues.

"Shudder, you that hear me! "The greateſt enemy man has is "*man*; his chiefs are his tyrants; "they make all things bend under "the yoke of their pride or their "caprice; the chains of oppreſſion "are in a manner extended from "pole to pole; a monſter who aſ"ſumes the maſque of glory, makes "lawful whatever is moſt horrible, "violence and murder. Since the "fatal invention of an inflamma"ble powder, no mortal can ſay, "To-morrow I ſhall repoſe in "peace;—to-morrow the arm of "deſpotiſm will not cruſh my head; "—to-morrow dreadful ſorrow will "not grind my bones;—to-mor"row the wailings of an uſeleſs "deſpair, proceeding from a diſ"treſſed heart, will not eſcape my "lips, and tyranny bury me alive "as in a ſtone coffin!

" Oh, my brethren! weep, " weep over us! We are not only " ſurrounded with chains and exe- " cutioners, but are moreover de- " pendant on the ſeaſons, the ele- " ments, and the meaneſt inſects. " All nature rebels againſt us; " and even if we ſubdue her, ſhe " makes us pay dearly for the be- " nefits our labour forces from her. " The bread we eat is earned by " our tears and the ſweat of our " brow; then greedy men come " and plunder us, to ſquander it on " their idle favourites.

" Weep, weep with me, my " brethren! Hatred purſues us; " revenge ſharpens its poniard in " the dark; calumny brands us, " and even deprives us of the " power of making our defence; " the object of friendſhip betrays " our confidence, and forces us to " curſe this otherwiſe conſolatory " ſentiment. We muſt live in the " midſt of all the ſtrokes of wick- " edneſs, error, pride, and folly."

Whilſt my heart gave a free courſe to my complaints, I ſaw a band of ſhining ſeraphs deſcending from heaven; on which ſhouts of joy were immediately ſent forth from the whole race of theſe fortunate beings. As I gazed with aſtoniſhment, I was accoſted by an old man, who ſaid, " Farewel, my " friend! the moment of our death " draws near; or rather, that of a " new life. The miniſters of the " God of clemency are come to " take us from this earth; we are " going to dwell in a world of ſtill " greater perfection."—" Why, " father," ſaid I, " are you, then, " ſtrangers to the agonies of death, " the anguiſh, the pain, the dread, " which accompany us in our laſt " moments?"

" Yes, my child," he replied, " theſe angels of the Higheſt come " at ſtated periods, and carry us " all away, opening to us the road " to a new world, of which we have " an idea by the undoubted con- " viction of the unlimited bounty " and magnificence of the Crea- " tor."

A chearful glow was immediately ſpread over their countenances; their brows already ſeemed crowned with immortal ſplendor; they ſprang lightly from the earth in my ſight; I preſſed the ſacred hand of each for the laſt time, while with a ſmile they held out the other to the ſeraph, who had ſpread his wings to carry them to heaven.

They aſcended all at once, like a flock of beautiful ſwans, that taking flight raiſe themſelves with majeſtic rapidity over the tops of our higheſt palaces. I gazed with ſadneſs; my eye followed them in the air, until their venerable heads were loſt in the ſilver clouds, and I remained alone on this magnificent deſerted land.

I perceived I was not yet fitted to dwell in it, and wiſhed to return to this unfortunate world of expiation: thus the animal eſcaped from his keeper returns, following the track of his chain, with a mild aſpect, and enters his priſon. Awaking, the illuſion was diſpelled, which it is beyond the power of my weak tongue or pen to deſcribe in its full ſplendor: but this illuſion I ſhall for ever cheriſh; and, ſupported by the foundation of hope, I will preſerve it until death in the inmoſt receſſes of my ſoul."

Obſervations upon the Paſſions, addreſſed to the Ladies.—From the Obſerver, *being a Collection of Moral, Literary, and Familar Eſſays.*

"I THINK the ladies will not accuſe me of buſying myſelf in impertinent remarks upon their dreſs and attire, for indeed it is not to their perſons my ſervices are devoted, but to their minds: if I can add to them any thing ornamental, or take from them any thing unbecoming, I ſhall gain my wiſh; the reſt I ſhall leave to their milliners and mantua-makers.

Now if I have any merit with them for not intruding upon their toilets, let them ſhew me ſo much complaiſance, as not to read this paper, whilſt they are engaged in thoſe occupations, which I have never before interrupted; for as I intend to talk with them a little metaphyſically, I would not wiſh to divide their attention, nor ſhall I be contented with leſs than the whole.

In the firſt place I muſt tell them, gentle though they be, that human nature is ſubject to a variety of paſſions; ſome of theſe are virtuous paſſions, ſome on the contrary I am afraid are evil; there are however a number of intermediate propenſities, moſt of which might alſo be termed paſſions, which by the proper influence of reaſon may become very uſeful allies to any one ſingle virtue, when in danger of being overpowered by a hoſt of foes: at the ſame time they are as capable of being kidnapped by the enemies of reaſon, and, when enliſted in the ranks of the inſurgents, ſeldom fail to turn the fate of the battle, and commit dreadful havock in the peaceful quarters of the invaded virtue. It is apparent then that all theſe intermediate propenſities are a kind of balancing powers, which ſeem indeed to hold a neutrality in moral affairs, but, holding it with arms in their hands, cannot be ſuppoſed to remain impartial ſpectators of the fray, and therefore muſt be either with us, or againſt us.

I ſhall make myſelf better underſtood when I proceed to inſtance them, and I will begin with that, which has been called the univerſal paſſion, *The love of Fame.*

I preſume no lady will diſavow this propenſity; I would not wiſh her to attempt it; let her examine it however; let her firſt enquire to what point it is likely to carry her before ſhe commits herſelf to it's conduct: if it is to be her guide to that fame only, which excels in faſhionable diſſipation, figures in the firſt circles of the gay world, and is the loadſtone to attract every libertine of high life into the ſphere of it's activity, it is a traiterous guide, and is ſeducing her to a precipice, that will ſooner or later be the grave of her happineſs: on the contrary, if it propoſes to avoid theſe dangerous purſuits, and recommends a progreſs through paths leſs tempting to the eye perhaps, but terminated by ſubſtantial comforts, ſhe may ſecurely follow a propenſity, which cannot miſlead her, and indulge a paſſion, which will be the moving ſpring of all her actions, and but for which her nature would want energy, and her character be no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed than by avoidance of vice without the grace and merit of any poſitive virtue. I can hardly ſuppoſe, if it was put to a lady's choice at her outſet into life

life which kind of fame she would be distinguished for, good or evil, but that she would at once prefer the good; I must believe she would acknowledge more gratification in being signalized as the best wife, the best mother, the most exemplary woman of her time, than in being pointed out in all circles she frequents as the most fashionable rake, the best-dressed voluptuary in the nation: if this be rightly conjectured, why will not every woman, who has her choice to make, direct her ambition to those objects, which will give her most satisfaction, when attained? there can be no reason but because it imposes on her some self-denials by the way, which she has not fortitude to surmount; and it is plain she does not love fame well enough to be at much pains in acquiring it; her ambition does not reach at noble objects, her passion for celebrity is no better than that of a buffoon's, who for the vanity of being conspicuous submits to be contemptible.

Friendship is a word which has a very captivating sound, but is by no means of a decided quality; it may be friend or foe as reason and true judgment shall determine for it. If I were to decry all female friendships in the lump it might seem a harsh sentence, and yet it will seriously behove every parent to keep strict watch over this propensity in the early movements of the female mind. I am not disposed to expatiate upon it's dangers very particularly; they are sufficiently known to people of experience and discretion; but attachments must be stemmed in their beginnings; keep off correspondents from your daughters as you would keep off the pestilence: romantic misses, sentimental novelists and scribbling pedants overturn each other's heads with such eternal rhapsodies about friendship, and refine upon nonsense with such an affectation of enthusiasm, that if it has not been the parent's study to take early precautions against all such growing propensities, it will be in vain to oppose the torrent, when it carries all before it and overwhelms the passions with its force.

Sensibility is a mighty favourite with the fair sex; it is an amiable friend or a very dangerous foe to virtue: let the female, who professes it, be careful how she makes too full a display of her weakness; for this is so very soft and insinuating a propensity, that it will be found in most female glossaries as a synonymous term for love itself; in fact it is little else than the *nomme-de-guerre*, which that insidious adventurer takes upon him in all first approaches; the pass-word in all those skirmishing experiments, which young people make upon each other's affections, before they proceed to plainer declarations; it is the whetstone, upon which love sharpens and prepares his arrows: if any lady makes a certain show of sensibility in company with her admirer, he must be a very dull fellow, if he does not know how to turn the weapon from himself to her. Now sensibility assumes a different character when it is taken into the service of benevolence, or made the centinel of modesty; in one case it gives the spring to pity, in the other the alarm to discretion; but whenever it assails the heart by soft seduction to bestow that pity and relief, which discretion does not warrant and purity ought not to grant, it should be

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treated as a renegado and a ſpy, which under the maſk of charity would impoſe upon credulity for the vileſt purpoſes, and betray the heart by flattering it to it's ruin.

Vanity is a paſſion, to which I think I am very complaiſant, when I admit it to a place amongſt theſe convertible propenſities, for it is as much as I can do to find any occupation for it in the family-concerns of virtue; perhaps if I had not known *Vaneſſa* I ſhould not pay it even this ſmall compliment: it can however do ſome under-offices in the houſehold of generoſity, of chearfulneſs, hoſpitality, and certain other reſpectable qualities: it is little elſe than an officious, civil, ſilly thing, that runs on errands for its betters, and is content to be paid with a ſmile for it's good-will by thoſe, who have too much good ſenſe to ſhow it any real reſpect: when it is harmleſs, it would be hard to wound it out of wantonneſs; when it is miſchievous, there is merit in chaſtiſing it with the whip of ridicule: a lap-dog may be endured, if he is inoffenſive and does not annoy the company, but a ſnappiſh, barking pett, though in a lady's arms, deſerves to have his ears pulled for his impertinence.

Delicacy is a ſoft name, and fine ladies, who have a proper contempt for the vulgar, are very willing to be thought endowed with ſenſes more refined and exquiſite, than nature ever meant to give them; their nerves are ſuſceptible in the extreme, and they are of conſtitutions ſo irritable, that *the very winds of heaven* muſt not be allowed to *viſit their face too roughly*. I have ſtudied this female favourite with ſome attention, and I am not yet able to diſcover any one of it's good qualities; I do not perceive the merit of ſuch exquiſite fibres, nor have I obſerved that the ſlendereſt ſtrings are apt to produce the ſweeteſt ſounds, when applied to inſtruments of harmony; I preſume the female heart ſhould be ſuch an harmonious inſtrument, when touched by the parent, the friend, the huſband; but how can theſe expect a concert of ſweet ſounds to be excited from a thing, which is liable to be jarred and put out of tune by every breath of air? it may be kept in it's caſe, like an old-faſhioned virginal, which nobody knows, or even wiſhes to know, how to touch: it can never be brought to bear it's part in a family concert, but muſt hang by the wall, or at beſt be a ſolo inſtrument for the remainder of it's days.

Baſhfulneſs, when it is attached to modeſty, will be regarded with the eye of candor and cheared with the ſmile of encouragement; but baſhfulneſs is a hireling, and is ſometimes diſcovered in the livery of pride, oftentimes in the caſt-off trappings of affectation; pedantry is very apt to bring it into company, and ſly, ſecret conſciouſneſs will frequently *bluſh becauſe it underſtands*. I do not ſay I have much to lay to it's charge, for it is not apt to be troubleſome in polite ſocieties, nor do I commonly meet it even in the youngeſt of the female ſex. There is a great deal of bluſhing I confeſs in all the circles of fine ladies, but then it is ſo univerſal a bluſh and withal ſo permanent, that I am far from imputing it always to baſhfulneſs, when the cheeks of the fair are tinged with roſes. However, though it is ſometimes an impoſtor, and

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for that reaſon may deſerve to be diſmiſſed, I cannot help having a conſideration for one, that has in paſt times been the handmaid of beauty, and therefore as merit has taken modeſty into her ſervice, I would recommend to ignorance to put baſhfulneſs into full pay and employment.

Politeneſs is a charming propenſity, and I would wiſh the fine ladies to indulge it, if it were only by way of contraſt between themſelves and the fine gentlemen they conſort with. I do not think it is altogether becoming for a lady to plant herſelf in the center of a circle with her back to the fire, and expect every body to be warmed by the contemplation of her figure, or the reflection of her countenance; at the ſame time I am free to confeſs it an attitude, by which the man of high-breeding is conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed, and is charming to behold, when ſet off with the proper accompaniments of leather breeches, tight boots, and a jockey waiſtcoat. I will not deny however but I have ſeen this practiſed by ladies, who have acquitted themſelves with great ſpirit on the occaſion; but then it cannot be done without certain male accoutrements, and preſuppoſes a ſlouched hat, half-boots, ſhort waiſtcoat and riding dreſs, not to omit broad metal buttons, with great letters engraved upon them, or the ſignature of ſome hunt, with the indiſpenſable appendage of two long dangling watch-chains, which ſerve to mark the double value people of faſhion put upon their time, and alſo ſhew the encouragement they beſtow upon the arts: with theſe implements the work may be done even by a female artiſt, but it is an art I wiſh no young lady to ſtudy, and I hope the preſent profeſſors will take no more pupils, whilſt the academies of *Humphries* and *Mendoza* are kept open for accompliſhments, which I think upon the whole are altogether as becoming. Politeneſs, as I conceive, conſiſts in putting people at their eaſe in your company, and being at your eaſe in their's; modern practice I am afraid is apt to miſplace this proceſs, for I obſerve every body in faſhionable life polite enough to ſtudy their own eaſe, but I do not ſee much attention paid to that part of the rule, which ought to be firſt obſerved: it is well calculated for thoſe, who are adepts in it, but if ever ſuch an out-of-the-way thing as a modeſt perſon comes within it's reach, the awkward novice is ſure to be diſtreſſed, and whilſt every body about him ſeems repoſing on a bed of down, he alone is picketted upon a ſeat of thorns: till this ſhall be reformed by the ladies, who profeſs to underſtand politeneſs, I ſhall turn back to my red-book of forty years ago, to ſee what relicts of the old court are yet amongſt us, and take the mothers for my models in preference to their daughters."

The Hiſtory of Tarempou *and* Serinda.—*From* Variety, *a Collection of Eſſays, written in the Year* 1787.

"IT was on the banks of the ſonorous river Tſampu, whoſe thundering cataracts refreſh the burning ſoil, and ſometimes ſhake the mighty mountains which divide Thibet from the empire of Mogul; there lived a wealthy and revered Lama,

Lama, whoſe lands were tributary to the Supreme Lama, or Sacerdotal Emperor, who governs all the land from China to the pathleſs deſert of Cobi: but although his flocks and herds were ſcattered over an hundred hills, and the number of his ſlaves exceeded the breathings of man's life, yet was he chiefly known throughout all the eaſt, as *the father of Serinda*. It was the beauty, the virtue, the accompliſhments of Serinda, which gave him all his fame, and all his happineſs; for Lama Zarin conſidered the advantages which birth and wealth and power conferred, as trifling when compared to that of being *father to Serinda*. All the anxiety he ever felt, proceeded from the thoughts relating to her welfare, when he could no longer guard the innocence of *her*, whom he expected ſoon to quit for ever. A dreadful malady, which had long ſeized him at a ſtated hour each day, he found was gaining on him, and threatened, in ſpite of all the arts of medicine, to put a ſpeedy period to his exiſtence.

One day after a fit, which attacked him with more violence than uſual, he ſent for the fair Serinda, and gently beckoning her to approach his couch, he addreſſed her in theſe words: "Daughter of my hopes and fears! Heaven grant that thou mayeſt ſmile for ever! Yet while my ſoul confeſſes its delight in gazing on thee, attend to the foreboding melancholy dictates of a dying father's ſpirit: my Serinda, whoſe breath refreſhes like the roſe, and whoſe purity ſhould, like the jeſſamine, diffuſe voluptuous ſatisfaction on all around her, diſturbs the peace of her dejected father, embittering all the comforts of his life, and making his approach to death more terrible." At theſe words, Serinda, unconſcious of offence, and doubting what ſhe heard, fell on her knees, and urged her father to explain his meaning; while he, gently raiſing her, proceeded thus: "The Angel of Death, who admoniſhes and warns the faithful in the hour of ſickneſs, ere he ſtrikes the fatal blow, has ſummoned me to join thy holy mother, who died when ſhe gave birth to my Serinda; yet let me not depart to the unknown and fearful land of death, and leave my daughter unprotected. Oh! my Serinda, ſpeak! Haſt thou ever ſeriouſly reflected on the danger, to which thy orphan ſtate muſt ſoon be ſubject; ſurrounded as thou then wilt be with ſuitor Lamas, of various diſpoſitions and pretenſions; ſome with mercenary cunning, wooing thy poſſeſſions through thy perſon; others haughtily demanding both, and threatening a helpleſs heireſs with their powerful love?" He then reminded her that he had from time to time preſented her with portraits of the ſeveral princes or lamas, who had ſolicited an union with his houſe, and which they had ſent, according to the cuſtom of Thibet, where the ſexes can never ſee each other till they are married; he alſo repeated what he had already himſelf given her in writing, an epitome of their characters, their good and evil qualities, their ages, their poſſeſſions, and their rank in the prieſthood of the Lama, and concluded by ſaying, "Tell me then, my Serinda, which of all theſe mighty princes can claim a preference in the ſoul of my beloved daughter?" Serinda bluſhed and ſighed, but anſwered not. Lama Zarin deſired that ſhe would

would withdraw to conſult the paper he had given her, to compare it with the ſeveral portraits, and determine, before his next day's ſit returned, which might be moſt deſerving of her love. At the word Love, Serinda bluſhed again, but knew not why,—her father ſaw the crimſon on her cheek, but ſaid it was the timid fluſhing of a virgin's modeſty, and urged her to withdraw, and to be quick in her deciſion. Serinda with innocence replied, "My father knows that he is himſelf the only man I ever ſaw, and I think the only being I can ever *love*; at leaſt, my *love* will ever be confined to thoſe objects which delight or benefit my father, whether they be man or beaſts: I *love* this favourite dog, which my father ſo frequently careſſes; I *loved* the favourite horſe on which my father rode, till by a fall he put his maſter's life in danger, then I hated him; but when the tyger had ſeized my father on the ground, and he was delivered by his truſty ſlave, I *loved* Tarempou; and ſince my father daily acknowledges that he ſaved his life, I *love* Tarempou ſtill." The father heard her artleſs confeſſion, and told her that Tarempou was no Lama. "But," ſaid ſhe, "which of all thoſe Lamas who now demand my love, has made an intereſt in my heart by ſervices to my father, like the ſlave Tarempou? And yet I have not ſeen his perſon or his picture, nor know I whether he be old or young; but he has ſaved my father's life, and is a favourite of my father, therefore it is my duty ſure to *love*, and I will *love* Tarempou." The old Lama ſmiling, gently rebuked his daughter for the freedom of her expreſſion, and deſired her to withdraw, after he had explained to her that *love* was *impious*, according to the laws of Thibet, betwixt any of the race of Lamas and their ſlaves. Serinda left her father, and as ſhe ſtroked his favourite dog which lay at the door of his apartment, a tear trembled in her eye, leſt ſhe might be guilty of *impiety*.

And now the ſlave Tarempou, who for his ſervices had been advanced from chief of the ſhepherds, to be chief of the houſhold, had an audience of his maſter; and obſerving him unuſually dejected, declared that he had himſelf acquired ſome knowledge in medicine, and humbly begged permiſſion to try his ſkill where every other attempt had proved unſucceſsful. The Lama heard his propoſal with a mixture of pleaſure and contempt; or, as it is expreſſed in the original, "his eyes flaſhed joy, his brow looked forgiveneſs, but contempt and incredulity ſmiled upon his lips, while his tongue anſwered the faithful Tarempou, in gratitude and doubt." The ſlave replied, "May Lama Zarin live for ever! I boaſt no ſecret antidote, no myſtic charm to work a ſudden miracle; but I have been taught in Europe the gradual effects of alterative medicines; it is from theſe alone that I expect to gain in time, by perſeverance, a compleat victory over the diſeaſe; and if in ſeven days time the ſmalleſt change encourage me to perſevere, I will then boldly look forward, and either die or conquer." The prince aſſented; and from that day became the patient of Tarempou, whoſe ſituation both as chief in the houſe, and as phyſician, gave him a right to be at all times in the Lama's preſence, ſave when Serinda paid her daily

viſit to her father, and then he had notice to withdraw.

The firſt week had not elapſed before the Lama was convinced that his diſeaſe gave way to the medicines of his favourite: the fits returned indeed, but every day they attacked him with leſs violence, and were of ſhorter duration. In proportion as Tarempou became leſs neceſſary as a phyſician, his company became more deſirable as a friend; he poſſeſſed a lively imagination, and had improved his natural good underſtanding by travel in diſtant countries: thus his converſation often turned on ſubjects which were quite new to the delighted Lama; they talked of laws, religion, and cuſtoms of foreign kingdoms, comparing them with thoſe of Thibet; and by degrees the ſlave became the friend, and almoſt equal of his maſter: amongſt other topics of diſcourſe, the Lama would often tell of the virtues and endowments of his beloved daughter, while Tarempou liſtened with delight, and felt an intereſt in the ſubject, which he was at a loſs himſelf to comprehend. On the other hand, in the converſations of the Lama with Serinda, he could talk of nothing but the ſkill and wiſdom of Tarempou, wondering at ſuch various knowledge in ſo young a man.

It happened one day when he had been repeating to his daughter the account Tarempou gave of European manners, that Serinda bluſhed and ſighed; her father aſked the cauſe, when ſhe ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had ſo often mentioned this young ſlave, that ſhe could think of nothing elſe by day or night; and that in her dreams ſhe ſaw him, and thought he was a Lama worthy of her *love*; then turning to her father with artleſs innocence, ſhe ſaid, "Oh Lama, tell me! can my *ſleep* be *impious*? Her father ſaw her with emotion, and told her ſhe muſt think of him no more. "I will endeavour to obey," ſhe ſaid, "but I ſhall dream, and ſleep will *impiouſly* reſtore my baniſhed waking thoughts." The Lama dreading the flame he had himſelf kindled in his daughter's boſom, endeavoured to check her riſing paſſion, and reſolved, thenceforth, never again to tell her of the ſlave Tarempou: but now it was too late; *love*, of the pureſt kind, had taken full poſſeſſion of the virgin's heart, and while ſhe ſtruggled to obey her father, the fierce contention betwixt this unknown gueſt, and the dread of being *impious*, preyed upon her health, till feveriſh days and ſleepleſs nights at length expoſed her life to danger.

It was impoſſible for Lama Zarin to conceal from Tarempou (whom we will now no longer call his ſlave, but his faithful *friend*) the ſickneſs of Serinda; and while he confeſſed his alarm for his fair daughter's ſafety, he plainly ſaw that he had too often deſcribed that daughter to his favourite: he ſaw what it was impoſſible for Tarempou to conceal, that he had been the fatal cauſe of mutual paſſion to two lovers who had never ſeen, and, but for him, could never have heard of each other's amiable qualities. Thus ſituated (even if the laws of Thibet had permitted the viſit of a male phyſician) prudence would have forbid his employing the only ſkill in which he now had confidence; but Serinda, whoſe diſeaſe was occaſionally attended with delirium, would only call upon the name of

Tarempou, often repeating, "He ſaved my father, and it is he alone can ſave the lingering Serinda."

Overcome by the intreaties of his love-ſick daughter, the afflicted father, in an agony of grief, curſed the cruel laws of Thibet, and told her, ſhe ſhould ſee Tarempou. Serinda heard with extaſy, and, knowing that what a Lama promiſes muſt ever be performed, the words became a balſam to the wounds of *love*: but the Lama had not fixed the time when his ſacred promiſe ſhould be fulfilled; nor would he, till he had withdrawn, and weighed the conſequence of what had fallen from his lips. The oftener he revolved the ſubject in his thoughts, the leſs appeared the difficulties; and having, by his converſations with Tarempou, raiſed his mind above the ſlaviſh prejudices and cuſtoms of his country, he at length reſolved to overcome all ſcruples, and to give his beloved daughter to the only man whom he thought worthy of her.

Full of the idea of their future happineſs, he determined to obtain all that remained neceſſary for its completion, which was, the ſanction of that higher power to which all the Lamas of Thibet are ſubject: he inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to the Great Lama, who reſides at Tonker, with whom his influence was ſo great, that he had no doubt he ſhould obtain whatever he might aſk, although unprecedented in the laws of Thibet; laws which forbid the *holy race* of Lamas to intermarry with any but of their own ſacred order. And now unable to ſuppreſs the joy he felt in communicating to the lovers that plan of future bliſs which he had formed, he raiſed Tarempou to a pitch of hope which neither his love nor his ambition had ever dared to cheriſh; and to Serinda he promiſed, that the ſight of her phyſician and her lover ſhould only be deferred one week, or till the meſſenger returned from the Great Lama at Tonker.

From this day the phyſician was no longer neceſſary: but the week appeared a tedious age to the expecting love of young Tarempou, and his promiſed bride Serinda.

The ſeven days at length elapſed, when the meſſenger returned from Tonker, with the following anſwer: "The moſt ſacred ſultan, the "mighty Sovereign Lama, who en-"joyeth life for ever, and at whoſe "nod a thouſand princes periſh or "revive, ſendeth to Lama Zarin, "greeting. Report has long made "known at Tonker, the beauty of "Serinda, and by thy meſſenger we "learn, the matchleſs excellence of "thy ſlave Tarempou. In anſwer, "therefore, to thy requeſt, that "theſe may be united, mark the "purpoſe of our ſovereign will, "which not to obey is death, "throughout the realms of Thibet. "The lovers ſhall not ſee each "other, till they both ſtand before "the ſacred footſteps of our throne "at Tonker, that we ourſelves, in "perſon, may witneſs the emotion "of their amorous ſouls."

This anſwer, far from removing the ſuſpence, created one a thouſand times more terrible. The Lama Zarin thought it portended ruin to himſelf and family; he now reflected on the raſh ſteps he had taken, and feared his ſanguine hopes had been deceived by frequent converſations with a ſtranger, who had taught him to think lightly of the laws and cuſtoms of Thibet, for

which he now recollected with horror, the Great Lama's bigotry and zeal; he knew he muſt obey the ſummons, and trembled at his ſituation. Tarempou was too much enamoured to think of any danger which promiſed him a ſight of his beloved miſtreſs; and all the fear he felt was, leſt the beauty of Serinda ſhould tempt the Supreme Lama to ſeize her for himſelf. "But *ſhe*, in whoſe love-ſick heart dwelt pureſt innocence, a fountain from whence ſprang hope, which branching in a thouſand channels, diffuſed itſelf over all her ſoul, and gleamed in her countenance, half ſeen and half concealed, like the meandering veins that ſweetly overſpread her ſwelling boſom," revered the Lama for his decree, and thought it proceeded from his deſire of being witneſs to the mutual happineſs of virtuous love: with theſe ſentiments ſhe felt only joy at their departure, which took place that very day, with all the pomp and retinue of eaſtern ſplendor.

Here in the original follows a very long detail of their journey, deſcribing the number of their attendants, with the camels and elephants employed on the occaſion; it relates that the Lama would ſometimes travel in the ſumptuous palanquin of his daughter, and ſometimes rode on the ſame elephant with Tarempou, dividing his time betwixt the converſation of each, but unable to ſuppreſs his apprehenſions, or diſſipate the fears of his foreboding mind. To compreſs the ſtory within the limits of this paper, I ſhall immediately proceed to the tribunal, which was held in the great HALL OF SILENCE, and leave the reader to imagine the magnificence, which there is not now room to deſcribe at large. At the upper end of the ſuperb apartment, ſat on a throne of maſſy gold the Supreme Lama; before him, at ſome diſtance, were two altars ſmoking with fragant incenſe, and around him knelt an hundred Lamas, in ſilent adoration (for in Thibet all men pay divine honours to the Supreme Lama, who is ſuppoſed to live for ever, the ſame ſpirit paſſing from father to ſon): to this ſolemn tribunal Lama Zarin was introduced by mutes, from an apartment directly oppoſite to the throne, and knelt in awful ſilence betwixt the ſmoking altars;—at the ſame time, from two doors facing each other, were uſhered in Tarempou and Serinda, each covered by a thick veil, which was faſtened to the ſummit of their turbans, and touched the ground, and each accompanied by a mute fell proſtrate before the throne:—a dreadful ſtillneſs now prevailed—all was mute as death—while doubt, ſuſpence, and horror chilled the boſoms of the expecting lovers.—In this fearful interval of ſilence, the throbbing of Serinda's heart became diſtinctly audible, and pierced the ſoul of her Tarempou:—the father heard it too; and a half-ſmothered ſigh involuntarily ſtole from his boſom, and reſounded through the echoing dome.—At length the ſolemn deep-toned voice of the Great Lama uttered theſe words: "Attend! and mark the will of Him who ſpeaks with the *mouth of Heaven*; ariſe! and hear! Know, that the promiſe of a Lama is ſacred as the words of Alla; therefore are ye brought hither to behold each other, and in this auguſt preſence, by a ſolemn union, to receive the reward of love, which a fond father's praiſe has kindled in

your

your ſouls, and which he having promiſed, muſt be fulfilled. Prepare to remove the veils. Let Lama Zarin join your hands, and then embrace each other; but on your lives, utter not a word; for know, that in the *Hall of Silence*, 'tis death for any tongue to ſound, but that which ſpeaks the *voice of Heaven*."

He ceaſed,—and his words reſounding from the lofty roof, gradually died upon the ear till the ſame dreadful ſtillneſs again prevailed through all the building;—and now, at a ſignal given,—the mutes removed the veils at the ſame moment, and diſcovered the beauteous perſons of Tarempou and Serinda. What language can deſcribe the matchleſs grace of each! far leſs convey an adequate idea of that expreſſion, with which each beheld the other in agonies of joy, ſuſpence and rapture; but they gazed in ſilence, till by another ſignal from the throne, the father joined their hands, and then Tarempou, as commanded, embraced his lovely bride; while ſhe, unable to ſupport this trying moment, fainted in his arms;—and now, Tarempou, regardleſs of the prohibition, exclaimed, "Help! my Serinda *dies*." Inſtantly the voice from the throne returned this melancholy ſound: "Tarempou *dies*;" immediately two mutes approached with the fatal bow-ſtring, and ſeizing Tarempou, fixed an inſtrument of ſilence on his lips;—while other mutes hurried away Serinda, inſenſible of the danger of her lover; but the father, unable to reſtrain the anguiſh of his ſoul, cried out with bitterneſs. "If to ſpeak, be death, let me die alſo; but firſt, I will execrate the ſavage cuſtoms, and curſe the laws that doom the innocent." He would have proceeded, but other mutes ſurrounded him, and ſtopped his ſpeech, as they had done Tarempou's. Then the Supreme Lama again addreſſed them in theſe words: "Know, preſumptuous and devoted wretches, that before ye brake that ſolemn law which enjoins ſilence in this ſacred preſence, ye were already doomed to death. Thou, Lama Zarin, for daring to degrade the Holy Prieſthood of Lamas by marrying thy daughter to a ſlave; and thou, Tarempou, for preſuming to ally thyſelf with one of that ſacred race; the promiſe which this fooliſh Lama made, was literally fulfilled, theſe daring rebels againſt the laws of Thibet, have ſeen, and been united to each other; and the embrace which was permitted, was doomed to be the laſt; now, therefore, mutes perform your office on Tarempou firſt." They accordingly bound the victim, who was already gagged, to one of the altars, and were fixing the cord about his neck, when they deſiſted on a ſudden, and proſtrating themſelves before Tarempou, they performed the ſame obeiſance, which is paid only to the heir of the ſacred throne of Tonker. A general conſternation ſeized all preſent; and the Supreme Lama deſcending from his throne, approached Tarempou; on whoſe left ſhoulder, which had been uncovered by the executioners, he now perceived the myſtic characters, with which the ſacred family of Thibet are always diſtinguiſhed at their birth. He ſaw the well-known mark, the voice of nature confirmed this teſtimony of his ſight, and, falling on the neck of Tarempou, he exclaimed, "It is my ſon! my long-loſt ſon! quickly reſtore

his voice: henceforth this place ſhall be no longer called the Hall of Silence, but of Joy; for in this place we will to-morrow celebrate the nuptials of Tarempou and Serinda."

The hiſtory then explains this ſudden event, by relating that ſome Jeſuit Miſſionaries, who had gained acceſs to the capital of Thibet, in their zeal for religion, had ſtolen the heir of the throne, then an infant, hoping to make uſe of him in the converſion of theſe people; but in their retreat through the great deſart of Cobi, they had been attacked by a banditti, who killed the Jeſuits, and ſold the young Lama for a ſlave; he had ſerved in the Ottoman army; he had been taken by the Knights of Malta; afterwards became ſervant to a French officer, with whom he travelled through all Europe, and at length accompanied him to India; here, in an engagement with the Mahrattas, he had been again taken priſoner, and ſold as a ſlave to ſome merchants of Thibet; by this means he came into the ſervice of Lama Zarin, without knowing any thing of his origin, or the meaning of thoſe characters which he bore on his left ſhoulder, and which had effected this wonderful diſcovery.

The hiſtory concludes with ſaying, that Tarempou was wedded to the fair Serinda; and that their happineſs was unexampled: that the leſſons he had been taught in the ſchool of adverſity, and the obſervations he had made in the various countries he had ſeen, prepared him to aboliſh the many fooliſh and impious cuſtoms of Thibet; and he cauſed to be written over the throne of the Great Hall, this inſcription.

"Mark the Cries of Diſtreſs, and "give Relief.—Receive the Bleſ-"ſings of the grateful, and rejoice "in them.—Hearken to the Words "of Age, Experience and Good-"neſs, and obey them.—Stifle not "the feelings of Humanity, but "encourage virtuous Love; for "the ſtill ſmall Voice of Inno-"cence and Nature is, in every "Country, the true *Voice of Hea-"ven.*"

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1788.

By T. WARTON, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

RUDE was the pile, and maſſy-proof,
That firſt uprear'd its haughty roof
On Windſor's brow ſublime, in warlike ſtate:
The Norman tyrant's jealous hand
The giant-fabric proudly plann'd;
With recent victory elate,
" On this majeſtic ſteep," he cried,
" A regal fortreſs, threatening wide,
" Shall ſpread my terrors to the diſtant hills;
" Its formidable ſhade ſhall throw
" Far o'er the broad expanſe below,
" Where winds yon mighty flood, and amply fills
" With flowery verdure, or with golden grain,
" The faireſt fields that deck my new domain!
" And London's towers, that reach the watchman's eye,
" Shall ſee with conſcious awe my bulwarks climb the ſky."

II.

Unchang'd, through many a hardy race,
Stood the rough dome in ſullen grace;
Still on its angry front defiance frown'd:
Though monarchs kept their ſtate within,
Still murmur'd with the martial din
The gloomy gateway's arch profound;
And armed forms, in airy rows,
Bent o'er the battlements their bows,
And blood-ſtain'd banners crown'd its hoſtile head;
And oft its hoary ramparts wore
The rugged ſcars of conflict ſore;
What time, pavilion'd on the neighb'ring mead,
Th' indignant Barons rang'd in bright array
Their feudal bands, to curb deſpotic ſway;
And leagu'd a Briton's birthright to reſtore,
From John's reluctant graſp the roll of freedom bore.

III.

When lo, the king that wreath'd his ſhield
With lilies pluck'd on Creſſy's field,
Heav'd from its baſe the mouldering Norman frame!—
New glory cloath'd th' exulting ſteep,
The portals tower'd with ampler ſweep;
And Valour's ſoften'd Genius came,
Here held his pomp, and trail'd the pall
Of triumph through the trophied hall;
And War was clad awhile in gorgeous weeds;
Amid the martial pageantries,
While Beauty's glance adjudg'd the prize,
And beam'd ſweet influence on heroic deeds.
Nor long, ere Henry's holy zeal, to breathe
A milder charm upon the ſcenes beneath,
Rear'd in the watery glade his claſſic ſhrine,
And call'd his ſtripling-quire, to woo the willing Nine.

IV.

To this imperial ſeat to lend
Its pride ſupreme, and nobly blend
Britiſh Magnificence with Attic Art;
Proud Caſtle, to thy banner'd bowers,
Lo! Picture bids her glowing powers
Their bold hiſtoric groups impart;
She bids th' illuminated pane,
Along thy lofty-vaulted fane,
Shed the dim blaze of radiance richly clear.—
Still may ſuch arts of Peace engage
Their Patron's care! But ſhould the rage
Of war to battle rouſe the new-born year,
Britain ariſe, and wake the ſlumbering fire,
Vindictive dart thy quick-rekindling ire!
Or, arm'd to ſtrike, in mercy ſpare the foe;
And lift thy thundering hand, and then withhold the blow!

ODE *on his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1788.

By T. WARTON, *Eſq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

WHAT native Genius taught the Britons bold
To guard their ſea-girt cliffs of old?
'Twas Liberty: ſhe taught diſdain
Of death, of Rome's imperial chain.
She bade the Druid harp to battle ſound,
In tones prophetic, thro' the gloom profound

Of

Of foreſts hear, with holy ſoliage hung;
From grove to grove the pealing prelude rung;
Belinus call'd his painted tribes around,
And, rough with many a veteran ſcar,
Swept the pale Legions with the ſcythed car,
While baffled Cæſar fled, to gain
An eaſier triumph on Pharſalia's plain;
And left the ſtubborn iſle to ſtand elate
Amidſt a conquer'd world, in lone majeſtic ſtate!

II.

A kindred ſpirit ſoon to Britain's ſhore
The ſons of Saxon Elva bore;
Fraught with th' unconquerable ſoul,
Who died, to drain the warrior-bowl,
In that bright Hall, where Odin's Gothic throne
With the broad blaze of brandiſh'd falchions ſhone;
Where the long roofs rebounded to the din
Of Spectre chiefs, who feaſted far within:
Yet, not intent on deathful deeds alone,
They felt the fires of ſocial zeal,
The peaceful wiſdom of the public weal;
Though nurs'd in arms and hardy ſtrife,
They knew to frame the plans of temper'd life;
The king's, the people's, balanc'd claims to found
On one eternal baſe, indiſſolubly bound.

III.

Sudden, to ſhake the Saxon's mild domain,
Ruſh'd in rude ſwarms the robber Dane,
From frozen waſtes, and caverns wild,
To genial England's ſcenes beguil'd;
And in his clamorous van exulting came
The Demons foul of Famine and of Flame:
Witneſs the ſheep-clad ſummits, roughly crown'd
With many a frowning foſs and airy mound,
Which yet his deſultory march proclaim!—
Nor ceas'd the tide of gore to flow,
Till Alfred's laws allur'd th' inteſtine foe;
And Harold calm'd his headlong rage
To brave atchievement, and to counſel ſage;
For oft in ſavage breaſts the buried ſeeds
Of brooding virtue live, and freedom's faireſt deeds!

IV.

But ſee, triumphant o'er the ſouthern wave,
The Norman ſweeps!—Tho' firſt he gave
New grace to Britain's naked plain,
With Arts and Manners in his train;

And many a fane he rear'd, that ſtill ſublime
In maſſy pomp has mock'd the ſtealth of time;
And caſtle fair, that, ſtript of half its towers,
From ſome broad ſteep in ſhatter'd glory lours:
Yet brought he ſlavery from a ſofter clime;
Each eve, the curfew's note ſevere
(That now but ſoothes the muſing poet's ear)
At the new tyrant's ſtern command,
Warn'd to unwelcome reſt a wakeful land;
While proud Oppreſſion o'er the raviſh'd field
High rais'd his armed hand, and ſhook the feudal ſhield.

V.

Stoop'd then that Freedom to deſpotic ſway,
For which, in many a fierce affray,
The Britons bold, the Saxons bled,
His Daniſh javelins Leſwin led
O'er Haſtings' plain, to ſtay the Norman yoke?
She felt, but to reſiſt, the ſudden ſtroke:
The tyrant-baron graſp'd the patriot's ſteel,
And taught the tyrant-king its force to feel;
And quick revenge the regal bondage broke.
And ſtill, unchang'd and uncontrol'd,
Its reſcued rights ſhall the dead empire hold:
For lo, revering Britain's cauſe,
A King new luſtre lends to native laws!
The ſacred Sovereign of this feſtal day
On Albion's old renown reflects a kindred ray!

An ODE *on the* POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS *of the* HIGHLANDS *of* SCOTLAND, *conſidered as the Subject of Poetry.*

By the late Mr. WILLIAM COLLINS.

From Vol. I. of Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

I.

H——, thou return'ſt from Thames, whoſe Naiads long
Have ſeen thee ling'ring, with a fond delay,
Mid thoſe ſoft friends, whoſe hearts, ſome future day,
Shall melt, perhaps, to hear thy tragic ſong.
Go, not unmindful of that cordial youth,
Whom, long endear'd, thou leav'ſt by Lavant's ſide;
Together let us wiſh him laſting truth,
And joy untainted with his deſtin'd bride.
Go! nor regardleſs, while theſe numbers boaſt
My ſhort-liv'd bliſs, forget my ſocial name;
But think far off how, on the ſouthern coaſt,
I met thy friendſhip with an equal flame!

Freſh

Freſh to that ſoil thou turn'ſt, whoſe ev'ry vale
Shall prompt the poet, and his ſong demand:
To thee thy copious ſubjects ne'er ſhall fail;
Thou need'ſt but take the pencil to thy hand,
And paint what all believe who own thy genial hand.

II.

There muſt thou wake perforce thy Doric quill,
'Tis Fancy's land to which thou ſett'ſt thy feet;
Where ſtill, 'tis ſaid, the fairy people meet
Beneath each birken ſhade on mead or hill.
There each trim laſs that ſkims the milky ſtore
To the ſwart tribes their creamy bowl allots;
By night they ſip it round the cottage door,
While airy minſtrels warble jocund notes.
There every herd, by ſad experience, knows
How, wing'd with fate, their elf-ſhot arrows fly;
When the ſick ewe her ſummer food foregoes,
Or, ſtretch'd on earth, the heart-ſmit heifers lie.
Such airy beings awe th' untutor'd ſwain:
Nor thou, though learn'd, his homelier thoughts neglect;
Let thy ſweet muſe the rural faith ſuſtain:
Theſe are the themes of ſimple, ſure effect,
That add new conqueſts to her boundleſs reign,
And fill, with double force, her heart-commanding ſtrain.

III.

Ev'n yet preſerv'd, how often may'ſt thou hear,
Where to the pole the Boreal mountains run,
Taught by the father to his liſt'ning ſon
Strange lays, whoſe power had charm'd a Spencer's ear.
At ev'ry pauſe, before thy mind poſſeſt,
Old Runic bards ſhall ſeem to riſe around,
With uncouth lyres, in many-colour'd veſt,
Their matted hair with boughs fantaſtic crown'd:
Whether thou bid'ſt the well-taught hind repeat *
The choral dirge that mourns ſome chieftain brave,
When ev'ry ſhrieking maid her boſom beat,
And ſtrew'd with choiceſt herbs his ſcented grave;
Or whether, ſitting in the ſhepherd's ſhiel †,
Thou hear'ſt ſome ſounding tale of war's alarms;
When, at the bugle's call, with fire and ſteel,
The ſturdy clans pour'd forth their bony ſwarms,
And hoſtile brothers met to prove each other's arms.

* Firſt written, *relate*.

† A kind of hut, built for a ſummer habitation to the herdſmen, when the cattle are ſent to graze in diſtant paſtures.

IV. 'Tis

IV.

'Tis thine to ſing, how framing hideous ſpells
In Sky's lone iſle the gifted wizzard " ſits*,"
" Waiting in " wintry cave " his wayward fits †;"
Or in the depth ‡ of Uiſt's dark foreſts dwells:
How they, whoſe ſight ſuch dreary dreams engroſs,
With their own viſions oft aſtoniſh'd § droop,
When o'er the wat'ry ſtrath or quaggy moſs
They ſee the gliding ghoſts unbodied troop.
Or if in ſports, or on the feſtive green,
Their " piercing ‖ " glance ſome fated youth deſcry,
Who, now perhaps in luſty vigour ſeen
And roſy health, ſhall ſoon lamented die.
For them the viewleſs forms of air obey
Their bidding heed **, and at their beck repair.
They know what ſpirit brews the ſtormful day,
And heartleſs, oft like moody madneſs ſtare
To ſee the phantom train their ſecret work prepare.

V.

†† " Or on ſome bellying rock that ſhades the deep,
" They view the lurid ſigns that croſs the ſky,
" Where, in the weſt, the brooding tempeſts lie,
" And hear their firſt, faint, ruſtling pennons ſweep.
" Or in the arched cave, where deep and dark
" The broad, unbroken billows heave and ſwell,
" In horrid muſings rapt, they ſit to mark
" The labouring moon; or liſt the nightly yell
" Of that dread ſpirit, whoſe gigantic form
" The ſeer's entranced eye can well ſurvey,
" Through the dim air who guides the driving ſtorm,
" And points the wretched bark its deſtin'd prey.
" Or him who hovers, on his flagging wing,
" O'er the dire whirlpool, that, in ocean's waſte,
" Draws inſtant down whate'er devoted thing
" The failing breeze within its reach hath plac'd—
" The diſtant ſeaman hears, and flies with trembling haſte.

* Collins had written, *ſeer*.

† Collins had written, *Lodg'd in the wintry cave with*——and had left the line imperfect: Altered and the chaſm ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle.

‡ Firſt written, *gloom*.

§ Firſt written, *afflicted*.

‖ A blank in the manuſcript. The word *piercing* ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle.

** Firſt written, *mark*.

†† A leaf of the manuſcript, containing the fifth ſtanza, and one half of the ſixth, is here loſt. The chaſm is ſupplied by Mr. Mackenzie.

VI. " Or,

VI.

" Or, if on land the fiend exerts his ſway,
" Silent he broods o'er quickſand, bog, or fen,
" Far from the ſhelt'ring roof and haunts of men,
" When witched darkneſs ſhuts the eye of day,
" And ſhrouds each ſtar that wont to cheer the night;
" Or, if the drifted ſnow perplex the way,
" With treach'rous gleam he lures the fated wight,
" And leads him ſtound'ring on, and quite aſtray."
What though far off, from ſome dark dell eſpied
His glimm'ring mazes cheer th' excurſive ſight,
Yet turn, ye wand'rers, turn your ſteps aſide,
Nor truſt the guidance of that faithleſs light;
For watchful, lurking 'mid th' unruſtling reed,
At thoſe mirk * hours the wily monſter lies,
And liſtens oft to hear the paſſing ſteed,
And frequent round him rolls his ſullen eyes,
If chance his ſavage wrath may ſome weak wretch ſurpriſe.

VII.

Ah, luckleſs ſwain, o'er all unbleſt indeed!
Whom late bewilder'd in the dank, dark fen,
Far from his flocks and ſmoking hamlet then!
To that ſad ſpot " his wayward fate ſhall lead †:"
On him enrag'd, the fiend, in angry mood,
Shall never look with pity's kind concern,
But inſtant, furious, raiſe the whelming flood
O'er its drown'd bank, forbidding all return.
Or, if he meditate his wiſh'd eſcape
To ſome dim hill that ſeems upriſing near,
To his faint eye the grim and griſly ſhape,
In all its terrors clad, ſhall wild appear.
Meantime, the wat'ry ſurge ſhall round him riſe,
Pour'd ſudden forth from ev'ry ſwelling ſource.
What now remains but tears and hopeleſs ſighs?
His fear-ſhook limbs have loſt their youthly force,
And down the waves he floats, a pale and breathleſs corſe.

VIII.

For him, in vain, his anxious wife ſhall wait,
Or wander forth to meet him on his way;
For him, in vain, at to-fall of the day,
His babes ſhall linger at th' uncloſing ‡ gate.

* Firſt written, *ſad*.
† A blank in the manuſcript. The line filled up by Dr. Carlyle.
‡ Firſt written, *cottage*.

Ah, ne'er ſhall he return! Alone, if night
Her travell'd limbs in broken ſlumbers ſteep,
With dropping willows dreſt, his mournful ſprite
Shall viſit ſad, perchance, her ſilent ſleep:
Then he, perhaps, with moiſt and wat'ry hand,
Shall fondly ſeem to preſs her ſhudd'ring cheek *,
And with his blue ſwoln face before her ſtand,
And, ſhiv'ring cold, theſe piteous accents ſpeak:
Purſue †, dear wife, thy daily toils purſue
At dawn or duſk, induſtrious as before;
Nor e'er of me one hapleſs thought renew,
While I lie welt'ring on the ozier'd ſhore,
Drown'd by the Kaelpie's ‡ wrath, nor e'er ſhall aid thee more!

IX.

Unbounded is thy range; with varied ſtile
Thy muſe may, like thoſe feath'ry tribes which ſpring
From their rude rocks, extend her ſkirting wing
Round the moiſt marge of each cold Hebrid iſle,
To that hoar pile which ſtill its ruin ſhows §:
In whoſe ſmall vaults a pigmy-folk is found,
Whoſe bones the delver with his ſpade upthrows,
And culls them, wond'ring, from the hallow'd ground!
Or thither where beneath the ſhow'ry weſt
The mighty kings of three fair realms are laid ‖:
Once foes, perhaps, together now they reſt.
No ſlaves revere them, and no wars invade:
Yet frequent now, at midnight's ſolemn hour,
The rifted mounds their yawning cells unfold,
And forth the monarchs ſtalk with ſov'reign pow'r
In pageant robes, and wreath'd with ſheeny gold,
And on their twilight tombs aerial council hold.

* Firſt written, *Shall ſeem to preſs her cold and ſhudd'ring cheek.*

† Firſt written, *proceed.*

‡ A name given in Scotland to a ſuppoſed ſpirit of the waters.

§ On the largeſt of the *Flannan iſlands* (iſles of the Hebrides) are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. Flannan. This is reckoned by the inhabitants of the Weſtern Iſles a place of uncommon ſanctity. One of the Flannan iſlands is termed the *Iſle of Pigmies*; and Martin ſays, there have been many ſmall bones dug up here, reſembling in miniature thoſe of the human body.

‖ The iſland of *Iona* or *Icolmkill*. See Martin's Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland. That author informs us, that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four kings of Ireland, and five of Norway, were interred in the church of St. Ouran in that iſland. There were two churches and two monaſteries founded there by St. Columbus about A.D. 565. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. Collins has taken all his information reſpecting the Weſtern Iſles from Martin; from whom he may likewiſe have derived his knowledge of the popular ſuperſtitions of the Highlanders, with which this ode ſhows ſo perfect an acquaintance.

X. But

X.

But O! o'er all, forget not Kilda's race *,
On whoſe bleak rocks, which brave the waſting tides,
Fair Nature's daughter, Virtue, yet abides.
Go, juſt, as they, their blameleſs manners trace!
Then to my ear tranſmit ſome gentle ſong
Of thoſe whoſe lives are yet ſincere and plain,
Their bounded walks the rugged cliffs along,
And all their proſpect but the wintry main.
With ſparing temp'rance, at the needful time,
They drain the fainted ſpring, or, hunger-preſt,
Along th' Atlantic rock undreading climb,
And of its eggs deſpoil the ſolan's neſt.
Thus bleſt in primal innocence they live,
Suffic'd and happy with that frugal fare
Which taſteful toil and hourly danger give.
Hard is their ſhallow ſoil, and bleak and bare;
Nor ever vernal bee was heard to murmur there!

XI.

Nor need'ſt thou bluſh, that ſuch falſe themes engage
Thy gentle mind, of fairer ſtores poſſeſt;
For not alone they touch the village breaſt,
But fill'd in elder time th' hiſtoric page.
There Shakeſpeare's ſelf, with ev'ry garland crown'd †,
In muſing hour, his wayward ſiſters found,
And with their terrors dreſt the magic ſcene.
From them he ſung, when mid his bold deſign,
Before the Scot afflicted and aghaſt,
The ſhadowy kings of Banquo's fated line,
Through the dark cave in gleamy pageant paſt.
Proceed, nor quit the tales which, ſimply told,
Could once ſo well my anſw'ring boſom pierce;
Proceed, in forceful ſounds and colours bold
The native legends of thy land rehearſe;
To ſuch adapt thy lyre and ſuit thy powerful verſe.

XII.

In ſcenes like theſe, which, daring to depart
From ſober truth, are ſtill to nature true,
And call forth freſh delight to fancy's view,
Th' heroic muſe employed her Taſſo's art!

* The character of the inhabitants of St. Kildá, as here deſcribed, agrees perfectly with the accounts given by Martin and by Macaulay, of the people of that iſland. It is the moſt weſterly of all the Hebrides, and is above 130 miles diſtant from the main land of Scotland.

† This ſtanza is more incorrect in its ſtructure than any of the foregoing. There is apparently a line wanting between this and the ſubſequent one, *In muſing hour*, &c. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *ſcene*.

How

How have I trembled, when at Tancred's ſtroke,
Its guſhing blood the gaping cypreſs pour'd;
When each live plant with mortal accents ſpoke,
And the wild blaſt up-heav'd the vaniſh'd ſword *!
How have I ſat, when pip'd the penſive wind,
To hear his harp, by Britiſh Fairfax ſtrung.
Prevailing poet, whoſe undoubting mind
Believ'd the magic wonders which he ſung!
Hence at each ſound imagination glows;
Hence his warm lay with ſofteſt ſweetneſs flows;
Melting it flows, pure, num'rous, ſtrong and clear,
And fills th' impaſſion'd heart, and wins th' harmonious ear †.

XIII.

All hail, ye ſcenes that o'er my ſoul prevail,
Ye "ſpacious‡" friths and lakes which, far away,
Are by ſmooth Annan fill'd, or paſt'ral Tay,
Or Don's romantic ſprings, at diſtance, hail!
The time ſhall come when I, perhaps, may tread
Your lowly glens, o'erhung with ſpreading broom
Or o'er your ſtretching heaths by fancy led:
Then will I dreſs once more the faded bow'r,
Where Johnſon ſat in Drummond's § "ſocial ‖" ſhade,
Or crop from Tiviot's dale each "claſſic flower,"
And mourn on Yarrow's banks "the widow'd maid **."
Meantime, ye Pow'rs, that on the plains which bore

* Theſe four lines were originally written thus:

How have I trembled, when, at Tancred's *ſide,*
Like him I ſtalk'd, and all his paſſions felt;
When charm'd by Iſmen, *through the foreſt wide,*
Bark'd in each plant a talking ſpirit dwelt!

† Theſe lines were originally written thus:

Hence, ſure to charm, his early numbers flow,
Though ſtrong, yet ſweet————
Though faithful, ſweet; though ſtrong, of ſimple kind.
Hence, with each theme, he bids the boſom glow,
While his warm lays an eaſy paſſage find,
Pour'd through each inmoſt nerve, and lull th' harmonious ear.

‡ A blank in the manuſcript. The word *ſpacious* ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle.

§ Ben Johnſon undertook a journey to Scotland a-foot in 1619, to viſit the poet Drummond, at his ſeat of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh. Drummond has preſerved in his works, ſome very curious heads of their converſation.

‖ A blank in the manuſcript. *Social* ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle.

** Both theſe lines left imperfect; ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle. This laſt ſtanza bears more marks of haſtineſs of compoſition than any of the reſt. Beſides the blanks which are ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle, there is apparently an entire line wanting after the ſeventh line of the ſtanza. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *broom*.

The

The cordial youth, on Lothian's plains attend,
Where'er he dwell, on hill, or lowly muir,
To him I loſe, your kind protection lend,
And, touch'd with love like mine, preſerve my abſent friend.

To a LADY. *Written in* Ireland.

Septimi Gades, aditure mecum. HOR. Lib. ii. Ode 6.

OH thou! by firm affection led
To ſeek with me this humble ſhed,
And, fram'd for gentleſt eaſe,
Nor ſuited to this poor abode,
With me endur'd the toilſome road,
Nor fear'd the wintry ſeas.

Had fate indulg'd the fairy dream,
Near Arno's ſmooth, poetic ſtream
The Tuſcan muſe had ſmil'd,
And teaching vain Ambition's cure,
Mid ſwains as idle and as poor,
My careleſs life beguil'd:

That fond, fantaſtic thought repreſt,
Not yet within my calmer breaſt
The reſtleſs wiſh retreats;
To ſweeter ſcenes, to ſofter ſkies,
To fair Devonia's coaſt it flies,
And hails thoſe beauteous ſeats;

Where, dreſs'd in Spring's perpetual green,
Her cottage-ſprinkl'd downs are ſeen,
Where every breeze is health;
And Plenty round the laughing land
Scatters profuſely from her hand
Each ſource of ruſtic wealth;

And all the blooming groves produce
The golden apple's ſparkling juice,
To chear the peaſant's toil;
Where ſcarce the winter's rigid ſway,
Soon yielding to the weſtern ray,
Deforms the happy ſoil.

Often in Fancy's picture warm
Riſes to view her various charm,
Her billow-beaten rocks,

Her airy cliffs' majeſtic pride,
Her verdant mountain's ſloping ſide,
And ſilver fleecy flocks.

Often the lovely ſcenes enchain
My ſoul, and every votive ſtrain
With harmony inſpire,
Till rapt in viſionary joys,
I ſeem to hear a cherub's voice
Reſponſive to the lyre:

"There, ſunk in ſome ſequeſter'd ſpot,
"And every former grief forgot,
"Your ſhelter'd home ſhall brave
"The change of many a circling year,
"And there your Anna's conſtant tear
"Shall bathe her poet's grave."

The ADIEU *and* RECALL *to* LOVE.

From Vol. I. of the Britiſh Album.

GO, idle Boy! I quit thy pow'r;
Thy couch of many a thorn, and flow'r;
Thy twanging bow, thine arrow keen,
Deceitful Beauty's timid mien;
The feign'd ſurprize, the roguiſh leer,
The tender ſmile, the thrilling tear,
Have now no pangs, no joys for me,
So fare thee well, for I am free!
Then flutter hence on wanton wing,
Or lave thee in yon lucid ſpring,
Or take thy bev'rage from the roſe,
Or on Louiſa's breaſt repoſe:
I wiſh thee well for pleaſures paſt,
Yet bleſs the hour, I'm free at laſt.
But ſure, methinks, the alter'd day
Scatters around a mournful ray;
And chilling ev'ry zephyr blows,
And ev'ry ſtream untuneful flows;
No rapture ſwells the linnet's voice,
No more the vocal groves rejoice;
And e'en thy ſong, *ſweet Bird of Evil!*
With whom I lov'd ſo oft to grieve,
Now ſcarce regarded meets my ear,
Unanſwer'd by a ſigh or tear.
No more with devious ſtep I chooſe
To bruſh the mountain's morning dews;

"To drink the ſpirit of the breeze,"
Or wander midſt o'er-arching trees;
Or woo with undiſturb'd delight,
The pale-cheek'd Virgin of the Night,
That piercing thro' the leafy bow'r,
Throws on the ground a ſilv'ry ſhow'r.
Alas! is all this boaſted eaſe,
To loſe each warm deſire to pleaſe,
No ſweet ſolicitude to know
For others bliſs, for others woe,
A frozen apathy to find,
A ſad vacuity of mind?
O haſten back, then, heav'nly Boy,
And with thine anguiſh bring thy joy!
Return with all thy torments here,
And let me hope, and doubt, and fear.
O rend my heart with ev'ry pain!
But let me, let me love again.

DELLA CRUSCA.

PRAYER *to* VENUS.—*From Vol. II. of the ſame Work.*

KIND Venus, hear thy Suppliant's pray'r,
Hear, and indulgent grant;
For love I aſk—you well may ſpare
The little I ſhall want.

No ſtorms of paſſion I deſire,
No boundleſs tranſports claim,
Give me that gentle doubtful fire,
Which feeds a ſportive flame.

For oh! I've known the ſoft delights,
That warm the breaſt ſincere;
The anxious days and ſleepleſs nights,
That nurſe the tender fear.

Have ſhar'd the fond endearing kiſs,
Which mutual ardour fires,
And taſted oft that genuine bliſs,
Which mutual truth inſpires.

I've felt the fierce extreme of love,
Which utterance would deſtroy;
When ſpeechleſs raptures ſilent prove,
The ſoul's ſublimeſt joy.

But then its bittereſt pangs I've borne,
Depreſt with tenfold care;
And many an hour with anguiſh torn,
Sat brooding o'er Deſpair.

Whelm'd with ſuch violence of woe,
Would melt a heart of ſteel,
Which only thoſe who love can know,
Who loſe can only feel.

Hence, let me calmly view the ſex,
Contented to enjoy
That bliſs, which abſence cannot vex,
Or Perfidy deſtroy:

O Venus! let me favour win,
Secure from Cupid's dart,
Still let it gently pierce my ſkin,
But never probe my heart!

ARLEY.

CHARACTERISTIC SONG.

Supposed to be ſung by a Sailor's Laſs, to her Favourite; who has been treating her rather unkindly.—From the ſame.

YOUR Molly has never been falſe, ſhe declares,
Since laſt time we parted at Wapping Old Stairs;
When I ſwore that I ſtill would continue the ſame,
And gave you the *'Bacco-box*—mark'd with my name.

When I paſs'd a whole fortnight between decks, with you,
Did I e'er give a buſs, Tom, to one of the crew?
To be uſeful and kind to my Thomas I ſtaid,
For his trowſers I waſh'd, and his bumbo I made.

Though you threaten'd laſt Sunday to walk in the Mall
With Suſan, from Deptford, and Billingſgate Sal,
In ſilence I ſtood, your unkindneſs to hear,
And only upbraided my Tom with a tear.

Still faithful and fond from the firſt of my life,
Tho' I boaſt not the name, I've the truth of a wife;
For falſehood in wedlock too often is priz'd,
And the heart that is conſtant ſhould not be deſpis'd.

ARLEY.

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR LE DUC DE NIVERNOIS *ayant demandé a* MADAME LA MARECHALE DE MIREPOIS *une boucle de ſes cheveux, elle la lui envoya avec les vers ſuivants.*

LES voila! les cheveux depuis long tems blanchis,
D'une longue union qu'ils ſoient pour vous le gage!
Je ne regrette rien de ce que m'otat l'age,
Il m'a laiſſé de vrais amis.
On m'aime preſqu'autant, et j'aime davantage,
L'aſtre de l'amitié luit dans l'hiver des ans,
Fruit precieux du gout, de l'eſtime, & du tems;
On ne s'y meprend plus, on cede à ſon empire,
Et l'on joint ſous les cheveux blancs
Aux charmes de s'aimer le droit de ſe le dire.

REPONSE DE MONSIEUR LE DUC.

QUOI! vous parlez de cheveux blancs!
Laiſſons, laiſſons courir le tems,
Que vous importe ſon ravage!
Les tendres cœurs en ſont exempts,
Les Amours ſont toujours enfants,
Et les Graces ſont de tout age.
Pour moi, Themire, je le ſens,
Je ſuis toujours dans mon printems
Quand je vous offre mon hommage;
Si je n'avois que dix-huit ans,
Je pourrois aimer plus long tems,
Mais non pas aimer davantage.

From MADAME LA MARECHALE DE MIREPOIS *to* MONSIEUR LE DUC DE NIVERNOIS, *with a Lock of her Hair.*

Imitated by WILLIAM PARSONS, *Eſq.*

BEHOLD this lock which deck'd my face!
But reft of all its former grace;
Long ſince hath Time forbade to ſhine
Each youthful charm that once was mine;
Yet while my faithful friends remain,
I cannot of his thefts complain:
They love me ſtill—I love them more,
Such joys have I with treſſes hoar.

Friendſhip's bright ſtar with purer rays
Gilds the calm evening of our days;
No longer then, to doubts a prey,
We dread fierce Love's imperious ſway;
And, if a ſoft emotion riſe,
Suſpect him veil'd in friendſhip's guiſe;
For well we know his power is o'er,
He flies abaſh'd from treſſes hoar.

Nor longer then does Cuſtom bind
In tyrant chains the captive mind,
And, when a tender thought we feel,
Bid us that tender thought conceal;
But without bluſhing we impart
The chaſte affections of the heart:
This freedom, ne'er enjoy'd before,
Has age beſtow'd with treſſes hoar.

ODE *to the* VENUS *of* MEDICIS.

By WILLIAM PARSONS, *Eſq. F.R.S.*

Written at FLORENCE 1785.

QUEEN of each tender thought and ſoft deſire,
Whoſe matchleſs beauties here in marble ſhine,
Who didſt the wond'ring Greek's proud heart inſpire
To form this ſemblance of thy charms divine!

* Fountain of bliſs! by whoſe ecſtatic aid
In Jove's ſoft hour his conſort rul'd the ſkies,
Thy charmful zone her rapturous form array'd,
And ſeal'd with languid pauſe the Thunderer's eyes.

Mother of life! by whoſe awakening powers
All Being ſprings from Chaos and from night,
† With ſmiles the deep, the earth is clad with flowers,
And the ſky brightens with diffuſive light,

To this thy beſt-lov'd image, goddeſs fair!
Let me not bring my votive gifts in vain;
No milk-white doves, no bleating lambs are there,
With guiltleſs blood thy purer ſhrine to ſtain.

* Iliad. Book 14.

† ——Tibi ſuavis dædala tellus
Summittit flores, tibi rident æquora ponti,
Placatumque nitet diffuſo lumine cœlum. LUCRETIUS, Lib. 1.

B

But dearer trophies, which to thee I owe,
Soft notes that ſpeak the mighty force of love,
Treſſes the fond believing fair beſtow,
In meaning forms, and myſtic cyphers wove,

Now all around obey thy gladdening voice,
And rove in pairs to woo the young Deſires;
In Hymen's bands my Britiſh friends rejoice,
The glowing natives burn with looſer fires.

I, hapleſs torn from all my ſoul held dear,
Am now no more with love's ſoft tranſports bleſt,
No fond delights my lingering moments cheer,
A death-like calm uſurps my vacant breaſt.

O goddeſs fair! by all that could ſubdue
War's furious god to ſeek thoſe gentle charms;
By all the tides of joy that erſt you knew,
When young Adonis languiſh'd in your arms;

O once again the gentle flame impart,
I court the bliſs, nor dread the pleaſing woe;
Chaſe then this cold indifference from my heart,
Bid ſome kind fair with equal paſſion glow!

Then too my breaſt ſhall feel poetic fire,
And Britiſh Muſes haunt the Tuſcan plain;
As oft they come when Merry ſtrikes the lyre,
And raptur'd Arno liſtens to the ſtrain!

The MUSES *in* MOTION,

Spoken at the Royalty Theatre, *in the Characters of the* Tragic *and* Comic Muſes, *and written by* MILES PETER ANDREWS, *Eſq.*

[*Scene draws, and diſcovers the* Tragic Muſe, *ſtanding on a Pedeſtal, as in the Pantomime of* Hobſon's Choice.—*After ſome time, ſhe advances to the Front with her Bowl and Dagger.*]

NEW to this Stage, beſet with Virgin fears,
For the firſt time Melpomene appears;
Tho' on theſe Boards ſhe oft hath ſilent ſtood
With eye uplifted thus—in mournful mood,
Fixt as a poſt ſhe neither ſaid or ſung:—
'Tis the firſt time the Muſe has found her tongue.
What ſhall ſhe urge, to prove her vaſt delight,
Thus left at liberty to talk all night?

What joy on earth ſo great, ſo overflowing,
As when a Female tongue's juſt ſet a-going?
Anſwer, ye Huſbands, is there aught in life
So truly precious as a chatt'ring wife?
Save the ſtill dearer joy, if left alone,
To praiſe their talents, when they're dead and gone.
But hold:—my province is to fume and ſwagger,
Rave, rant, and ſtart, and wield my Bowl and Dagger;
Oh! would ſome wooden Hero now appear*!
Whom I might ſcold and ſtab without a fear;
How I would pull his painted locks about,
Seize his glaſs eye, and tear his blinker out.
[*A voice is heard from below.*
What noiſe is that, ſeems threat'ning from below,
Breaks on our grief, and interrupts our woe?
[*Mrs. Gibbs, as the Comic Muſe, ſpeaking under the Stage.*
Open the trap, Sirs, quick, and wind me up—
[*Comic Muſe aſcends—the other ſtarts, and affects a ſerious attitude.*
Your ſervant, Siſter, with your Knife and Cup. [*Sneeringly.*
[*To the Audience.*]
Well, Friends! we both are come your hands to kiſs,
The Tragic Lady, and the Comic Miſs;
But ſhould we both attempt to keep poſſeſſion,
Warrants may iſſue from the Quarter Seſſion;
For tho' alone, our tongues may be untied well,
A Dialogue will ſend us both to Bridewell;
Think of our danger ſhould we rouſe again
The *informing Carpenter* of Drury Lane;
Danger ſo dire it ſtaggers all belief,
Water and Bread, for calling out *Roaſt Beef* †!
[*Imitating Delpini.*
Since then you cannot take us both in keeping,
Which Miſs ſhall ſtay, the laughing, or the weeping?
If me ye chooſe, kind Sirs, for *cara Spoſa*,
I'll inſtant tip my Siſter a *Mendoza*. [*Holds up her fiſts*
The *Comic Muſe* with fiſts can make diſpatch,
A very Jordan at a Boxing-match.
[*To the Audience.*]
Methinks you ſmile—Siſter, I've got the day—
Reſign you muſt, ſo ſink, and die away.
[*Touches her with the Maſk.*
Strike, Muſic, (*Muſic plays*) to aſſiſt her parting groan,
There, going, going, going, going, gone.
[*Tragic Muſe ſinks to ſoft Muſic.*

* Alluding to the Figures in the Mock Tragedy of Almirina.
† The charge againſt Delpini was for articulating thoſe words without muſic.

[*The*

[*The Comic Muſe, when the other has diſappeared.*]
I've clear'd the Stage; but now how hard the taſk
To clear myſelf, and ſport the Comic Maſk;
With inoffenſive mirth the hour to waſte,
And ſuit the humour of each varying taſte.
'Tis eaſier far to riſe with dumb grimaces,
Stand on a Pedeſtal, and make wry faces.
Look at that lean conſumptive Critic yonder,
[*Pointing to the Houſe.*
Wrapp'd in his night-gown, how he gapes with wonder.
Methinks he ſays, "I hate your fooliſh giggle,
[*Talking like a hectic old Man.*
"As well ſing Butter'd Peas, or Wilkes's Wriggle.
"Give me Don Juan, when he's hoiſted off,
"Gray, and a Church-yard—haugh *(coughing)* oh, curſe this
"cough."
"Fegs!" cries that ſhort thick Lady in the corner—
"I think as how, 'tis *very* croſs to ſcorn her:
"I loves a joke—for Spouſe he jokes, and Cuz;
"Laugh and grow fat, they cries, and ſo we does."—
"Look!" ſays Miſs Frizzle to her friend Miſs Simper,
"How can you like, my dear, to ſit and whimper?
"I'm all for fun and frolic, mirth and glee,
"Signor Delpini is the man for me."
[*In an affected formal manner.*
"But not for me, Miſs, tho' the creatures ſing;
"They tell me, your Signors are not the thing."
What do I ſee! Miſs Biddy—pray ſtep down,
[*Beckoning to the Houſe.*
The Comic Muſe may claim you as her own.—
[*Retires to the ſide a little, and returns as Miſs Biddy.*
Well, here I am, quite anxious to be ſeen,
And, on my *Sayſo*, Miſs, I'm turn'd thirteen;
Lord how the Beaux do ſtare! Goles, what a heap!
Lend me your Maſk, that I may take a peep;
[*Looking through the Maſk.*
Tho' hang it, that's a fooliſh way to ſee;
For then the Beaux can't take a peep at me,
[*Throws the Maſk away.*
Would you believe it, Miſs? Laſt night, Papa
Sitting at ſupper with my poor Mamma;
Betwixt ourſelves, they don't agree a bit;
"Wife," ſays old Gruff, "that Girl's a forward chit."—
"It can't be, dear."—"Pſha! hold thy ſilly clack;
"I ſaw her riding on the coachman's back."
"Well, let her ride—ſhe's nothing but a child;
"Young folks, my love, will be a little wild:
"She knows no harm."—"No harm, wife?"—

"No,

" No, duck, no;"—
They little think, but I know what I know.
[*Putting her finger to her nose archly.*
Well, I do like to ſee two folks make love:
Firſt ſhe ſmiles thus—then he draws off her glove;
Then ſhe ſays, Don't you—then he ſays, I will,
And then ſhe frowns, and tells him to ſit ſtill:
Then he looks glum, and then ſhe pats his cheek;
Then they get up, and play at hide and ſeek;
And then they Buſs, and then ſhe's made a wife—
Oh! I could act it to the very life.
These humble efforts of the Comic Muſe
She truſts this gen'rous circle won't refuſe;
More than content, if you accept her toil,
And crown it with a kind approving ſmile.

PROLOGUE *to* THE TON; *or*, FOLLIES OF FASHION, *a Comedy by* LADY WALLACE.

Written by MR. JEKYLL.

WHILE Reformation lifts her tardy hand,
To ſcourge at length tranſgreſſion from the land;
And dormant Statutes, rous'd by *Proclamation*,
Affright the petty Sinners of the Nation,
Who ſhall preſume the Rule of Right to draw,
For thoſe who *make*, *enforce*, and *break* the Law?
The *Country Juſtice*, with terrific frown,
May ſcare a diſtrict or appal a town;
May hurl dire vengeance on a guilty elf
Who dares to do—*juſt what he does himſelf*;
But who ſhall rule the Juſtice?—Who ſhall dare
To tell his Worſhip, that He muſt not ſwear?
Drive him to church, prohibit his diverſions,
Or fine him well, for *Sabbath days excurſions?*
In London, happily our zeal's more warm:
Here live the great Examples of Reform;
With pure diſint'reſt each devoutly labours
To mend—if not himſelf, at leaſt his neighbours.
No ſecret canker now corrupts the State;
The name of Vice is loſt among the Great.
The *Virtues*—in St. James's Street that dwell,
Spread thro' the Square, and all along Pall Mall,
Are ſuch!—'tis quite *impoſſible* to tell.
However, with great ſearch and ſtudious care,
A Female Bard has glean'd ſome Follies there,

Bred

Bred among thoſe, who would not fear to own 'em,
Had there been Vices there, ſhe muſt have known 'em:
Some trifling faults, perhaps, as *drinking*, *gaming*,
Pride, and the like, may want a little ſhaming;
'Gainſt theſe ſhe aims; in aid of Law to uſe
The ſupplemental ſanctions of the Muſe:
Aſſiſt, ye *Fair*, ſhe fights for You and Virtue:
Ye Great, ſupport her, for ſhe cannot hurt you;
Ye Rich—ye Poor,—above—below the laws,
Applaud her, and promote the common cauſe:
And if there live who ſtill diſgrace the age,
Bid them revere *the Vengeance of the Stage*.

EPILOGUE *to the ſame.*

Written by CAPTAIN MORRIS *and* CAPTAIN TOPHAM.

IS the *Storm* over? is the *Thunder* paſt?
And ſhall the Epilogue be heard at laſt?
'Tis our laſt word; a word, you know, of old,
That's always ready, when you rave or ſcold.
But where beſeech?—where beſt beſtow my breath?
[*To the Pit.*]
I can't preſs you, already preſs'd to death—
No, there's no room your anger to bewitch;
You can't be *mov'd*, you're ſcrew'd to ſuch a pitch.
Methinks I hear ſome prompting Spirit cry,
"Look up in your diſtreſs; *Hope* lives on high!"
Shall I there find her? Sure you won't ſuppreſs
Your nobleſt power, *ye Gods!* your power to bleſs.
[*To the Boxes.*]
For you, fair Nymphs, who melt in approbation,
This Play, I truſt, you'll call, a Relaxation;
And ſure our author's gallant thirſt of fame
Deſerves, from poliſh'd hearts, a ſhelter'd name.
For brave it was, thus fairly on the Stage,
To meet the Coxcombs' and the Gamblers' rage;
Fearleſs in Virtue's cauſe to draw her pen;
And prove what *women* dare, againſt *you men*.
Now *for myſelf*, ſome pity I ſhould wake—
Unſkill'd, unpractis'd in the taſk I take:
Here, where the powers of finiſh'd ſpeakers ſhine,
How ſilly was it to make choice of *mine*;
Of me! a Weed; unknown to Rhet'rick's flowers;
A *ſimple* Cowſlip, in theſe fragrant bowers!

What

What can *I* do, but reſt my hopeleſs aims
On Imitative Arts, and borrow'd Names;
Call to your eyes delights you oft have felt,
And try with copy'd charms to pleaſe and melt?

VERSES *by Dr.* WALCOT.

AH! tell me no more, my dear girl, with a ſigh,
That a coldneſs will creep o'er my heart;
That a ſullen indiff'rence will dwell on my eye,
When thy beauty begins to depart.

Shall thy graces, O Cynthia, that gladden my day,
And brighten the gloom of the night,
Till life be extinguiſh'd, from memory ſtray,
Which it ought to review with delight?

Upbraiding, ſhall Gratitude ſay with a tear,
"That no longer I think of thoſe charms
"Which gave to my boſom ſuch rapture ſincere,
"And faded at length in my arms?"

Why yes! it may happen, thou damſel divine:——
To be honeſt—I freely declare,
That e'en *now* to thy *converſe* ſo much I incline,
I've *already forgot* thou art *fair*.

SONG *to* DELIA.

By the ſame.

HOW long ſhall hapleſs Colin mourn
The cold regard of Delia's eye?
The heart, whoſe only crime is love,
Can Delia's ſoftneſs doom to die?

Sweet is thy name to Colin's ear;
Thy beauties, O divinely bright!
In one ſhort hour by Delia's ſide
I taſte whole ages of delight!

Yet though I lov'd thee more than life;
Not to diſpleaſe a cruel maid,
My tongue forbore its fondeſt tale,
And ſigh'd amid the diſtant ſhade.

What happier ſhepherd wins thy ſmile,
A bliſs for which I hourly pine?
Some ſwain, perhaps, whoſe fertile vales
And fleecy flocks are more than mine!

Few are the vales that Colin boaſts,
And few the flocks thoſe vales that rove!
With wealth I court not Delia's heart—
A nobler bribe I offer—Love!

Yet ſhould the virgin yield her hand,
And thoughtleſs wed for wealth alone;
The act may make my boſom bleed,
But ſurely cannot bleſs her own.

VERSES.

By the EARL *of* CARLISLE.

MY heart's mighty empire bright Celia poſſeſt,
And reign'd a moſt abſolute queen in my breaſt;
Till too far ſhe preſum'd on the power that I gave,
And from a free ſubject ſoon made me a ſlave.
Love's laws ſhe ſubverted with inſolent pride,
And redreſs of my grievances ever deny'd.
In diſtreſs to Amelia my griefs I impart,
Amelia was deſtin'd to conquer my heart;
She ſummon'd each beauty to riſe up in arms,
And the tyrant drove out by the force of her charms.

VERSES *by* Mrs. PIOZZI.

WHEN lurking Love in anguiſh lies
Under Friendſhip's fair diſguiſe,
When he wears an angry mien,
Imitating Spite or Spleen;
When, like Sorrow, he ſeduces,
When, like Pleaſure, he amuſes;
Still, howe'er the parts are caſt,
'Tis but *lurking Love* at laſt.

The following extempore Verſes were written by the PRINCE DE LIGNE, *on the Spot where the* MARSHAL TURENNE *was killed by a Cannon-Ball.*

REçois, o Turenne, où tu perdis la vie,
Les tranſports d'un Soldat qui te plaint et t'envie
Dans l'Elyſée aſſis près du chef des Ceſars,
Ou dans le ciel peut-être entre Bellone et Mars;
Fais moi te ſuivre en tout, exauce ma prière,
Puiſſé-je ainſi remplir et finir ma carrière!

VERSES UPON THE ROAD,

To LORD JOHN CAVENDISH.

By the late Mr. GARRICK.

From Vol. III. of the Aſylum for Fugitive Pieces.

Facit Indignatio.

WHILST all with ſighs their way purſue
From Chatſworth's bleſt abode,
My mind ſtill fires, my Lord, at you,
And thus burſts out in ode.

Forgive my phrenzy, good Lord John,
For Paſſion's my Apollo:
Sweet Hebe ſays—when ſenſe is gone,
That nonſenſe needs muſt follow.

Like Indian knife, or Highland ſword,
Your words have hewn and hack'd me;
Whilſt Quin, a rebel to his Lord,
Like his own Falſtaff back'd me.

In vain I bounce, and fume, and fret,
Swear Shakeſpeare is divine;
Fitzherbert * can awhile forget
His pains to laugh at mine.

Lord Frederick, George, and eke his Grace,
My honeſt zeal deride;
Nay Hubert's melancholy face
Smirks on your Lordſhip's ſide.

* William Fitzherbert, Eſq. of Tiſſington, member for Derby.

With paſſion, zeal, and punch miſled,
Why goad me on to ſtrife?
Why ſend me to a reſtleſs bed,
And diſappointed wife?

This my reward! and this from you!
Is't thus you Bowman * treat?
Who eat more toads than *you know who*
Each night did ſtrawberries eat.

Did I not mount the dun-drawn chaiſe,
And ſweat for many a mile?
And gave his Grace's ſkill much praiſe,
Grinning a ghaſtly ſmile!

Did I not elſewhere riſk my bones,
My Lord-Duke's freaks took pride in?
Did I not trot down hills of ſtones,
And call it pleaſant riding?

Did I not all your feats proclaim,
Nor once from duty ſhrink?
In flattery I ſunk my fame;
A Bowman ev'n in drink.

Did I not oft my conſcience force,
Againſt its dictates ſwear?
Have I not prais'd Lord George's horſe?
Nay, ev'n your Lordſhip's mare?

Did I not oft in rain and wind,
O'er hills, thro' vallies roam,
When wiſer folk would lag behind,
And ſpaniels ſtaid at home?

Have I not with your natives fed,
The worſt of all my labours,
And ventur'd both my ears and head
Among your ſcalping neighbours?

Not Quin's more bleſt with calipee,
Fitzherbert in his puns,
Lord John in contradicting me,
Lord Frederick with his nuns.

* The name of a character in Lethe.

Than

Than I am bleſt in Shakeſpeare's muſe!
Each drop within my ſtandiſh,
Each drop of blood for him I'll loſe,
As firm as any Ca'ndiſh.

As Whig you gain the world's applauſe,
For once a Tory ſhine;
A Tory once in Shakeſpeare's cauſe,
And *feel* his right divine!

Attack my wife, my patent tear,
Do deeds without a name!
Burn, kill, or raviſh, Lord! but ſpare,
O ſpare my Shakeſpeare's fame!

Did not Dean Barker * wiſely preach,
Opinion may be ſin?
Did not his ſermon wiſely teach,
To cleanſe ourſelves within?

From infidelity awake!
O melt your heart of ſtone;
Conceal your errors for my ſake,
Or mend them for your own.

D. G.

SONG,

Tranſlated from the French of Mary, Queen of Scots,

By JOHN BAYNES, *Eſq.*

AH! pleaſant land of France, farewell!
My country dear,
Where many a year
Of infant youth I lov'd to dwell!
Farewell for ever, happy days!
The ſhip which parts our loves conveys
But half of me—One half behind
I leave with thee, dear France, to prove
A token of our endleſs love,
And bring the other to thy mind.

* The Rev. William Barker, M. A. Dean of Raphoe. He died about 1777.

THE

THE SUPERANNUATED HORSE TO HIS MASTER*,

Who had ſentenced him to die at the End of the Summer, on Account of his being unable, from extreme old Age, to live through the Winter.

AND muſt thou fix my doom, ſweet maſter, ſay,
And wilt thou kill thy ſervant old and poor?
A little longer let me live, I pray,
A little longer hobble round thy door.

For much it glads me to behold this place,
And houſe within this hoſpitable ſhed;
It glads me *more* to ſee my maſter's face,
And linger near the ſpot where I was bred.

For, ah! to think of what we both enjoy'd
In my life's prime, ere I was old and poor,
When from the jocund morn to eve employ'd,
My gracious maſter on this back I bore.

Thrice told ten years, have danc'd on down along,
Since firſt theſe way-worn limbs to thee I gave,
Sweet-ſmiling years! when both of us were young,
The kindeſt maſter, and the happieſt ſlave.

Ah, years ſweet ſmiling! now for ever flown!
Ten years, thrice told, alas, are but a day!
Yet, as together we are aged grown,
Together let us wear our age away.

For ſtill, the times behind are dear to thought,
And rapture mark'd each minute as it flew;
To the light heart all-changing ſeaſons brought
Pains that were ſoft, or pleaſures that were new.

Ah! call to mind, how oft near Scarning's ſtream
My ſteps were bent to yonder Muſe-trod grove,
There, ſhe who lov'd thee was thy tender theme,
And I the choſen meſſenger of love.

On the gale's pinion, with a lover's care,
E'en with the ſpeed of thought did I not go—
Explore the cottage of thy abſent fair,
And eas'd thy ſick'ning boſom of its woe?

* The Rev. Mr. Potter, at Scarning in Norfolk, to whom the public is indebted for the admirable Tranſlations of Æſchylus and Euripides.

And when that doubting heart ſtill felt alarms,
Throbbing alternate with its hope and fear,
Did I not bear thee ſafely to her arms,
Aſſure thy faith, and dry up ev'ry tear?

And ah! forget not, when the fever's power
Rag'd ſore, how ſwift I ſought the zephyr's wing,
To cool thy pulſes in the fragrant bower,
And bathe thy temples in the cleareſt ſpring.

Friend to thy love, and health, and not a foe
E'en to the Muſe who led thee on to fame;
Yes, e'en thy lyre to me ſome charms may owe,
And fancy kindles into brighter flame.

And haſt thou fix'd my doom, ſweet maſter, ſay—
And wilt thou kill thy ſervant, old and poor?
A little longer let me live, I pray,
A little longer hobble round thy door.

Nor could'ſt thou bear to ſee thy ſervant bleed,
Tho' weeping pity has decreed his fate;
Yet, ah! in vain, thy heart for life ſhall plead,
If Nature has denied a longer date.

Alas! I feel 'tis nature dooms my death,
Ah me! I feel 'tis Pity gives the blow—
Yet ere it falls, ah, *Nature!* take my breath,
And my kind maſter ſhall no ſorrow know.

Ere the laſt morn of my allotted life,
A ſofter fate ſhall end me old and poor,
May timely ſave me from th' uplifted knife,
And gently ſtretch me at my maſter's door.

EXTEMPORE LUDICROUS MILTONIC VERSES

To the late Mrs. GARDINER.

From Mr. JEPHSON.

MADAM! I write an humble ſuitor to you.
—There is an actreſs, Mrs. *Taplin* hight,
Whoſe benefit comes on next Saturday,
Fam'd *As You Like It* is the ſpectacle,
Invading Harlequin's the interlude,
And plump *Miſs Pope* plays *Dorothea Snip.*

To theſe ſucceeds, by way of *Petite Piece*,
The Maſque of *Comus*, which the eyeleſs Bard
(Britannia's Homer) in immortal verſe
Gave to th' admiring world, where moral grave,
Pleaſure's allurements, and the revel route
Of Bacchanalian Riot, Dance and Song,
The cup of Circe, and the Sorcerer's wand,
Bright Spirits clad in weeds from Iris woof,
And Senſuality with Porker's ſnout,
And virtuous Lady ſpurning liquoriſh baits,
Bold in the praiſe of ſun-clad Chaſtity,
And Youths full of wiſe ſaws and ſentences,
(The frequent lore of Eld's oft-razor'd lip)
In mingled meaſure charm the eye and ear.
A Diſſertation on a Hobby-horſe,
Pronounc'd by Mr. *Taplin*, crowns the ſcene.
Now hear the ſtory of this *Taplin*'s wife,
And the brief cauſe of my ſoliciting.
Dyer, who trod ſo long the various ſtage
In ſock or buſkin, (now he treads no more,
Save there be theatres in *Pluto*'s realm)
Her father was—the anceſtors of *Tighe* *
Cheriſh'd with foſt'ring hand the blameleſs man,
And *Tighe*, our friend to *Dyer*'s only child,
Extends his kind protection: he to me
Has recommended her, and prays me join
To his my interceſſion, that your form,
Fairer than *Paris* lov'd, or *Zeuxis* drew,
May grace a ſide-box at her benefit.
Minchin † and *Boyd* ‡, and many a comely nymph
Fond to be ſeen, but fonder to oblige,
Bring with you, room there is enough for all,
Tho' your whole mother § ſwell the company.
But, oh! whate'er you determine, Lady!
Apprize me quickly, by a written note,
Or meſſage verbal, or a kinder call
On me or conſort near the Caſtle-Hall.
April 1776. R. J.

* Mr. Edward Tighe, a very reſpectable character, well known in the literary and theatrical circles of Great Britain and Ireland.
† Afterwards Mrs. V. Montgomery.
‡ Now Counteſs of Carhampton.
§ A Lady remarkable for her beauty and *embonpoint*.

INSCRIPTION

For the Cottage at Caſtle-Town, dedicated to Michaelmas-Day,

By Lady L. A. CONOLLY.

MICHAELMAS, my favourite day!
Joy to thy returning ray!
To thy dear propitious hour,
Grateful I inſcribe this bow'r;
Firſt, on thy bleſs'd noon, I ſaw
Him whoſe will has been my law.
Who ſuch law wou'd not approve,
While its bond is mutual love!
Here not pulſe nor poultry fail,
Wholeſome bread nor amber ale,
Water from yon plenteous ſtream,
Harmleſs curds nor cheeſe of cream:
You who like my cottage cheer,
Love my love, and welcome here!
All the reck'ning you need pay
Is, to hail my favourite day.

STANZAS,

By R. B. SHERIDAN, *Eſq.*

ASK'ST thou, "how long my love ſhall ſtay,
"When all that's new is paſt?"
How long? Ah, DELIA! can I ſay
How long my life will laſt?
Dry be that tear—be huſh'd that ſigh;
At leaſt, I'll love thee till I die.

II.

And does that thought affect thee too,
The thought of DAMON's death;
That he who only lives for you,
Muſt yield his faithful breath?
Huſh'd be that ſigh, be dry that tear,
Nor let us loſe our heaven here!

DELIA

DELIA TO DAMON.

In answer to the above Stanzas.

THINK'ST thou, my Damon, I'd forego
This tender luxury of woe,
Which, better than the tongue, imparts
The feelings of impassion'd hearts;
Blest, if my sighs and tears but prove
The winds and waves that waft to love.

Can true affection cease to fear?
Poor is the joy not worth a tear!
Did passion ever know content?
How weak the rapture words can paint!
Then let my sighs and tears but prove
The winds and waves that waft to love.

The Cyprian bird, with plaintive moan,
Thus makes her faithful passion known;
So Zeph'rus breathes on Flora's bow'rs,
And charms with sighs the queen of flow'rs!
Then let my sighs and tears but prove
The winds and waves that waft to love.

The following Impromptu, by the Hon. Thomas Erskine, *was occasioned by his being much indisposed one evening at* Lady Payne's, *who very kindly made him retire and lie down; he soon returned with the following lines in his hand, which he presented to her Ladyship.*

'TIS true I am ill, but I need not complain,
For he never knew *pleasure*, who never knew *Payne*.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1788.

History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: *by* Edward Gibbon, *Esq*; *Vols.* II. III. IV. V. *and* VI.

IN the year 1777, the first volume of this interesting history first attracted our notice, and excited our admiration; and it is with the most sincere pleasure that we see it in our power now to congratulate the public, on the completion of this extensive work, which has filled up, in so masterly a manner, the long and dark interval between ancient and modern history, and which is so justly and so universally allowed to be at least among the number of the most valuable literary productions of the present times. When the first volume was originally given to the public, all that its ingenious author then ventured to promise, was one volume more; fortunately, however, he has been favoured with as many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance, as were necessary to the execution of the whole of his extensive plan; and, from the age of the Antonines, to the final settlement of the ecclesiastical state, he has condescended to be our guide through those obscure and intricate periods of history, in which ordinary writers have either hesitated to proceed, or by proceeding have only shewn the world how little their powers were suited to the toils of such an undertaking.—As we have, upon a former occasion, stated very fully the plan which Mr. Gibbon had laid down for himself in the arrangement of this work, we have only to resume it now at the period at which we then left off, that is at the close of the sixteenth chapter; and though we by no means presume to give our readers, in the little space that is necessarily allowed us upon these occasions, any thing like a competent idea of the various merits of this performance, yet we think we shall not render an unacceptable service to those, who have not yet had leisure to peruse the work itself, if we succeed in making them acquainted briefly with the manner in which it has been conducted, and in pointing out to their observation a few of those splendid passages which are scattered so profusely through every part of this valuable history. One preliminary remark only we feel ourselves now compelled to make, however reluctantly, and that is, that wherever either the progress or the doctrines of the Christian religion are in question, Mr. Gibbon is to be read with the utmost caution; and it is to be remembered, that even his fidelity and exactness as an historian, on this subject, do not by any means stand unimpeached. To attempt to enter into any detail of the controversies which this part of the work has excited, would

would be as impertinent on an occaſion like the preſent, as it muſt be limited and unſatisfactory; but we ſhould feel ourſelves wanting to what we have the happineſs to conſider as the truth, if, with our general hearty approbation of this work at large, we did not as plainly and as heartily condemn thoſe particular parts of it, which wantonly attempt to throw doubts and clouds over the brighteſt proſpect to which our mind can look forward, and which thus cruelly would deprive us of "what not enriches him, but "makes us poor indeed."—But to quit this ungrateful part of our taſk, the only part indeed from which we have not received the higheſt ſatisfaction, we ſhall proceed now immediately to the ſecond volume, which includes the ſpace of time that elapſed between the foundation of Conſtantinople, and the unexpected exaltation of Theodoſius to the purple of the Eaſtern empire. In the three firſt chapters of this volume, we find an account of the ſituation and of the progreſs of this new capital; a detail of the political ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in it by Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors; and are then carried on to the diviſion of the empire among the three ſons of Conſtantine, which was ſoon terminated by the tragical deaths of Conſtantine and Conſtans, when the divided provinces were again united under the government of Conſtantius. The elevation and ſubſequent diſgrace and death of Gallus, with the elevation of Julian to the rank of Cæſar, and his campaigns in Gaul and Germany, fill up the remainder of this chapter. Having already given our opinion of the ſpirit by which that part of this hiſtory is animated, which relates to the eſtabliſhment and progreſs of Chriſtianity, we ſhall make no apology for not entering into any particular account of the two next chapters, as they are taken up entirely by the motives, &c. of the converſion of Conſtantine, a detail of the firſt legal eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian church, and of the principal hereſies which firſt appeared in it, particularly that of Arius. The reign of Julian, with his artful perſecution of the Chriſtians, and his expedition againſt Perſia, which terminated in his death, and was followed by the retreat of the Roman army under the conduct of Jovian, fill up the twenty-ſecond, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth chapters: and in the two remaining ones, our attention is principally attracted, after the death of Jovian, by the reign of Valentinian, and his brother Valens; a diſſertation on the manners of paſtoral nations, with ſome account of the progreſs and decline of the Huns; their union with the Goths; the fatal battle of Hadrianople, and the final eſtabliſhment and ſettlement of the Goths in Thrace and in Aſia, under the reign of Theodoſius, and in conſequence of a treaty made with that emperor.—With reſpect to the circumſtances attending the diviſion of the empire, our author thus expreſſes himſelf*:—"Before Valentinian di-"vided the provinces, he reformed "the adminiſtration of the Em-"pire. All ranks of ſubjects who "had been injured or oppreſſed un-"der the reign of Julian, were "invited to ſupport their public

* Chap. xxv. Page 488. Vol. II.

" accuſations. The ſilence of mankind atteſted the ſpotleſs integrity of the præfect Salluſt; and his own preſſing ſolicitations that he might be permitted to retire from the buſineſs of the ſtate, were rejected by Valentinian with the moſt honourable expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abuſed his credulity or ſuperſtition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or juſtice. The greater part of the miniſters of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their reſpective ſtations; yet the eminent merit of ſome officers was diſtinguiſhed from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſite clamours of zeal and reſentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reaſonable ſhare of wiſdom and moderation. The feſtivity of a new reign received a ſhort and ſuſpicious interruption from the ſudden illneſs of the two princes; but, as ſoon as their health was reſtored, they left Conſtantinople, in the beginning of the ſpring. In the caſtle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naiſſus, they executed the ſolemn and final diviſion of the Roman Empire. Valentinian beſtowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the Eaſt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia; whilſt he reſerved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial adminiſtration remained on its former baſis; but a double ſupply of generals and magiſtrates was required for two councils and two courts. The diviſion was made with a juſt regard to their peculiar merit and ſituation, and ſeven maſter generals were ſoon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important buſineſs had been amicably tranſacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the laſt time. The emperor of the Weſt eſtabliſhed his temporary reſidence at Milan, and the emperor of the Eaſt returned to Conſtantinople, to aſſume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whoſe language he was totally ignorant."

In the third volume, we are conducted from the death of Gratian to the final extinction of the Roman empire in the Weſt, under Auguſtulus, comprehending a period of about ninety-ſix years, that is, from 383 to 479.—Among the many intereſting parts of this picture, thoſe which ſtrike us moſt forcibly, are the different invaſions of the Roman provinces, and the ravages committed in them by the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, under Alaric, Attila, and Genſiric, till at laſt the patient Romans were prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his Barbaric ſucceſſors.

The miſerable ſtate of Italy at this period, is thus repreſented by our author, and exhibits a ſad contraſt, when compared with the very different ſcenes it preſented in the better ages of the Roman empire.

" Notwith-

"Notwithſtanding the prudence
"and ſucceſs of Odoacer, his king-
"dom exhibited the ſad proſpect
"of miſery and deſolation. Since
"the age of Tiberius, the decay of
"agriculture had been felt in Italy;
"and it was a juſt ſubject of com-
"plaint, that the life of the Roman
"people depended on the acci-
"dents of the winds and the waves.
"In the diviſion and the decline
"of the empire, the tributary har-
"veſts of Egypt and Africa were
"withdrawn; the numbers of the
"inhabitants continually diminiſh-
"ed with the means of ſubſiſtence,
"and the country was exhauſted by
"the irretrievable loſſes of war,
"famine, and peſtilence. St. Am-
"broſe has deplored the ruin of a
"populous diſtrict, which had been
"once adorned with the flouriſhing
"cities of Bologna, Modena, Re-
"gium, and Placentia. Pope Ge-
"laſius was a ſubject of Odoacer,
"and he affirms, with ſtrong exag-
"geration, that in Æmilia, Tuſ-
"cany, and the adjacent provinces,
"the human ſpecies was almoſt
"extirpated. The Plebeians of
"Rome, who were fed by the hands
"of their maſter, periſhed or diſ-
"appeared as ſoon as his liberality
"was ſuppreſſed; the decline of
"the arts reduced the induſtrious
"mechanic to idleneſs and want;
"and the ſenators, who might ſup-
"port with patience the ruin of
"their country, bewailed their pri-
"vate loſs of wealth and luxury.
"One third of thoſe ample eſtates
"to which the ruin of Italy is ori-
"ginally imputed, was extorted for
"the uſe of the conquerors. In-
"juries were aggravated by in-
"ſults; the ſenſe of actual ſuffer-
"ings was embittered by the fear
"of more dreadful evils; and, as
"new lands were allotted to new
"ſwarms of Barbarians, each ſe-
"nator was apprehenſive leſt the
"arbitrary ſurveyors ſhould ap-
"proach his favourite villa, or his
"moſt profitable farm. The leaſt
"unfortunate were thoſe who ſub-
"mitted without a murmur, to the
"power which it was impoſſible to
"reſiſt. Since they deſired to live,
"they owed ſome gratitude to the
"tyrant who had ſpared their lives;
"and, ſince he was the abſolute
"maſter of their fortunes, the por-
"tion which he left muſt be ac-
"cepted as his pure and voluntary
"gift. The diſtreſs of Italy was
"mitigated by the prudence and
"humanity of Odoacer, who had
"bound himſelf, at the price of his
"elevation, to ſatisfy the demands
"of a licentious and turbulent mul-
"titude. The kings of the Bar-
"barians were frequently reſiſted,
"depoſed, or murdered by their
"*native* ſubjects; and the various
"bands of Italian mercenaries, who
"aſſociated under the ſtandard of
"an elective general, claimed a
"larger privilege of freedom and
"rapine. A monarchy, deſtitute
"of national union, and hereditary
"right, haſtened to its diſſolution.
"After a reign of fourteen years,
"Odoacer was oppreſſed by the ſu-
"perior genius of Theodoric king
"of the Oſtrogoths; a hero, alike
"excellent in the arts of war and
"of government, who reſtored an
"age of peace and proſperity, and
"whoſe name ſtill excites and de-
"ſerves the attention of mankind."

An account of Theodoric, with the hiſtory of his invaſion and conqueſt

* Vol. III. chap. xxvi. page 502.

of

of Italy, form the principal objects of the thirty-ninth chapter of this work, and the firſt of the fourth volume. The remaining part of the volume, conſiſting in the whole of nine chapters, contains not only the continuation of the hiſtory of the Roman empire, but alſo a minute account of the ſtate of the Barbaric world, and of the kingdom of Perſia, under the reigns of Nuſhirvan or Choſroes, and his grandſon Choſroes the ſecond; "by whoſe ambition," as our author obſerves, "the revolution of the Eaſt was prepared, "which was ſpeedily accompliſhed "by the arms and the religion of "the ſucceſſors of Mahomet."

Of what relates more immediately to the Roman empire, the reign of Juſtinian forms both the moſt conſiderable and the moſt intereſting portion; and a whole chapter is allotted to give us an idea of the Roman ſyſtem of juriſprudence, from the age of Romulus to that of Juſtinian. It is almoſt unneceſſary, we are perſuaded, to inform our readers, that this chapter, both from the importance of the ſubject, and the manner in which that ſubject is treated, is moſt particularly worthy of their attention. The laws of a nation form always the moſt intereſting portion of its hiſtory, and every reader will undoubtedly rejoice with us, that Mr. Gibbon, though "he had devoted "himſelf to write the annals of a "declining monarchy, did not ne-"glect this occaſion to breathe the "pure and invigorating air of the "republic."

Of the fifth and ſixth volumes, Mr. Gibbon himſelf has favoured us with the following abſtract:—"The firſt "chapter will contain, in a regular "ſeries, the emperors who reigned "at Conſtantinople during a pe-"riod of ſix hundred years, from "the days of Heraclius to the Latin "conqueſt: a rapid abſtract, which "may be ſupported by a *general* "appeal to the order and text of "the original hiſtorians. In this "introduction I ſhall confine my-"ſelf to the revolutions of the "throne, the ſucceſſion of families, "the perſonal characters of the "Greek princes, the mode of their "life and death, the maxims and "influence of their domeſtic go-"vernment, and the tendency of "their reign to accelerate or ſuſ-"pend the downfal of the Eaſtern "empire. Such a chronological "review will ſerve to illuſtrate the "various arguments of the ſubſe-"quent chapters; and each cir-"cumſtance of the eventful ſtory "of the Barbarians will adapt it-"ſelf in a proper place to the By-"zantine annals. The internal "ſtate of the empire, and the dan-"gerous hereſy of the Paulicians, "which ſhook the Eaſt, and en-"lightened the Weſt, will be the "ſubject of two ſeparate chapters: "but theſe enquiries muſt be poſt-"poned till our farther progreſs "ſhall have opened the view of "the world in the ninth and tenth "centuries of the Chriſtian æra. "After this foundation of the By-"zantine hiſtory, the following "nations will paſs before our eyes, "and each will occupy the ſpace "to which it may be entitled by "greatneſs or merit, or the degree "of connection with the Roman "world, and the preſent age. I. "The Franks; a general appel-"lation which includes all the Bar-"barians of France, Italy, and "Germany, who were united by "the ſword and ſceptre of Charle-

" magne. The perſecution of ima-
" ges and their votaries, ſeparated
" Rome and Italy from the Byzan-
" tine throne, and prepared the re-
" ſtoration of the Roman empire
" in the Weſt. II. The Arabs or
" Saracens; three ample chapters
" will be devoted to this curious
" and intereſting object. In the
" firſt, after a picture of the coun-
" try and its inhabitants, I ſhall
" inveſtigate the character of Ma-
" homet; the character, religion,
" and ſucceſs of the prophet. In
" the ſecond, I ſhall lead the A-
" rabs to the conqueſt of Syria,
" Egypt, and Africa, the provinces
" of the Roman empire: nor can
" I check their victorious career,
" till they have overthrown the
" monarchies of Perſia and Spain.
" In the third, I ſhall enquire how
" Conſtantinople and Europe were
" ſaved by the luxury and arts,
" the diviſion and decay, of the
" empire of the Caliphs: A ſingle
" chapter will include, III. the Bul-
" garians; IV. Hungarians; and
" V. Ruſſians, who aſſaulted by ſea
" or by land the provinces and the
" capital; but the laſt of theſe, ſo
" important in their preſent great-
" neſs, will excite ſome curioſity
" in their origin and infancy. VI.
" The Normans, or rather the pri-
" vate adventurers of that warlike
" people, who founded a powerful
" kingdom in Apulia and Sicily,
" ſhook the throne of Conſtanti-
" nople, diſplayed the trophies of
" chivalry, and almoſt realized the
" wonders of romance. VII. The
" Latins; the ſubjects of the Pope,
" the nations of the Weſt, who en-
" liſted under the banner of the
" Croſs for the recovery or relief of
" the holy ſepulchre. The Greek
" emperors were terrified, and pre-
" ſerved by the myriads of pilgrims
" who marched to Jeruſalem with
" Godfrey of Bouillon, and the
" peers of Chriſtendom. The ſe-
" cond and third Cruſades trode in
" the footſteps of the firſt. Aſia
" and Europe were mingled in a
" ſacred war of two hundred years,
" and the Chriſtian powers were
" bravely reſiſted, and finally ex-
" pelled, by Saladin and the Ma-
" malukes of Egypt. In theſe me-
" morable cruſades, a fleet and army
" of French and Venetians were
" diverted from Syria to the Thra-
" cian Boſphorus: they aſſaulted
" the capital; they ſubverted the
" Greek monarchy; and a dynaſty
" of Latin princes was ſeated near
" threeſcore years on the throne of
" Conſtantine. VIII. The Greeks
" themſelves, during this period of
" captivity and exile, muſt be con-
" ſidered as a foreign nation; the
" enemies, and again the ſovereigns
" of Conſtantinople. Misfortune
" had rekindled a ſpark of national
" virtue, and the imperial ſeries
" may be continued with ſome dig-
" nity from their reſtoration to the
" Turkiſh conqueſt. IX. The Mo-
" guls and Tartars. By the arms
" of Zingis and his deſcendants,
" the globe was ſhaken from China
" to Poland and Greece; the Sul-
" tans were overthrown; the Ca-
" liphs fell; and the Cæſars trem-
" bled on their throne. The vic-
" tories of Timour ſuſpended above
" fifty years the final ruin of the
" Byzantine empire. X. I have
" already noticed the firſt appear-
" ance of the Turks; and the names
" of the fathers, of Seljick and
" Othman, diſcriminate the two
" ſucceſſive dynaſties of the nation,
" which emerged, in the eleventh
" century, from the Scythian wilder-
" neſs.

"neſs. The former eſtabliſhed a "potent and ſplendid kingdom "from the banks of the Oxus to "Antioch and Nice; and the firſt "cruſade was provoked by the vio-"lation of Jeruſalem, and the dan-"ger of Conſtantinople. From "an humble origin, the Ottomans "aroſe the ſcourge and terror of "Chriſtendom. Conſtantinople was "beſieged and taken by Maho-"met II. and his triumph annihi-"lates the remnant, the image, "the title of the Roman empire "in the Eaſt. The ſchiſm of the "Greeks will be connected with "their laſt calamities, and the re-"ſtoration of learning in the "Weſtern world. I ſhall return "from the captivity of the new to "the ruins of ancient Rome: and "the venerable name, the intereſt-"ing theme, will ſhed a ray of glo-"ry on the concluſion of my la-"bours."

To this brief account of this celebrated work, and of the manner in which it has been arranged, we ſhall only add a few obſervations on the ſtyle, which has long been the ſubject of much diſcuſſion, and which has been as highly extolled by ſome people as it has been ſeverely criticiſed and condemned by others. To us it appears, we will not ſcruple to confeſs, that the only reaſonable objection is, that it is not *Engliſh* enough, (if we may be allowed the expreſſion); but whether this has proceeded from affectation on the part of Mr. Gibbon, or has been merely the effect of a conſtant intercourſe with French books, and a familiar and frequent uſe of the French language, we will by no means take upon ourſelves to aſcertain. In juſtice, however, we feel ourſelves bound to remark, that much greater allowances are to be made for this laſt circumſtance than many of our readers may perhaps be aware of; and that in this, as in moſt other inſtances, we have but too often reaſon to regret the limited ſtate of our faculties, which ſeldom permits us to make any great acquiſition whatever, but at the expence of ſomething already in our poſſeſſion. That Mr. Gibbon's ſtyle is both dignified and harmonious, and that it abounds in the moſt varied and elegant turns of expreſſion, has been univerſally allowed; and if, in the courſe of ſo long a work, he may be occaſionally reproached with ſome incorrectneſs and obſcurity, we confeſs that, in our opinion, the beauties of the ſtyle often overbalance ſo much the defects of it, that though we would not venture to recommend it as a model without fault, yet we do not heſitate to ſay, that from the ſtudy of it both much pleaſure and much profit is to be derived.

The following extract from the General Obſervations on the fall of the Roman Empire in the Weſt, which are to be found at the end of the third volume, is, in our opinion, particularly intereſting.

"* This awful revolution may be "uſefully applied to the inſtruction "of the preſent age. It is the "duty of a patriot to prefer and pro-"mote the excluſive intereſt and "glory of his native country: but "a philoſopher may be permitted "to enlarge his views, and to con-"ſider Europe as one great repub-"lic, whoſe various inhabitants

* Vol. III. page 633.

"have

" have attained almoſt the ſame " level of politeneſs and cultiva- " tion. The balance of power will " continue to fluctuate, and the " proſperity of our own or of the " neighbouring kingdoms, may be " alternately exalted or depreſſed; " but theſe partial events cannot " eſſentially injure our general " ſtate of happineſs, the ſyſtem of " arts, and laws and manners, " which ſo advantageouſly diſtin- " guiſh, above the reſt of mankind, " the Europeans and their colonies. " The ſavage nations of the globe " are the common enemies of civi- " liſed ſociety; and we may enquire, " with anxious curioſity, whether " Europe is ſtill threatened with a " repetition of thoſe calamities, " which formerly oppreſſed the " arms and inſtitution of Rome. " Perhaps the ſame reflections will " illuſtrate the fall of that mighty " empire, and explain the proba- " ble cauſes of our actual ſecu- " rity.

" I. The Romans were ignorant " of the extent of their danger and " the number of their enemies. " Beyond the Rhine and the Da- " nube, the northern countries of " Europe and Aſia were filled with " innumerable tribes of hunters " and ſhepherds, poor, voracious, " and turbulent; bold in arms and " impatient to raviſh the fruits of " induſtry. The barbarian world " was agitated by the rapid im- " pulſe of war; and the peace of " Gaul or Italy was ſhaken by the " diſtant revolutions of China. The " Huns, who fled before a victori- " ous enemy, directed their march " towards the weſt; and the tor- " rent was ſwelled by the gradual " acceſſion of captives and allies. " The flying tribes, who yielded " to the Huns, aſſumed in *their* " turn the ſpirit of conqueſt; the " endleſs column of barbarians " preſſed on the Roman empire " with accumulated weight; and " if the foremoſt were deſtroyed, " the vacant ſpace was inſtantly " repleniſhed by new aſſailants. " Such formidable emigrations no " longer iſſue from the north; and " the long repoſe which has been " imputed to the decreaſe of popu- " lation is the happy conſequence " of the progreſs of arts and agri- " culture. Inſtead of ſome rude " villages, thinly ſcattered among " its woods and moraſſes, Germany " now produces a liſt of two thou- " ſand three hundred walled towns: " the Chriſtian kingdoms of Den- " mark, Sweden, and Poland have " been ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed; " and the Hanſe merchants, with " the Teutonic knights, have ex- " tended their colonies along the " coaſt of the Baltic, as far as the " Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf " of Finland to the Eaſtern Ocean, " Ruſſia now aſſumes the form of a " powerful and civiliſed empire. " The plough, the loom, and the " forge are introduced on the " banks of the Volga, the Oby, " and the Lena; and the fierceſt of " the Tartar hords have been taught " to tremble and obey. The reign " of independent barbariſm is now " contracted to a narrow ſpan; " and the remnant of Calmucks or " Uzbeks, whoſe forces may be al- " moſt numbered, cannot ſeriouſly " excite the apprehenſions of the " great republic of Europe. Yet " this apparent ſecurity ſhould not " tempt us to forget, that new ene- " mies and unknown dangers may " *poſſibly* ariſe, from ſome ob- " ſcure people, ſcarcely viſible in the

"the map of the world. The "Arabs or Saracens, who ſpread "their conqueſts from India to "Spain, had languiſhed in pover-"ty and contempt, till Mahomet "breathed into thoſe ſavage bodies "the ſoul of enthuſiaſm.

"II. The empire of Rome was "firmly eſtabliſhed by the ſingular "and perfect coalition of its mem-"bers. The ſubject nations, re-"ſigning the hope, and even the "wiſh, of independence, embraced "the character of Roman citizens; "and the provinces of the weſt were "reluctantly torn by the Barbarians "from the boſom of their mother "country. But this union was pur-"chaſed by the loſs of national free-"dom and military ſpirit; and the "ſervile provinces, deſtitute of life "and motion, expected their ſafe-"ty from the mercenary troops "and governors who were directed "by the orders of a diſtant court. "The happineſs of an hundred "millions depended on the per-"ſonal merit of one or two men, "perhaps children, whoſe minds "were corrupted—by education, "luxury, and deſpotic power. The "deepeſt wounds were inflicted on "the empire during the minorities "of the ſons and grandſons of "Theodoſius; and, after thoſe in-"capable princes ſeemed to attain "the age of manhood, they aban-"doned the church to the biſhops, "the ſtate to the eunuchs, and the "provinces to the Barbarians. Eu-"rope is now divided into twelve "powerful, though unequal king-"doms, three reſpectable common-"wealths, and a variety of ſmaller "though independent ſtates: the "chances of royal and miniſterial "talents are multiplied, at leaſt, "with the number of its rulers: "and a Julian or Semiramis may "reign in the North, while Ar-"cadius and Honorius ſlumber on "the thrones of the houſe of Bour-"bon. The abuſes of tyranny are "reſtrained by the mutual influ-"ence of fear and ſhame; repub-"lics have acquired order and ſta-"bility; monarchies have imbibed "the principles of freedom, or at "leaſt of moderation; and ſome "ſenſe of honour and juſtice is in-"troduced into the moſt defective "conſtitutions by the general man-"ners of the times. In peace, the "progreſs of knowledge and in-"duſtry is accelerated by the emu-"lation of ſo many active rivals: "in war, the European forces are "exerciſed by temperate and un-"deciſive conteſts. If a ſavage "emperor ſhould iſſue from the "deſarts of Tartary, he muſt re-"peatedly vanquiſh the robuſt pea-"ſants of Ruſſia, the numerous "armies of Germany, the gallant "nobles of France, and the in-"trepid freemen of Britain, who, "perhaps, might confederate for "their common defence. Should "the victorious Barbarians carry "ſlavery and deſolation as far as "the Atlantic ocean, ten thouſand "veſſels would tranſport beyond "their purſuit the remains of ci-"viliſed ſociety; and Europe "would revive and flouriſh in the "American world, which is al-"ready filled with her colonies "and inſtitutions."

III. "Cold, poverty, and a life "of danger and fatigue, fortify the "ſtrength and courage of the Bar-"barians. In every age they have "oppreſſed the polite and peace-"ful nations of China, India, and "Perſia, who neglected and ſtill "neglect to counterbalance theſe

"natural

" natural powers by the reſources " of military art. The warlike " ſtates of antiquity, Greece, Ma- " cedonia, and Rome, educated a " race of ſoldiers, exerciſed their " bodies, diſciplined their courage, " multiplied their forces by regular " evolutions, and converted the " iron, which they poſſeſſed, into " ſtrong and ſerviceable weapons. " But this ſuperiority inſenſibly de- " clined with their laws and man- " ners; and the feeble policy of " Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors " armed and inſtructed, for the ruin " of the empire, the rude valour of " the Barbarian mercenaries. The " military art has been changed by " the invention of gunpowder, which " enables man to command the " two moſt powerful agents of na- " ture, air and fire. Mathema- " tics, chymiſtry, mechanics, archi- " tecture, have been applied to the " ſervice of war; and the adverſe " parties oppoſe to each other the " moſt elaborate modes of attack " and defence. Hiſtorians may in- " dignantly obſerve, that the pre- " parations of a ſiege would found " and maintain a flouriſhing colo- " ny; yet we cannot be diſpleaſed, " that the ſubverſion of a city " ſhould be a work of coſt and dif- " ficulty; or that an induſtrious " people ſhould be protected by " thoſe arts, which ſurvive and ſup- " ply the decay of military virtue. " Cannon and fortifications now " form an impregnable barrier a- " gainſt the Tartar horſe; and Eu- " rope is ſecure from any future ir- " ruption of Barbarians, ſince, be- " fore they can conquer, they muſt " ceaſe to be barbarous. Their " gradual advances in the ſcience " of war would always be accom- " panied, as we may learn from " the example of Ruſſia, with a " proportionable improvement in " the arts of peace and civil policy; " and they themſelves muſt deſerve " a place among the poliſhed na- " tions whom they ſubdue."

" Should theſe ſpeculations be " found doubtful or fallacious, there " ſtill remains a more humble ſource " of comfort and hope. The diſ- " coveries of ancient and modern " navigators, and the domeſtic hiſ- " tory or tradition of the moſt en- " lightened nations, repreſent the " *human ſavage*, naked both in " mind and body, and deſtitute of " laws, of arts, of ideas, and al- " moſt of language. From this " abject condition, perhaps the pri- " mitive and univerſal ſtate of man, " he has gradually ariſen to com- " mand the animals, to fertiliſe the " earth, to traverſe the ocean, and " to meaſure the heavens. His pro- " greſs in the improvement and " exerciſe of his mental and cor- " poreal faculties has been irre- " gular and various; infinitely ſlow " in the beginning, and increaſing " by degrees with redoubled velo- " city: ages of laborious aſcent " have been followed by a moment " of rapid downfall; and the ſe- " veral climates of the globe have " felt the viciſſitudes of light and " darkneſs. Yet the experience " of four thouſand years ſhould en- " large our hopes and diminiſh our " apprehenſions: we cannot deter- " mine to what height the human " ſpecies may aſpire in their ad- " vances towards perfection; but " it may ſafely be preſumed, that " no people, unleſs the face of na- " ture is changed, will relapſe into " their original barbariſm. The " improvements of ſociety may be " viewed under a threefold aſpect:

" 1. The

"1. The poet or philoſopher illuſ-
"trates his age or country by the
"efforts of a *ſingle* mind; but theſe
"ſuperior powers of reaſon or fancy
"are rare and ſpontaneous produc-
"tions; and the genius of Homer,
"or Cicero, or Newton, would ex-
"cite leſs admiration, if they could
"be created by the will of a prince,
"or the leſſons of a preceptor. 2.
"The benefits of law and policy,
"of trade and manufactures, of arts
"and ſciences, are more ſolid and
"permanent; and *many* individu-
"als may be qualified, by education
"and diſcipline, to promote, in their
"reſpective ſtations, the intereſt of
"the community. But this gene-
"ral order is the effect of ſkill and
"labour; and the complex machi-
"nery may be decayed by time, or
"injured by violence. 3. Fortu-
"nately for mankind, the more
"uſeful, or, at leaſt, more neceſſary
"arts, can be performed without
"ſuperior talents or national ſub-
"ordination, without the powers of
"*one*, or the union of *many*. Each
"village, each family, each indi-
"vidual, muſt always poſſeſs both
"ability and inclination to perpe-
"tuate the uſe of fire and of metals;
"the propagation and ſervice of
"domeſtic animals; the methods
"of hunting and fiſhing; the rudi-
"ments of navigation; the imper-
"fect cultivation of corn or other
"nutritive grain; and the ſimple
"practice of the mechanic trades.
"Private genius and public induſ-
"try may be extirpated; but theſe
"hardy plants ſurvive the tempeſt,
"and ſtrike an everlaſting root into
"the moſt unfavourable ſoil. The
"ſplendid days of Auguſtus and
"Trajan were eclipſed by a cloud
"of ignorance; and the Barbarians
"ſubverted the laws and palaces of
"Rome. But the ſcythe, the in-
"vention or emblem of Saturn, ſtill
"continued annually to mow the
"harveſts of Italy; and the human
"feaſts of the Læſtrigons have ne-
"ver been renewed on the coaſt of
"Campania.

"Since the firſt diſcovery of the
"arts, war, commerce, and reli-
"gious zeal have diffuſed, among
"the ſavages of the old and new
"world, thoſe ineſtimable gifts:
"they have been ſufficiently pro-
"pagated; they can never be loſt.
"We may therefore acquieſce in
"the pleaſing concluſion, that every
"age of the world has increaſed,
"and ſtill increaſes, the real wealth,
"the happineſs, the knowledge,
"and perhaps the virtue, of the hu-
"man race."

Memoirs of Great Britain *and* Ireland, *from the Battle off* La Hogue *till the Capture of the* French *and* Spaniſh *Fleets at* Vigo: *by Sir* John Dalrymple, *Bart. Baron of Exchequer in* Scotland. *Volume the Second.*

THE publication of the ſecond volume of theſe intereſting memoirs has been delayed (as the author informs his readers in the preface) near fourteen years, partly through the diſguſt he conceived at having been charged with forging the vouchers, upon which they are principally founded, and partly upon account of the uneaſineſs which he found his diſcoveries had created in families, with whom he lived in friendſhip. Theſe cauſes would probably have occaſioned the total ſuppreſſion of this work, at leaſt during the life-time of the author, if the advantages, which he conceived

his

his country might derive from his labours, in a late critical conjuncture of public affairs, had not overcome the former, and induced him to publiſh this fragment. And we cannot help expreſſing our wiſhes, that as the ſtate papers publiſhed by Mr. Macpherſon, muſt render all delicacy, with reſpect to the latter, vain and unneceſſary, he will not deprive the world of what ſtill remains behind of his valuable reſearches.

The preſent volume contains the hiſtory of a period of ten years preceding the ſecond year of the reign of queen Ann. The impolicy of our engaging in continental wars, is a favourite opinion of the author's, to which he wiſhes particularly to call the attention of this country, and which he conceives to be ſtrongly eſtabliſhed by the events of this period. Amongſt other facts, by which this opinion is corroborated, he ſtates, that during the war in which the firſt grand alliance involved us, it was computed, that fifteen hundred Engliſh ſhips were taken, valued at three millions ſterling. Several of the misfortunes of this war, the reader will find traced to their origin in the treachery of perſons of the firſt diſtinction in this country, both in and out of public employment; together with many curious, but humiliating anecdotes reſpecting that univerſal corruption which appears to have infected, almoſt without exception, all the conſpicuous members of the ſtate.

Amongſt the tranſactions which have been imperfectly related by former hiſtorians, which the reſearches of our author have enabled him fully to elucidate, the origin and fate of the Darien company are ſingularly intereſting. The following extract, which contains an account of the firſt attempt to form a ſettlement upon that iſthmus, cannot fail to excite the curioſity of the reader to peruſe the hiſtory at large.

"The peace of Ryſwic was ſucceeded by an event, which had well nigh created a civil war between Scotland and England. As the writers of no nation are more marked by grandeur and meanneſs of compoſition in the ſame perſon, and the actors in public life by grandeur and meanneſs of character in the ſame perſon, than thoſe of England; ſo the proceedings of the national aſſembly of England, the nobleſt that ever was on earth, except that of Rome, are often tinctured with a ſtrange mixture of the great and the little. Of this truth an inſtance appeared at this time in the proceedings of parliament, with regard to the Scots colony of Darien ſettled by Mr. Paterſon; of which colony I proceed to give an account more authentic than has hitherto met the public eye, becauſe I have had acceſs to the papers of the company, ſome of which are in the Advocates library, and others in the exchequer at Edinburgh, and to the family papers of many who were the chief actors in the company's affairs.

The birth of Paterſon is unknown. It is probable he had education, becauſe he expreſſed himſelf well in writing, and had a good addreſs. He was bred to the church; but having a violent propenſity to ſee foreign countries, he made his profeſſion the inſtrument of indulging it, by going to the new weſtern world, under pretence

of converting the Indians to the religion of the old world. In his courſes there, he became acquainted with captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards publiſhed, the one his voyages, and the other his travels, in the regions where the ſeparation is narroweſt between the Atlantic and the South Seas, and both of whom, particularly the firſt, appear by their books to have been men of conſiderable obſervation. But he got much more knowledge from men who could neither write nor read, by cultivating the acquaintance of ſome of the old Buccaneers, who, after ſurviving their glories and their crimes, ſtill, in the extremity of age and misfortune, recounted with tranſport the eaſe with which they had paſſed and repaſſed from the one ſea to the other, ſometimes in hundreds together, and driving ſtrings of mules before them loaded with the plunder of friends and of foes. Paterſon having examined the places, ſatisfied himſelf, that on the iſthmus of Darien there was a tract of country running acroſs from the Atlantic to the South Sea, which the Spaniards had never poſſeſſed, and inhabited by a people continually at war with them; that along the coaſt, on the Atlantic ſide, there lay a ſtring of iſlands called the Sambaloes, uninhabited, and full of natural ſtrengths and foreſts; from which laſt circumſtance, one of them was called the iſland of pines; that the ſeas there were filled with turtle, and the manatee or ſea cow; that midway between Portobello and Carthagena, but near fifty leagues diſtant from either, at a place called Acta, in the mouth of the river of Darien, there was a natural harbour, capable of receiving the greateſt fleets, and defended from ſtorms by other iſlands which covered the mouth of it, and from enemies by a promontory, which commanded the paſſage, and by hidden rocks in the paſſage itſelf; that on the other ſide of the iſthmus, and in the ſame tract of country, there were natural harbours, equally capacious and well defended; that the two ſeas were connected by a ridge of hills, which, by their height, created a temperate climate in the midſt of the moſt ſultry latitudes, and were ſheltered by foreſts, yet not rendered damp by them, becauſe the trees grew at a diſtance from each other, having very little under-wood; that, contrary to the barren nature of hilly countries, the ſoil was of a black mould two or three feet deep, and producing ſpontaneouſly the fine tropical fruits, and plants, and roots, and herbs; that roads could be made with eaſe along the ridge, by which mules, and even carriages, might paſs from the one ſea to the other in the ſpace of a day, and that conſequently this paſſage ſeemed to be pointed out by the finger of nature, as a common center, to connect together the trade and intercourſe of the univerſe."

"By this obſcure Scotſman a project was formed to ſettle, on this neglected ſpot, a great and powerful colony, not as other colonies have for the moſt part been ſettled, by chance, and unprotected by the country from whence they went, but by ſyſtem, upon foreſight, and to receive the ample protection of thoſe governments to whom he was to offer his project. And certainly no greater idea has been formed ſince the time of Columbus.

I ſhould do injuſtice to the ideas which

which ſwelled in Mr. Paterſon's mind, if I expreſſed them in any other words than his own. In one of his letters to the Darien company, he ſays, "The time and expence of navigation to China, Japan, the ſpice iſlands, and the far greateſt parte of the East-Indies, will be leſſend more then half, and the conſumption of European commodityes and manufactories will ſoon be more than doubled.——Trade will increaſe trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world ſhall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the ſeas, and the key of the univerſe, with any thing of a reaſonable management, will, of courſe, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being lyable to the fatigues, expences, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Cæſar. In all our empires that have been any thing univerſal, the conquerors have been obliged to ſeek out and court their conqueſts from afar; but the univerſal force and influence of this attractive magnet, is ſuch, as can much more effectually bring empire home to its proprietors doors.

"But from what hath been ſaid you may eaſily perceive, that the nature of theſe diſcoveries are ſuch as not to be engroſt by any one nation or people, with excluſion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we ſee in the caſe of Spain and Portugall; who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or ſo much as goe to, or dwell in the Indies, have not only loſt that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and ruined their countries therewith; ſo that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugall, then they have conquered the Indies: for, by their permitting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only loſt the people which are gone to theſe remote and luxuriant regions, but ſuch as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing: thus, not unlike the caſe of the dog in the fable, they have loſt their own countrys, and yet not gotten the Indies. People and their induſtry are the true riches of a prince or nation; and, in reſpect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well underſtood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conſcience, and immunitye of government, far more effectually and advantageouſly conquered and kept the world, than ever they did, or poſſibly could have done, by the ſword."

Paterſon's original intention was to offer his project to England, as the country which had the moſt intereſt in it, not only from the benefit, common to all nations of ſhortening the length of voyages to the East Indies, but by the effect which it would have had to connect the intereſts of her European, Weſt-Indian, American, African, and East-Indian trade. For the Engliſh ſhips, which, for the moſt part, go with half a cargo to the Weſt Indies and America, would then have

carried another half outwards to the iſthmus, to be tranſported from thence to the Eaſt. The ſhips in the African trade, after ſelling their ſlaves, might have gone to the iſthmus, and returned loaded with the produce of the Eaſt. The ſhips of the Eaſt India Company, which go, in a manner, without freight to the Eaſt Indies, would, after getting one freight to the port of the South ſea from the India ſea, have returned with another, to open a trade with the iſlands which lie between New Holland and India, if they kept near the line; and to increaſe the trade to China and India, according as they kept farther to the north of the line.

But Paterſon having few acquaintance, and no protection in London, thought of drawing the public eye upon him, and ingratiating himſelf with monied men, and with great men, by aſſiſting them to model a project, which was at that time in embryo, for erecting the bank of England. But that happened to him, which has happened to many in his ſituation: the perſons to whom he applied made uſe of his ideas, took the honour of them to themſelves, were civil to him for a while, and neglected him afterwards. He therefore communicated his project of a colony only to a few perſons in London, and theſe few diſcouraged him.

He was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drunk wine, and who was by nature void of paſſion; and therefore, as if nothing diſagreeable had happened to him, he went to the continent, and by means of one Serrurier, whom he aſſociated into his views, a Walloon banker, who ſpoke all languages, and could accommodate himſelf to all men; he made offer of his project to the Dutch, the Hamburghers, and the elector of Brandenburg, becauſe, by means of the paſſage of the Rhine and Elbe through their ſtates, he thought, that the great additional quantities of Eaſt Indian and American goods, which his colony would bring into Europe, would be diſtributed through Germany. The Dutch and Hamburgh merchants, who had moſt intereſt in the ſubject of his viſit, heard him with indifference: the elector, who had very little intereſt in it, received him with honour and kindneſs. But court-arts and falſe reports loſt him even that prince's favour.

Ingenious men draw to each other like iron and the loadſtone: Paterſon, on his return to London, formed a friendſhip with Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whoſe mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whoſe ideas to procure it had a ſublimity in them. Fletcher diſliked England, merely becauſe he loved Scotland to exceſs; and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably a true one, that he was the perſon who perſuaded Paterſon, to truſt the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the ſole benefit, glory, and danger of it; for in its danger Fletcher deemed ſome of its glory to conſiſt.

Although Fletcher, who had nothing to hope for and nothing to fear, becauſe he had a good eſtate and no children, was of the country party; yet, in all his ſchemes for the public good, he was in uſe to go as readily to the king's miniſters as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His houſe in

Eaſt

East Lothian was near to that of the marquis of Tweeddale, then miniſter for Scotland, and therefore they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterſon down to Scotland with him, preſented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement ſpirit always poſſeſſes over a diffident one, perſuaded the marquis, by arguments of public good, and of the honour which would redound to his adminiſtration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr. Johnſton, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, patroniſed thoſe abilities in Paterſon which they poſſeſſed in themſelves; and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the ſame man who had adjuſted the prince of Orange's declaration at the Revolution, whoſe ſon was married to a niece of lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections. Theſe perſons, in June 1695, procured a ſtatute from parliament, and afterwards a charter from the crown in terms of it, for creating a trading company to Africa and the new world, with power to plant colonies and build forts, with conſent of the inhabitants, in places not poſſeſſed by other European nations.

Paterſon, now finding the ground firm under him, and that he was ſupported by almoſt all the power and talents of his country, the character of Fletcher, and the ſanction of an act of parliament and royal charter, threw his project boldly upon the public, and opened a ſubſcription for a company. The frenzy of the Scots nation to ſign the ſolemn league and covenant, never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to ſubſcribe to the Darien company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the people, the royal burghs, without the exception of one, moſt of the other public bodies, ſubſcribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the ſtock, widows ſold their jointures to get the command of money for the ſame purpoſe. Almoſt in an inſtant £. 400,000 were ſubſcribed in Scotland, although it be now known, that there was not at that time above £. 800,000 of caſh in the kingdom. The famous Mr. Law, then a youth, afterwards confeſſed, that the facility with which he ſaw the paſſion of ſpeculation communicate itſelf from all to all, ſatisfied him of the poſſibility of producing the ſame effect from the ſame cauſe, but upon a larger ſcale, when the duke of Orleans, in the year of the Miſſiſippi, engaged him, againſt his will, to turn his bank into a bubble. Paterſon's project, which had been received by ſtrangers with fears when opened to them in private, filled them with hopes when it came to them upon the wings of public fame: for colonel Erſkine, ſon to lord Cardroſs, and Mr. Haldane of Gleneagles, the one a generous branch of a generous ſtem, and the other a country gentleman of fortune and character, having been deputed to receive ſubſcriptions in England and on the continent, the Engliſh ſubſcribed £. 300,000, and the Dutch and Hamburghers £. 200,000 more.

In the original articles of the company it had been agreed, that Paterſon ſhould get two per cent. on the ſtock, and three per cent. on the profits; but when he ſaw the ſubſcriptions ſo vaſt, he gave a diſcharge of both claims to the company; and in doing ſo, contrived to throw a grandeur of expreſſion and ſentiment, even into a law-re-

leaſe. "It was not," ſaid he, "ſuſpicion of the juſtice or gratitude of the company, nor a conſciouſneſs that my ſervices could ever become uſeleſs to them, but the ingratitude of ſome individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in me, to aſk a retribution for ſix years of my time, and £. 10,000 ſpent in promoting the eſtabliſhment of the company. But now that I ſee it ſtanding upon the authority of parliament, and ſupported by ſo many great and good men, I releaſe all claim to that retribution, happy in the noble conceſſion made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it."

In the mean time the jealouſy of trade, which has done more miſchief to the trade of England than all other cauſes put together, created an alarm in England; and the houſes of lords and commons, without previous inquiry or reflection, on the 13th December of the year 1695, concurred in a joint addreſs to the king, againſt the eſtabliſhment of the Darien company, as detrimental to the intereſt of the Eaſt-India Company. Soon after, the Commons impeached ſome of their own countrymen, for being inſtrumental in erecting the company; and alſo ſome of the Scots nation, one of whom was a peer, lord Belhaven; that is to ſay, they arraigned the ſubjects of another country, for making uſe of the laws of their own. Among ſix hundred legiſlators, not one had the happy ray of genius to propoſe a committee of both parliaments, to inquire into the principles and conſequences of the eſtabliſhment; and if theſe ſhould, upon inquiry, be found good, that the benefit of it ſhould be communicated, by a participation of rights, to both nations. The king's anſwer was, "that he had been "ill adviſed in Scotland." He ſoon after changed his Scottiſh miniſters, and ſent orders to his reſident at Hamburgh to preſent a memorial to the ſenate, in which he diſowned the company, and warned them againſt all connections with it. The ſenate ſent the memorial to the aſſembly of merchants, who returned it with the following ſpirited anſwer. "We look upon it "as a very ſtrange thing, that the "king of Britain ſhould offer to "hinder us, who are a free people, "to trade with whom we pleaſe; "but are amazed to think, that he "would hinder us from joining "with his own ſubjects in Scot-"land, to whom he had lately "given ſuch large privileges, by "ſo ſolemn an act of parliament." But merchants, though mighty prone to paſſion, are eaſily intimidated: the Dutch, Hamburgh, and London merchants withdrew their ſubſcriptions.

The Scots, not diſcouraged, were rather animated by this oppreſſion; for they converted it into a proof of the envy of the Engliſh, and of their conſciouſneſs of the great advantages which were to flow to Scotland from the colony. The company proceeded to build ſix ſhips in Holland, from thirty-ſix to ſixty guns, and they engaged twelve hundred men for the colony; among whom were younger ſons of many of the noble and moſt ancient families of Scotland, and ſixty officers who had been diſbanded at the peace, who carried with them ſuch of their private men, generally raiſed on their own, or the eſtates of their relations,

ſations, as they knew to be faithful and brave; and moſt of theſe were Highlanders. The Scots parliament, on the 5th Auguſt 1698, unanimouſly addreſſed the king to ſupport the company. The lord preſident, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, brother to lord Stair, and head of the bench, and the lord advocate, Sir James Stuart, head of the bar, jointly drew memorials to the king, able in point of argument, information, and arrangement, in which they defended the rights of the company, upon the principles of conſtitutional and of public law. And neighbouring nations, with a mixture of ſurpriſe and reſpect, ſaw the pooreſt kingdom of Europe ſending forth the moſt gallant, and the moſt numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.

On the 26th day of July of the year 1698, the whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith, to ſee the colony depart, amidſt the tears, and prayers, and praiſes of relations and friends, and of their countrymen. Many ſeamen and ſoldiers, whoſe ſervices had been refuſed, becauſe more had offered themſelves than were needed, were found hid in the ſhips, and, when ordered aſhore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions. Twelve hundred men ſailed in five ſtout ſhips, and arrived at Darien in two months, with the loſs of only fifteen of their people. At that time it was in their power, moſt of whom were well born, and all of them hardily bred, and inured to the fatigues and dangers of the late war, to have gone from the northmoſt part of Mexico to the ſouthmoſt of Chili, and to have overturned the whole empire of Spain in the South Seas: but modeſt, reſpecting their own and their country's character, and afraid of being accuſed that they had plunder, and not a ſettlement in view, they began with purchaſing lands from the natives, and ſending meſſages of amity to the Spaniſh governours, within their reach. And then fixed their ſtation at Acta, calling it New St. Andrew from the name of the tutelar ſaint of Scotland, and the country itſelf New Caledonia. One of the ſides of the harbour being formed by a long narrow neck of land which ran into the ſea, they cut it acroſs, ſo as to join the ocean and the harbour. Within this defence they erected their fort, planting upon it fifty pieces of cannon. On the other ſide of the harbour, there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-houſe, which, in the rarified air within the tropics, ſo favourable for viſion, gave them an immenſe range of proſpect, to prevent all ſurpriſe. To this place, it was obſerved, that the Highlanders often repaired, to enjoy a cool air, and to talk of their friends they had left behind in their hills, friends whoſe minds were as high as their mountains. The firſt public act of the colony was to publiſh a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations. This luminous idea originated with Paterſon.

But the Dutch Eaſt India Company having preſſed the King, in concurrence with his Engliſh ſubjects, to prevent the ſettlement of Darien, orders had been ſent from England to the governours of the Weſt Indian and American colonies, to iſſue proclamations againſt giving aſſiſtance, or even to hold correſpondence with the colony;

and these were more or less harshly expressed, according to the tempers of the different governours. The Scots trusting to far different treatment, and to the supplies which they expected from those colonies, had not brought provisions enough with them; they fell into diseases, from bad food, and from want of food. But the more generous Savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow Britons refused. They lingered eight months, awaiting, but in vain, for assistance from Scotland, and almost all of them either died out, or quitted the settlement. Paterson, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien."

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CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retroſpective view of affairs in the year 1787, *which led to, or preceded the rupture between the great powers on the borders of Europe and Aſia. Ruined ſtate of the Tartars. Sahim Guerai, their late khan, who had betrayed and ſold his country to the Ruſſians, flies from their dominion, and ſurrenders himſelf to the grand ſignior. Porte makes great preparations for war. Circular letter from the grand ſignior to the ſeven claſſes of the militia. Mauro Cordato, the hoſpodar of Moldavia, having eſcaped, under a charge of treaſon, into the Ruſſian territories, is re-demanded by the Porte; but the court of Peterſburgh refuſes to deliver him up, and treats the demand as an inſult or injury. Captain Pacha recalled from Egypt, on account of the war, to the great prejudice of the empire. He returns, with great treaſures for the public ſervice, to Conſtantinople. Ruſſian miniſter, on his return from Cherſon, finds a total change in the countenance and diſpoſition of the Porte, and a ſet of propoſitions, which he had left to be adopted as the baſis of a new treaty between the two empires, are rejected with diſdain. M. Bulgakow, the Ruſſian miniſter, being ſummoned to a grand divan, is preſented with a written inſtrument, containing a ſet of counter propoſitions, which he is required to ſign directly, as the only alternative of immediate war. Spirited refuſal of the Ruſſian miniſter occaſions his being committed priſoner to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. Declaration of war againſt Ruſſia. Queſtion of policy diſcuſſed, as to the propriety of the Porte's precipitating a war at this juncture. Aſtoniſhment of the court of Peterſburgh at this unexpected meaſure. Not prepared for immediate war. Long manifeſto againſt the Turks. Ruſſian ſhip of the line driven by tempeſt from the*

the Black Sea into the harbour of Conſtantinople, and taken. Ill ſucceſs of the Turks in the few attempts which they made, towards the cloſe of the year, upon the new Ruſſian frontiers. New prophet, Sheik Manſour, repeatedly defeated, and his partizans finally ruined, by prince Potemkin's army. Turkiſh vice-admiral, though a brave and able ſeaman, being prevented by the diſſentions in his fleet from performing any of the actions that were expected, in the Black Sea, loſes his head at his return. Brave garriſon of Oczakow, after ſeveral gallant attempts to recover Kinburne, are ſo nearly cut off in their laſt attack, that Te Deum *is ſung for it at Peterſburgh, as if it had been a great and deciſive victory. Shabah Guerai appointed by the Porte khan of the Tartars. Deplorable ſtate of that people. Unexampled depopulation of the Crimea. State of that beautiful peninſula. Natives ſell their eſtates for any price they can procure, in order to abandon the country. A number of Engliſh, confiding in the faith of the empreſs, become purchaſers, form ſettlements, and have already commenced great and expenſive works for the cultivation and improvement of the country. Dictatorial powers granted by the grand ſignior to his miniſter and general, the grand vizir, in order to enable him to conduct the war with effect. Indian ambaſſador from Tippoo Saib treated with extraordinary honours and reſpect at Conſtantinople. Magnificent military ſpectacle exhibited by the grand vizir, in honour of the Indian embaſſy. Turkiſh ambaſſador at Spain magnificently received. Wavering and equivocal conduct of that court with reſpect to the war. Conduct of France with reſpect to the war: declares ſhe cannot take any other part in it than as a mediator. Her miniſter to the Porte ſtudiouſly endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between her and Ruſſia, propoſes a ceſſation of arms for three months, as indiſpenſably neceſſary to afford time for negociation; but the divan declare the propoſal inadmiſſible, as being partially favourable to the enemy, and directly the reverſe to them. Emperor of Germany declares his reſolution to ſupport his ally, Ruſſia, with 80,000 men, being the force he was bound to furniſh her with by treaty; but offered his mediation, merely to prevent the ſhedding of blood.* [1

CHAP. II.

Emperor. Ineffectual attempt to ſurprize Belgrade. Similar attempt on Gradiſca defeated. Auſtrians commence hoſtilities. War declared at Vienna. Court of Warſaw refuſes a paſſage to the Imperial troops, in the purſuit of their military operations. Republic of Venice adheres inflexibly to her determination of not being drawn into the war, and of not lending one of her ports to the Ruſſians for the uſe of their fleets. Probable motives for this conduct. Her final determination being communicated to the Emperor at Trieſte, by a deputation of the ſenate, is by him highly reſented, and the deputies treated with extraordinary haughtineſs. He opens a ſubſcription for a large loan in the Low Countries, but with little ſucceſs. Emperor joins the grand army on the Danube, and is preſent at the

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taking of Schabatz. Prince Lichtenſtein's troops repulſed in their attempt to ſtorm Dubicza; are attacked next day in their trenches; their works deſtroyed; and obliged to abandon the ſiege, and repaſs the Unna. Deſperate valour diſplayed by the Turks in this campaign. Wiſe ſyſtem adopted by the Grand Vizir in the conduct of the war. Wears out his enemy by continual attack, ſmall action, and unremitted duty. Checks at Dubicza and other places, change the character of the war, which becomes defenſive and languid on the Auſtrian ſide. Great diſſatisfaction in the camps and at Vienna, increaſed by the tardineſs of the Ruſſians, whoſe junction had been long in vain expected. Not leſſened by the innovations and reforms introduced by the Emperor. Prince of Cobourg repeatedly attacked with great fury by the Turks. Emperor prepares at length for the ſiege of Belgrade, which had been held out as the firſt object of the campaign. Collects a prodigious artillery, and throws three bridges over the Saave for that purpoſe. Grand Vizir, at the head of the grand Ottoman army, marches haſtily from Siliſtria, to interrupt his deſign. Encamps in a moſt advantageous poſition on the Danube. Emperor breaks down his bridges, entrenches his troops, and adds new works to his already ſtrong camp near Semlin. Sickneſs and a dreadful mortality, attended by a prodigious deſertion in the Imperial armies. Three regiments drawn from Vienna, and 30,000 recruits haſtily ordered to ſupply theſe loſſes. Prodigious waſte of treaſure and men in the courſe of the campaign. Recruits eagerly ſought in all quarters. King of Sardinia forbids any to be raiſed in his dominions. Prince of Saxe Cobourg, being at length joined by a Ruſſian body of forces under general Soltikow, they jointly commence the ſiege of Choczim. The town, magazines, and arſenal being deſtroyed, by a dreadful fire of artillery and bombs, the Seraſquier is ſummoned to ſurrender, but refuſes. Ruins of Choczim heroically defended by the gallant Seraſquier and his intrepid garriſon until the end of September. Grand Vizir lays bridges over the Danube at Cladova, and invades the Bannat of Temeſwar. Defeat of the Auſtrians near Orſova. Continued loſſes and misfortunes. That fine country overrun and ruined. Rout of the Emperor's army on his retreat from Karanſebes. Marſhal Laudohn takes the command of the army in Croatia, where he reduces Dubicza and Novi, after moſt obſtinate defences. Heavy rains, and the approach of winter, oblige the Grand Vizir to evacuate the Bannat. Emperor's return to Vienna, after writing a general letter to his army. Armiſtice concluded between the Auſtrian and Turkiſh commanders on the Danube. Manifeſto iſſued by the Grand Signior, to encourage the Hungarians to ſhake off the Auſtrian yoke, occaſioned the Emperor to promiſe them a reſtoration of their conſtitution and rights. Proceedings at Conſtantinople relative to the campaign, the evacuation of the Bannat, and the conduct of the Grand Vizir. [27

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